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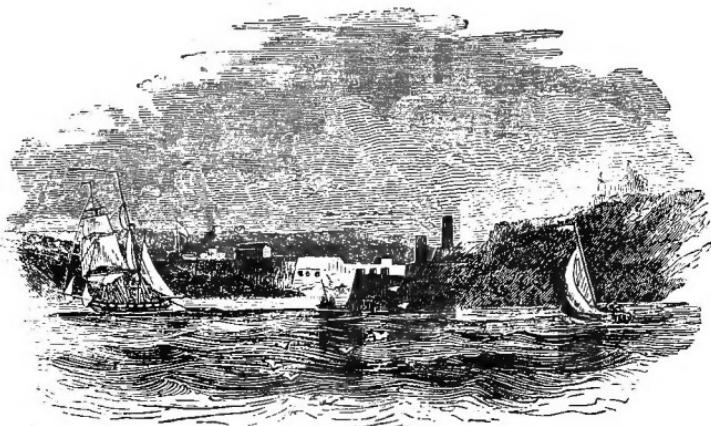
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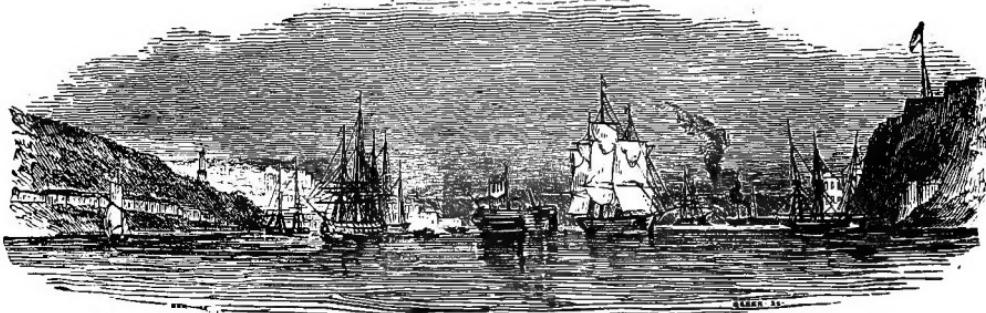
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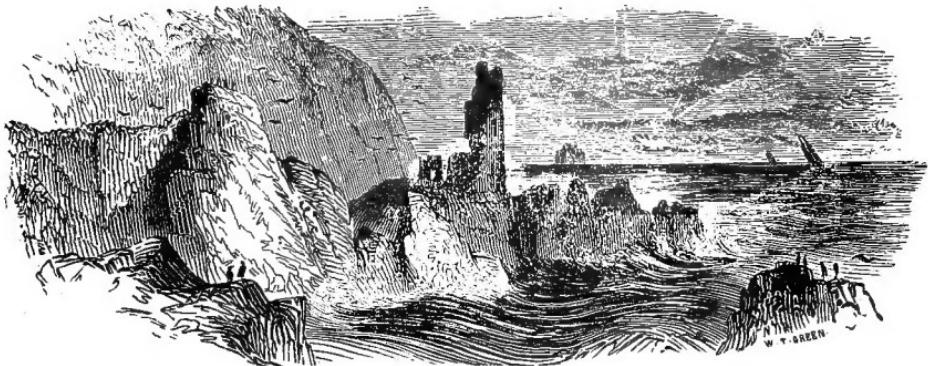
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Kinsale Harbour.



View of the "Anchorage" of Cove, Cork.



Ruins of the Castle of Dunanore, or the Golden Fort, situated in Innisherkin Island,
opposite Baltimore, South Coast of Cork.

A

HISTORY
OF THE
CITY AND COUNTY
OF CORK.

BY
M. F. CUSACK,

Author of the "Illustrated History of Ireland," the "Students' Manual of Irish History," a "History of the Kingdom of Kerry," &c., &c.

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P R E F A C E.

Both courtesy and justice require that I should acknowledge my obligations to those gentlemen who have assisted in the present work.

The Rev. M. CLOSE, M.R.I.A., has presented a geological map, and contributed a valuable chapter on the geology of Cork.

Dr. HARVEY,* whose fame as a naturalist is too well known to need any observation, has added an important article on the Fauna of Cork ; and Mr. COTTER, an able article on the Flora. I cannot but add, that the promptness with which my request for assistance was acceded to by those gentlemen, has been as great a personal gratification to me as their labour will be to the reader.

Sir RALPH CUSACK has assisted in providing the list of High Sheriffs, which is, I hope, the most correct as yet published.

I must also express my obligations to Mr. WINDELE, of Blair's Hill, for lending me his father's work, with valuable MS. notes, some of which I had in the article on Cork. It is to be hoped Mr. WINDELE will be induced to re-publish the work.

* President of the Medical, and late President of the Cuverian Society of Cork ; Fellow of the Botanical Society of Edinburgh ; M.R.C.S.L.

I have to thank Mr. FLYNN for the use of an old and valuable collection of Cork papers.

I am also indebted to Dr. O'DONOVAN, of Skibbereen, for the use of the original copy of the MS. of William Collins, of Myross, a Work mentioned with special commendation by Dr. O'Donovan in the Four Masters.

I am indebted to R. J. GUMBLETON, Esq., of Glenatore, for the observations on the Breed of Cattle in the County ; and J. ASHBEE, Esq., the Government Inspector of Cattle, has assisted in this matter also. As the industrial resources of the County are principally, it might be said perhaps exclusively, represented by the cattle trade, all that belongs to this subject is of local interest, and should be of general interest to those who care for the prosperity of the country. The relative importance of the well-being of a part to the well-being of the whole is not always sufficiently considered. Sound principles of political economy would save many a political disaster. Ignorance is often more injurious than indifference. The social state is composed of many parts ; and the well-being of each part is as essential to the well-being of the whole, as the harmonious working of every part is essential to the effective working of the whole.

There are two parties to agricultural developement—the landlord and tenant. The one represents capital, the other labour ; and the commercial *status* of a country depends upon the equitable adjustment of the rights of both. The landlord who impoverishes his tenants by the exaction of a usurious return for the capital which he holds in the form of land, does an injustice to himself and to his country. He will lose

more by the deterioration of badly cultivated land, by ejectments, by the loss of locked-up capital on the part of his tenant, than he can gain by temporary pressure. If men were to deal in commercial affairs as they do in land, there would be no commerce, because there would be no confidence. The dealings between landlord and tenant is an affair of commerce, with this advantage to the capitalist, that if the results are by no means so great as on 'Change, the risk is infinitely less; for the landlord does not risk shares. If a man was constantly demanding a higher rate of interest for his commercial ventures, and threatening withdrawal of his capital, what result could he expect? What misery has been seen—what crime has been committed, even in our time, by unjust pressure on the poor. It may be said that recent legislative enactments give the tenant compensation. Some cases are certainly provided for; but the act has been very far from giving all the relief that is needed. The speeches given, from which extracts are quoted at the end of this volume, speak more eloquently than we can do, for the feelings of the poor. It is certainly an instalment of justice to give a man pecuniary compensation for ejecting him from his home; but it may well be questioned whether any pecuniary gift can compensate for the disruption of all social ties—for casting a whole family adrift on the world, to begin life under new conditions: it may be impossible, even for the most industrious, ever to retrieve their former position.

All transactions between a man of capital and a man of business are necessarily on a permanent basis. But the man of business has the capitalist at his mercy, while too frequently

in the transactions between capital and labour, in agricultural commerce, the reverse is the rule.

The utter and reckless disregard of all the rights of property, and of all the justice due to labour, which this History records, should be a lesson for the present and the future. Such times are, happily, past; and those who try to stir up political or religious strife on such subjects, whether they be historians or statesmen, are deserving of the highest reprobation, and are simply enemies to their country.

It is not, however, altogether unnecessary to observe, that the relations between landlord and tenant in the present day would be vastly improved if placed upon a sound commercial basis. If the landlord is likely to value his land too much, and the tenant to value his labour too little, a court of equity (we use the expression in a general sense) should step in and place the contract on equitable terms. If the value of land is increased by the tenant, he should obtain the reward of his labour; if the land is wasted by the tenant, or if he fails in his contract, the landlord should be able to obtain redress. As it is human to endeavour to increase our possessions, and as both landlord and tenant are human, it is very evident that differences of opinion must occur.

In the meantime it must be said, that labour, even where labour is not impeded by undue restraint, is not always what it might be.

The incubus of centuries, during which trade was steadily repressed, still hangs over this country. The great work of removing this lies in the hands of those who have the education of the young. If those who have the training of

the young people of the middle and lower classes would educate them for their stations in life, and for advancement in that station, a new era of prosperity would dawn upon us. But common sense in education seems to be receding from us, with a hopelessness which is at once rapid and appaling.

When the daughters of farmers are educated so as to be carefully unfitted for the duties of farmers' wives, and when the sons of farmers have been carefully and superficially taught what is unnecessary for their advancement in their stations of life, the advocates of educating the people in a perfunctory knowledge of all the ologies will perhaps be satisfied. The result will scarcely be the commercial, or what is of more consequence, the moral advancement of the country.

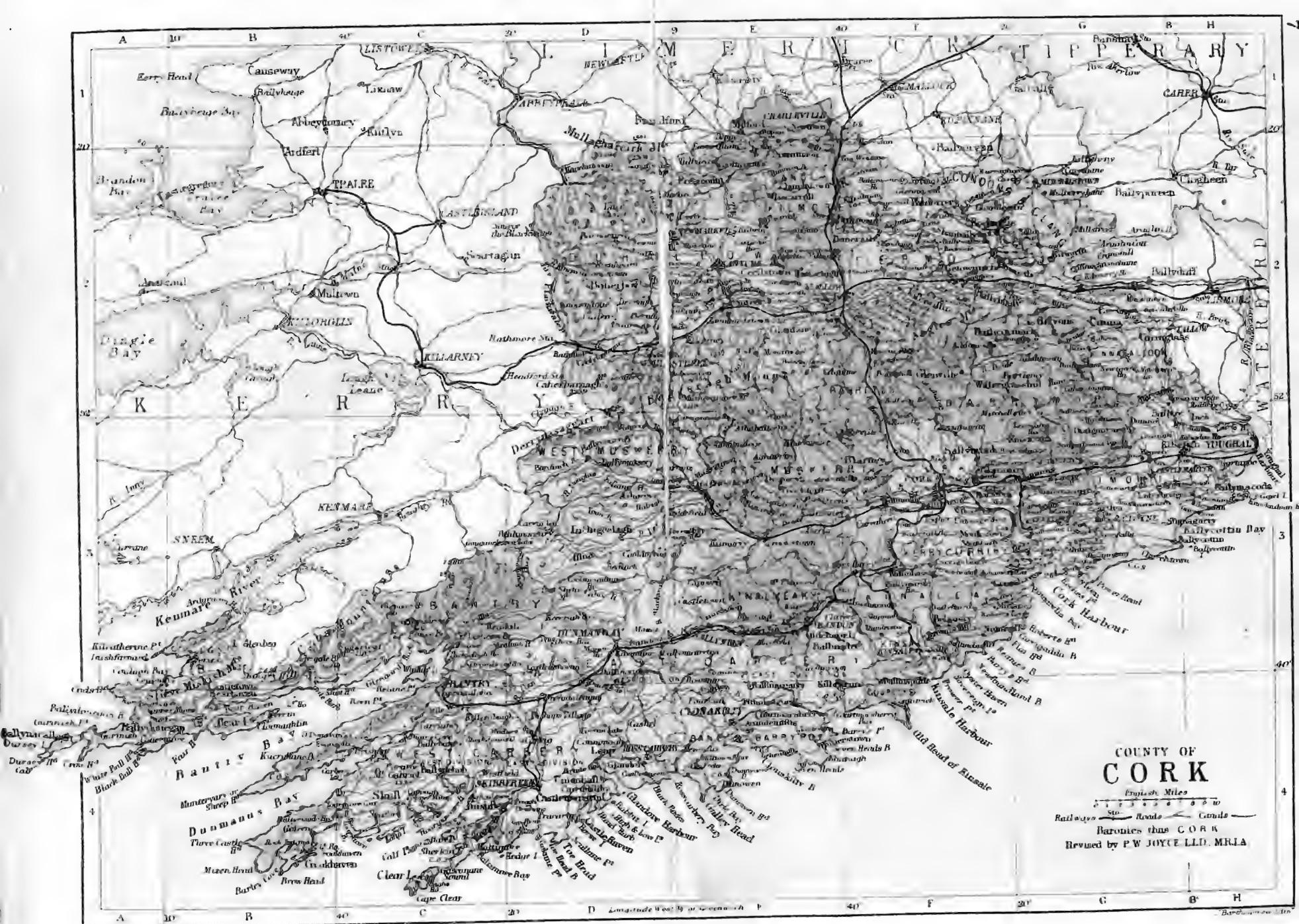
The Irish are a people of intellectual tastes, and eminently desirous of mental cultivation. They take what is given them ; and a great responsibilty rests on those who have the direction of education, if they are not given what will contribute to their solid advancement.

Abstract theories of political economy compressed into a vaguely worded treatise in a class book are simple nonsense. They may be learned, but when learned they are forgotton, because they are not practical.

The fact, thoroughly explained, that we are at present importing food to the value of over 50 millions, a considerable part of which could be raised at home, would excite intelligent minds to add to our own industrial resources. Simple practical explanations, devoid of all unnecessary technicality, on the subject of agricultural duties, would teach our youth how to assist in supplying the demand ; and would give them that

intelligent interest in their labour, which is as necessary for its success as the hope of a pecuniary reward.

Through the obliging courtesy of the Secretary, Mr. EGAN, I am able to give an account of the Cork Butter Market.



COUNTY OF
CORK

English Miles

Stomach Bands *Female*

Bartons C O R K

Revised by P W JOYCE LL.D., M.R.I.A.

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G B H

Bench

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HISTORY
OF THE
CITY AND COUNTY OF CORK.

DY
M. F. CUSACK.

THE
HISTORY OF CORK.

CHAPTER I.

THE PRE-CHRISTIAN PERIOD.

Ireland first peopled in Munster—The reasons for accepting the Annals of pre-Christian Ages—Their importance—Their probable truth—Difference between legends and narratives true in the main—The great value of Celtic studies—Dunamark, in the barony of Bantry, the first place inhabited in Ireland—Traditions of the “Morning Land”—Early historic records—Anthropological science—The first colonization of Ireland—Parthalon—The Firbolgs—The Tuatha-de-Danans—Death of King Neimhidh and three thousand persons at Cork—Battle at Berehaven—The seat of sovereignty established—The Beile festivals at Clontinty, near Cork—Ireland divided into provinces—Origin of the prefix, “ster”—The Irish fire-worshippers—Examples from names of places in Cork—*Assolas*, near Kanturk, and near Doneraile—The seat of monarchy settled at *Dun-Cearnna*, now Kinsale, A.M. 3668—Battles in the County Cork—Second division of Ireland—Ængus, king of Munster—Ancestor of the Mac Carthys, O’Keeffes, O’Callaghans, and O’Sullivans—Battle at Cuille, County Cork—the Plague.

CCORDING to the best and earliest traditions, Ireland was first peopled in Munster. If such traditions are to be altogether rejected because they stretch away into a dim and misty past, we must give up a great deal of pre-Christian history. Why should not the Irish Celt have as ancient and respected traditions as the Assyrian or the Indian? Does ancient Irish history fail to interest because it can be studied nearer home, or because it is the history of a people for whom there is less sympathy? Dates in the pre-Christian periods may be doubtful, but this by no means invalidates facts: Facts may be handed down with a halo of romance; but the fact none the less underlies the halo. Yet when all is said, there

is nothing very romantic or incredible in the chief details of the old annalists. We may not date back the colonization of Cork so far as pre-Noahacian times, but the record which does so must be of interest from its bold antiquity, and from the, at least, fair probability that it is a record of some very early immigration.

The Annals of the Four Masters¹ open thus :—

“The age of the world, to this year of the Deluge, 2242. Forty days before the Deluge, Ceasair came to Ireland with fifty girls and three men—Bith, Ladhra, and Fintain, their names. Ladhra died at Ard-Ladhrann, and from him it is named. He was the first that died in Ireland. Bith died at Sliabh, and was interred in the carn of Sliabh Beatha, and from him the mountain is named. Ceasair died at Cuil-Ceasra, in Connaught, and was interred in Carn-Ceasra. From Fintain is [named] Feart-Fintain, over Loch Deirgdheire.

“From the Deluge until Parthalon took possession of Ireland, 278 years; and the age of the world when he arrived in it, 2520.”

The Book of Lecan,² Keating, and Leabhar-Gabhala,³ say that Ceasair and his party landed at Dun-na-mbarc in Corca

1. The Four Masters were friars of the order of St. Francis of Assissi, who well kept up the spirit of the old Irish bards and brehons, and of the learned monks and priests of the day of Patrick and Columcille. Their great work would be a credit to any nationality. Brother Michael O’Cleary was the master spirit of the Masters. To his zeal and energy we owe the collection of national records, which were then becoming more and more scarce, and a compilation which is a masterpiece of historical information. In the troubled and disturbed state of Ireland he had some difficulty in finding a patron, but all things are possible to unwearying patience and undaunted energy. A noble northern prince came forward and supplied the large funds which were necessary for this important undertaking, and the name of Fergus O’Gara will be for ever associated in honour with the names of the poor friars of St. Francis who wrote the Annals of their country.

2. *The Book of Lecan.* When Moore visited O’Curry, and found him surrounded with ancient Celtic MSS., such as the above work, the Book of Ballymote, etc., etc., he turned to Dr. Petrie, and exclaimed, “I never knew anything about these books before;” and added an emphatic opinion that he had no right to compile a History of Ireland while ignorant of their value and existence. The Book of Lecan is preserved in Trinity College, Dublin. It was compiled in 1416 by *Gilla Isa mór*, a direct ancestor of Dugald Mac Firbis.

3. *Leabhar Gabhala.* This book is quoted by Mac Firbis, and was written by his grandfather. It is the Book of the Invasion of Ireland.

Duibhne, now Corcaguiny, a barony in the west of Kerry ; but we have the high authority of Dr. O'Donovan, the learned translator and editor of the Four Masters, for placing this landing at Dunamark, in the parish of Kilcommoge, barony of Bantry, and county of Cork—thus giving to Cork the honour of receiving the first inhabitants of Ireland. From the far East they came, not without traditions of the land which they had left—"the Morning Land," the cradle of the race ; and without giving credit to the date of colonization, we may not doubt that it was indeed at an early period of the world's history. The first immigrants of Erin left their archaic markings after them, and the ogham character may well dispute antiquity with the runes of the Scandinavian or the cuneiform inscriptions of the Assyrians. We may not enter on the wide domain of anthropological science, but we cannot pass on to facts of history without some passing glance at its romance ; and yet do we not call it romance, because distance has lent to tradition that peculiar mirage of enchantment which compels our judgment to pass sentence on our imagination, and to reject what pleases our fancy, sometimes, it may be, without a due recognition of the fact that fancy or fiction is also an element, and an important one, in our mental constitution ?

Wave after wave of immigrants, all from the same far off land, all boasting a common origin, and all unquestionably speaking a common language, came, and saw, and conquered. Partholan and his hosts landed on the coasts of Dublin, and in the age of the world 2550 Partholan died on *Sean-Mhagh-Ealta-Edair*. It is unquestionably a bold proceeding to give

dates to such events, but there is one strong corroboration of such annals, which, while it leaves dates to the conjectures of the learned, puts a plain fact before the simplest mind. All over Ireland the long preserved names of cairn and tumuli attest the truth of what would appear its wildest legend. The plain of the flocks of Edar—*Shan-va-alta-edar*—which stretched along the coast by Dublin, from Tallaght to Edar, long preserved its ancient name, and Tallaght is the scarcely altered form of *Taimhleacht-Muintire-Parthaloin*—the Tavlaght, or plague-grave of Partholan's people—for here, in ages too far gone to count, an awful plague swept away this colony by thousands.⁴

The Formorians and the Nemedians followed. The Formorians were pirates, and, according to the Annals of Clonmacnoise, were “very troublesome to the whole world.” But, possibly as some excuse for their conduct, they are said to be descended from Ham, the son of Noah.

The pastoral Firbolgs came next, also by way of Europe, from the East. The Firbolg chiefs landed in different parts of Ireland. Though they were tillers of the ground, they appear to have had good ideas of government, for they had laws and social institutions, and established a monarchy at Tara, which became the early centre of civilization. They were surrounded by the magical, wonderful, warlike Tuatha-de-Dananns, who

4. “The word *Taimhleacht*—a plague monument, a place where people who died of an epidemic were buried—is pretty common as a local appellative in various parts of Ireland under different forms; it is of pagan origin, and so far as I know is not applied to a Christian cemetery, except by adoption, like other pagan terms. In the northern countries it is generally made *Tamlaght* and *Tamlat*; while in other places it takes the form of *Tawlaght*, *Towlaght*, and *Toulett*.”—*Joyce's Names and Places*, p. 135.—*Four Masters*, vol. I., p. 3.

ruled ancient Erin for a long period, driving the Firbolgs to the coast and islands, and amalgamating with those who continued to remain unmolested in the centre of the country. The Milesians followed, coming still, like their predecessors, from the "Rising Sun," and the united races formed what we now call the Irish people, yet not without a dash of Danish and Saxon blood.

Yet the races still show themselves by individual characteristics. The Firbolgs were small, straight-haired, and swarthy men—combative when roused, faithful to their chiefs, but, if the truth must be told, indolent and quarrelsome.⁵ They are specially characterised by the brown or grey eye with dark lashes, which at once marks a well known Celtic type. They, in their comparatively prosperous sway, were rath builders, and buried their dead without cremation beneath cromleachs or tumulii; and undoubtedly they left to their descendants agricultural tastes, and that love of land, or territorial possessions, which is so opposite to the mere "land hunger" of the Anglo-Saxon: the one loves the soil from hereditary affection,

5. The characteristics of each race are thus given by Dugald Mac Firbis, in his *Book of Genealogies*:—"Here, too, is the distinction which the profound historians draw between the three different races which are in Erinn—that is, between the descendants of the Firbolgs, Fir Domhnanns and Gailiuns, and the Tuatha-de-Dananns and the Milesians:—

"Every one who is white [of skin], brown [of hair], bold, honourable, daring, prosperous, bountiful in the bestowal of property, wealth, and rings, and who is not afraid of battle or combat—they are the descendants of the sons of Milesians in Erinn.

"Every one who is fair-haired, vengeful, large, and every plunderer, every musical person, the professors of musical and entertaining performances, who are adepts in all Druidical and magical arts—they are the descendants of the Tuatha-de-Dananns in Erin.

"Every one who is black-haired, who is a tattler, guileful, tale-telling, noisy, contemptible; every wretched, mean, strolling, unsteady, harsh, and inhospitable person; every slave, every mean thief, every churl, every one who loves not to listen to music and entertainment, the disturbers of every council and every assembly, and the promoters of discord among people—these are the descendants of the Firbolgs, of the Gailiuns, of Liogairne, and of the Fir Domhnanns, in Erinn. But, however, the descendants of the Firbolgs are the most numerous of all these."—*O'Curry's MS. Materials of Irish History*, pp. 223-4.

the other holds it eagerly from love of possession, and sometimes from greed.

The Tuatha-de-Dananns were a noble race. Bold in battle and skilful in art, they were men to conquer and to retain their conquests. These people were builders and workers in stone and metal, and from them we possess the largest native collections of tools for the formation of metal weapons, technically known as celts, and nearly the largest national collection of swords and battle axes.

The Tuatha-de-Dananns were of large structure, but also fair complexioned, with light or reddish hair. They left their name and mark after them, and two remarkable mountains in Kerry were called *Da-chich Danainna*—the two Paps of Danann—from a royal lady of the race.⁶

The Milesians came next, and took a place of personal supremacy, so that their chiefs, with "O" and "Mac," held rule till English invasion deprived them of territorial possessions.

Such were the amalgamation of races which looked down from the ancient fort of Shandon (*Seandun*) on the colony of St. Finbar, and on the site of the now populous city of Cork, where they united in keeping the high festival of *Beltaine* at Clontinty--the *Meadow of the Fires*.⁷

6. The Tuatha-de-Dananns are supposed to have wandered in North Europe before invading Ireland. The reader is referred to our *Illustrated History of Ireland* (new and enlarged edition), page 62, for a description of their weapons, and an account of their meeting with Firbolg chiefs, and the curious fact of their speaking a common language.

7. It need scarcely be observed that the Irish Celts were fire worshippers. Fires were lit on great festivals, and especially on May-day eve. Many places still bear names commemorative of this—as Clontinty, near Glanworth, Cork. The whole subject of Celtic root words is one of the deepest interest. *Teine* is the usual word for fire, and *Solas* for light. In ancient times a light was kept burning at many fords, which are still called *Ath Solas*—the Ford of Light. Cork furnishes an example of this custom. A ford on the river Auberg, near Kanturk, has given the name to the townland of Assolas. There is a ford of the same name near Doneraile, on the Glenavair river, and the traveller to Macroom passes over the bridge of Athsollis, which crosses the river Brungea.

It is generally supposed that Ireland was divided into five provinces by Slane, or Slaigne, the first Firbolg king. The division is thus described :—

“Slane, the eldest brother, had the province of Leynester⁸ for his part, which containeth from Tuver Colpe, that is to say, where the river Boyne entereth into the sea, now called in Irish Drogheda, to the meeting of the three waters by Waterford, where the three rivers, Suyre, Ffeor, and Barrow, do meet and run together into the sea. Gann, the second brother's part, was South Munster, which is a province extending from that place to Bealagh-Conglaissey. Seangann, the third brother's part, was from Bealagh-Conglaissey to Rosseda-haileagh, now called Limbriche, which is in the province of North Munster. Geanaun, the fourth brother, had the province of Connacht, containing from Limerick to Easroe. Royre, the fifth brother and youngest, had from Easroe aforesaid to Tuver Colpe, which is in the province of Ulster.”⁹

During the early ages, and indeed until the foundation of the city of Cork by St. Finbar, that part of Munster is seldom mentioned specially. We find in the Four Masters, under the age of the world 2859, Neimhidh died of a plague, together with three thousand persons, in the island of *Ard-Neimhidh*, in Crech Leathain, in Munster. *Ard-Neimhidh* is now known¹ as Barrymore island, or the Great Island, near Cork, and *Crich Leathain* comprises a large district including Castleyons.

In the age of the world 3579, Conmeal, son of Emer, who had been thirty years in the sovereignty of Ireland, fell in the battle of Aenach-Macha, by Tighearnmas. A list of his battles

8. The termination *ster*, in Munster, Leinster, and Ulster, is the Scandinavian *Stodr*—a plain—which has been affixed to the Celtic name. Leinster is the place or province of *Laeghen*. The Irish name of Ulster is *Ulaah*, pronounced *Ulla*, Munster is from *Mumhan*.

9. Annals of Clonmacnoise

1. Four Masters, vol. 1, p. 11

are on record, and unquestionably he did his share of fighting from one end of Ireland to the other. One of the sites mentioned is Berra, probably Berehaven, Co. Cork. Clere may be Cape Clear, but it has not been satisfactorily identified. In 3656 Berre is again mentioned as the site of one of the battles of Tighearnmas.

Tighearnmas was a notable monarch. He is said to have been the first by whom gold was smelted in Ireland, and who patronised the exquisite work which still remains as an undeniable evidence of the artistic skill and the cultivated taste of the ancient Celt. Three "black rivers" are said to have burst forth in this reign, one of which, Forann, has not been identified by Dr. O'Donovan, who suggests that it may be the river Fonro, near Youghal.

In the age of the world 3668, Cork was honoured by becoming the seat of monarchy. Sobhairce and Cearmna Finn, the two sons of Ebric, son of Euschre, son of Ir, son of Miledh, reigned over Ireland, and divided it between them into two parts. Sobhairce established himself at Dun-Sobhairce.² Cearmna settled himself at Dun-Cearmna,³ at least as far as any Celtic prince of the period could be said to have settled. Their united reign was a long one, lasting for thirty years. Certainly the governments were sufficiently divided, and a march from the Co. Cork to Antrim would in these days have required a strong incentive.

We are not told how Cearmna governed his southern

2. Now Dunseverich, near the Giant's Causeway.

3. *i. e.*, Cearmnas Dun, or fort. This fort was situated on the Old Head of Kinsale. Keating says that it was called Dun-mhic-Padrig in his time. See under the head Kinsale for further details.

kingdom, but these two princes were the first kings of Ireland of the race of Ir.

Sobhairce was slain by Eochardh Meann, a Formorian, and Cearnma by Eochardh Faebhar-Gblas, who succeeded to the sovereignty of Ireland.

In the age of the world 4981 we find the death of Rudghraighe, and in the list of his battles one is mentioned as having taken place at Gleannamhnach⁴ and another at Cuircce.⁵

The famous Conn of the Hundred Battles dates, according to the Four Masters, from the age of Christ 123.

Ireland was once more divided into two parts by Conn and Eoghan Mor. This is mentioned in the Annals of Tighernach.⁶ The Annals of Clonmacnoise (Mageoghan's translation) contains the following mention of Conn and the Munster families :—

“Conn Kedcahagh having thus slain King Cahire, succeeded himself, and was more famous than any of his ancestors for his many victories and good government. He was called Conn Kedcahagh of [*i. e.* from] a hundred battles given [*i. e.* fought] by him in his time. He is the common ancestor, for the most part of the North of Ireland, except the Clanna-Rowries, and the Sept of Lothus, son of Ithus. He had three godly sons—Conly, Criona, and Art Enear—and three daughters—Moyne [the mother of Fearghus Duibhdeadach, King of Ulster and Monarch of Ireland], Sawe [Sadhbh or Sabbiner], and Sarad [the Queen of Conaire II]. Sawe was married to Maicneadh, for whom she had Lughaidh Maccon, Monarch of Ireland, and after his death to Oilioll Olum [the King of Munster], by whom she had many sons, as the ancestors of

4. Gleannamhnach, now Glanworth, in the barony of Fermoy, Co. Cork.

5. Cuircce, a place in the county of Ciaraighe-Chuirche, now the barony of Kerricurrihy, Co. Cork.

6. Tighernach was of the Murray race of Connaught. He is styled successor of St. Ciaran and St. Comans in the Chronicum Scotorum. He died A.D. 1084. His annals are very valuable, having been compiled from early sources.

the Macarties, O'Briens, O'Kervells, O'Mahonies, and divers others of the west [south] part of Ireland, by which means they have gotten themselves that selected and choice name, much used by the Irish poets at the time of their commendations and praises, called Sile Sawe, which is as much [in English] as the Issue of Sawe."

Conn was succeeded by Conaire II., the father of the Carbery muscs, the founders of many important Munster families. There were six Muscraidhes.⁷ These names have all become obsolete, except that of Muscraighe O'Flynn, which now form the two baronies of Muskerry in Cork. Muscraighe Luachra was the ancient name of the district in which the Abhainn Mhor (the Blackwater) has its source: it was so called from its contiguity to the mountains of Slieve Luachra in Kerry.

There were troublesome times in Munster, A.D. 241, in the fifteenth year of King Cormac, and there is the record of another battle at "Beire," which has a good deal of notoriety in this fashion.

"The year 489 is notable for the death of Ænghus, son of Nadfreach, King of Munster, the common ancestor of the Mac Carthys, O'Keeffes, O'Callaghans, and O'Sullivans. His death is thus recorded :—

"Died, the branch, the spreading tree of Gold—
Ænghus the laudable, son of Nadfreach ;
His prosperity was cut off by Illann
In the battle of Cell-Osnadha the foul."⁸

7. According to O'h-Midhrin's Topographical Poem there were six Muscraighe, all in Munster, namely— 1. Muscraighe Mitine, the country of O'Floinn ; 2. Muscraighe Luachra, the country of O'h-Aodha, along the Abhainn Mor (Blackwater) ; 3. Muscraighe Tri Maighe, the country of O'Donnagain ; 4. Muscraighe Treitheirne, the country of O'Cuirc ; 5. Muscraighe Tarthair Feimhin, the country of O'Carthaigh ; 6. Muscraighe Thire, the country of O'Doughaile and O'Fuirg.—*Book of Rights*, p. 42.

8. Four Masters, vol. I., p. 153.

Ænghus was baptized by St. Patrick at Cashel, and it is said that the saint pierced his foot unintentionally with his crozier. A stream of blood poured forth, but the prince remained unmoved, believing it to be a part of the ceremony. He received a special blessing for himself and his offspring, who have undoubtedly multiplied to all the ends of the earth.

The Four Masters and the earlier annalists are reticent on southern affairs, in which they were naturally less interested ; but Keating⁹ records a battle in the year 528 at Cuille, in the county Cork, wherein an immense number perished. He further adds that this disaster was the result of some insult offered to a devout woman, Suidhe Midhe, who had been in some way ill-treated by the people. This is the first, and, we believe, the last instance in which any complaint has been made, either in ancient or modern times, of the Cork people, whose charity is too well known to need commendation.

In the year 543 "there was an extensively universal plague throughout the world, which swept away the noblest third part of the human race." It was known as the *Blefed* or *Crom Chonaill*. It was preceded by famine and followed by leprosy, and its first victims were St. Berchan of Glas-nevin, and St. Finnen of Clonard.

9. Keating; O'Conor's Translation, vol. 2, p. 31.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY CHRISTIAN PERIOD.

The last feast at Tara—Ollamh Fodhla, of “furious valour”—Names given to Tara—The feast held every third year—The order preserved in the assembly—The position occupied by the different Kings—The King of Munster's place—The Sunny House of the women—Change made in the administration—The Irish language even then becoming obsolete—The nine persons who were entitled to make a law—Revision of the Seanchus Môr by St. Patrick—Similitude between Hebrew and Celtic law—the law of *Eric*—Fosterage—Joint occupancy of Land—The causes of feuds in ancient Erinn—Result of Drainage and Cultivation—The number Nine—Great meeting of Munster men to arrange Local Laws—They select the plain between Killarney and Mangerton—The Septs that came, and where they came from—The O'Briens, the Mac Namaras, the Mac Mahons, Mac Donalds, O'Gradys, O'Kennedys, O'Heas, O'Keefes, O'Maleys, O'Mahonys, O'Learys, O'Caseys, and Sheehans—The Twomeys and Kennedys—The Cork Princes, with the Mac Carthys of Desmond and the O'Sullivans of Bear—The O'Dunbars, Moriartys, O'Callaghans, Kehoes, and Driscolls—The food used by the Irish at this time—The Brown Bear, the Wild Deer (*Fiadh Ruadh*), the Wild Goat, the Wild Boar (*Torc Fiadhan*)—The quality and quantity of Food which was to be given to the aged—The great care taken of them—The different kinds of Habitations—Castles, duns, etc., etc.—St. Baoithin's poem, and how he learned perseverance from seeing a house built of wattles—Cows the test of wealth and possession—The various grades from Tenant to Landlord, and the number of cows required to qualify for each position—The “Senior” of the Builders of Erinn—Dress—A Widow's Dress—Dress of Conor Mac Nessa's son.

THE last feast at Tara was held A.D. 554, and as the echo of the footfalls died away in its deserted halls, the romance of early Irish History became a thing of the past. There is ample historical evidence for all that is related of the desertion of Tara, though there is some little uncertainty as to the exact date.¹ The feast of Tara was instituted by Ollamh

1. Tighernach puts the “*cena postrema*” of Tara A.D. 560. It is entered twice in the Annals of Ulster, first under A.D. 567, and again under A.D. 569. The hill of Tara had five names—the first was *Drum Decsain*, or the conspicuous hill; the second *Laith Druim*, or Laith's hill, after a Firbolg Chief of that name, who was the first to clear it of wood; the third was *Druim Cain*, or the beautiful hill; the fourth was *Cathair Crofenn*, from a Tuatha-de-Danann lady; the fifth *Temair*, from being the burial place of Tea, the wife of Eremon, the son of Milesius.—*O'Curry's Lectures*, vol. ii. page 189.

Fodhla, and is commemorated thus in a very ancient quatrain:

“ Ollamh Fodhla, of furious valour,
Who founded the Court of Ollamh,
Was the first heroic king
That instituted the Feast of Teamair.” ²

There has been unfortunately a disposition, not only amongst strangers but even amongst the more educated classes in Ireland, to look on the history of its past, of pre-Christian or of very early Christian times, as mere legend, preserved by a superstitious people in the form of romantic tales, but without one particle of foundation. Contempt is perhaps one of the most effective weapons against truth. However strongly we may be convinced of the rectitude of our opinions, or whatever solid ground we may have had for forming them, a little breath of contempt, if it does not throw the fabric to the ground, will at least induce us to compromise or to yield weakly.

The sneers of the ignorant ought not to affect the conclusions of the learned ; but when the ignorant happen to be the many and the powerful, there is always fear that numbers may prevail over justice.

The feast of Tara was held every third year during the month of March, and was in fact a convention or parliament, at which the affairs of the nation were settled. A poem which was written about the year 1000 gives a good idea of the way in which proceedings were carried out :—

². The poem from which the above is taken was written by Ferceirtne, who was attached to the court of Connor Mac Nessa, at Emania. Two copies of this most curious and ancient poem are still preserved, one in Trinity College, Dublin, II. 3, 18, and the other in the British Museum, Egerton 88. This poem dates from the time of the Incarnation.

“The Feast of Teamair every third year,
 For the preservation of law and rule,
 At that time was proudly held
 By the illustrious king of Erinn.

“Cathair [Mor] the Popular held
 The far-famed Feast of Royal Teamair ;
 There assembled unto him, to his delight,
 The men of Erinn, to the one place.

“Three days before Samhain, at all times,
 And three days after, by ancient custom,
 Did the hosts of high aspirations
 Continue to feast for the whole week.

“There was no theft, no wounding of the person
 Among them, during all this time ;
 No plying of weapons, no cutting,
 No evil word, no threatening boast.

“Whoever was guilty of any of these
 Became a mortal, venomous foe ;
 No gold for such crime was from him received,
 But his life on the immediate spot.”³

For some eighteen hundred years this native parliament or assembly met with tolerable regularity, and every detail of these meetings was carefully arranged.

Such arrangements unquestionably could not have been made by an uncivilized people. It would not be possible here to enter into full details, or to give more than the merest outline of the usual course of proceedings.

The places of the provincial kings and princes were so carefully assigned as to prevent any cause of discussion, and in fact whatever petty wars were carried on through the country, order appears to have been preserved in this assembly. Indeed the local wars which discredit early Irish history were,

^{3.} O’Curry’s Lectures, vol. 2, p. 13.

we suspect, principally cattle raids, predatory incursions which the nomadic state of life involved.

Keating has given special and very full details of the arrangements at Tara, and it will be remembered that Keating writes from very ancient sources. In the time of Laeghaire (cotemporary with St. Patrick) the traditional observances were still continued.

The King or Chief Monarch of Erinn, with his court, occupied the *Teach Miodhchnarta*, or great banqueting hall ; the King of Munster had the *Long Mumhan*, or Munster house ; the King of Leinster, the *Long Laighean*, or Leinster house ; the King of Connaught, the *Coisir Chounachlaqt*, or Connaught banqueting house ; and the King of Ulster, the *Eacheois Uladh*, or assembly house of Ulster. There were three other houses—one for the hostages, whose safe keeping was an important matter in those times ; one for the poets, called poetically *Realta-na-bh-Filiodh*, or the star of the poets, and here the judges sat and dispensed justice ; and last, the Sunny House of the women, where the provincial queens lodged with their attendants, for women and the learned met with a special respect in ancient Erinn.

In the great deliberative assemblies the provincial kings had each his own place, and that of the men of Munster was on the south side. So much for the political part of the assembly.

The laws were administered by judges, first by poets, and then by persons who were specially trained for the purpose. The change occurred thus :—The poet judges were accustomed to deliver their decision in language which was unintelligible to the people. This may have arisen partly from a desire to

claim additional respect by throwing a veil of mystery over their communications. At least it shows that lawyers loved to puzzle the uninitiated as much then as now.

It may have been also that legal terms were expressed in language which even then was becoming obsolete.

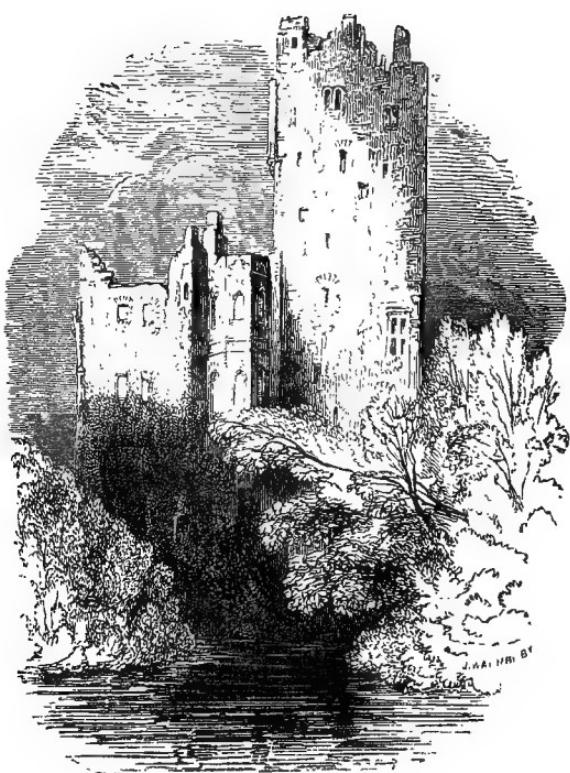
King Conor Mac Nessa,⁴ however, put an end to all obscurities by requiring that the law should be explained in the vernacular, and by allowing men and even women to compete for judgeships.

Amongst the women we find *Brigh*, the daughter of *Leancha*, who criticised and corrected her father's errors. Amongst the men, Fergus Fiannaite, from the district of Fiannait, near Tralee, Co. Kerry,⁵ and Eschaidh Mac Suchta, King of North Munster.

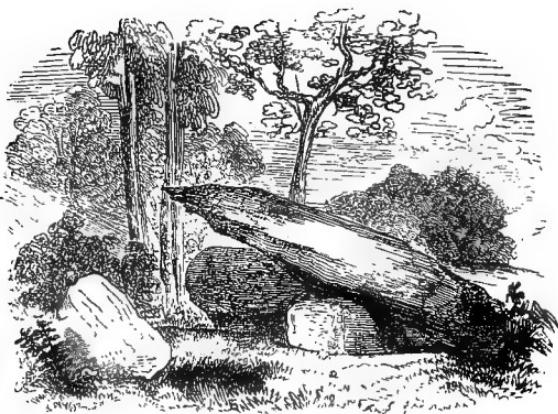
Cormac, who reigned in A. D. 227, "made an order that all future monarchs of Ireland should be at all times accompanied by ten persons, consisting of a chief, a judge, a druid, a doctor, a poet, an historian, a musician, and three servants. The chief was to sit at the king's shoulders; the judge, to explain the laws and customs of the country in the king's presence; the druid, for sacrifice, and prophecy of good or evil to the country, by his pagan knowledge; the doctor, for attending to the health of the king, queen, and household; the poet, for lauding or satirizing all persons according to their deserts; the historian, to preserve the genealogical branches, and the history and actions of the nobles from time to time; the musician, to play the harp, and sing songs and poems before the king; the three chief servants, with a sufficient company of assistants to attend on the king and his company at table.

4. The history of this king's reign is full of interest. See *Illustrated History of Ireland*, new and enlarged edition, p. 127.

5. O'Curry's Lectures, vol. 2, p. 22.



Blarney Castle.



Druidical Remains in the Demesne at Castlemory,
near Cloyne.



"This order continued in force from Cormac's time to the death of the great monarch, Brian Boroimhe, in the year 1014; but in the Christian times a bishop took the place of the druid among the king's attendants."⁶

The ancient laws continued in full observance until the time of Patrick, and the change which was then made is perhaps one of the most important events which has ever occurred in the history of any nation. It is at once an evidence of the high respect in which the Irish Celt held his ancient observances, and of the completeness and rapidity of the national conversion. An assembly was convened by King Laeghaire, which is thus recorded by the Four Masters:—

"The age of Christ 438. The tenth year of Laeghaire. The Feinchus of Ireland were purified and written, the writings and old works of Ireland having been collected [and brought] to one place at the request of St. Patrick. Those were the nine supporting props by whom this was done—Laeghaire (*i.e.* King of Ireland), Corc, and Daire—the three kings; Patrick, Benan, and Caireach—the three saints; Ross, Dubhthach, and Fearghus—the three antiquaries."

This committee of nine consulted on the necessary alterations, and, this done, the whole was submitted to the national assembly at Tara to receive the national sanction. The compilation then obtained the name of the *Seanchus Mor*,⁷ or "Great Body of Laws," and it was so called from the great number and the great nobility of those who thus gave it their sanction.

6. O'Curry's Lectures, vol. 2, p. 23.

7. From *sen* (Celtic) old, which has direct cognates, not merely in the Indo-European, but also in the Semitic; Arabic, *sen*, old, ancient—*sunnah*, institution, regulation; Persian, *senn*, law, right; *sanna*. Phoenicibus idem fuit quod, Arabibus summa, lex, doctrina jux canonicum.—Bochart, *Geo. Sac.*, i. ii., c. 17. See Petrie's *Tura*, p. 70.

We must again express regret at not being able to give a detailed account of the wonderful and admirable body of laws by which our pre-Christian and Christian ancestors were governed. But we can, happily, give a brief account of the laws by which the men of Munster were governed in these distant ages.

The criminal laws were clear, explicit, and singularly just. Before the coming of St. Patrick the death penalty was exacted vigorously as under the ancient Hebrew laws.⁸ But he changed it to the *Eric*, so that, if the friends of the murdered man were willing, a fine would be accepted. The greatest care is used in every legal definition, the most exact directions and distinctions are laid down, every case is fully anticipated, and every judgment clearly declared. The whole body of Irish laws would be a decided credit to the most civilized and cultivated nation.

In the introduction to this Collection of Laws, as revised by St. Patrick, we find the teaching of Catholic theology in the doctrine of expiation here, as the sure way to redemption hereafter—"every hand is punished as it deserves"—and in plain and distinct words it is added—

"It was these two laws were fulfilled: the culprit was put to death for his crime, and his soul was pardoned and sent to heaven. What was agreed upon by the men of Erinn was,

8. All early Irish history points not only to an Eastern but to an Israelitish descent. It is well known that the *Lia Fail*, or "Stone of Destiny," now most probably in Westminster Abbey, is supposed to be a pillar stone used by Jacob, and brought from the East by the Tuatha-de-Danans. We have met recently with a curious little pamphlet, which has had a circulation of some 300,000, the object of which is to prove that the whole British nation are descendants of Eastern tribes. This is obviously incorrect as far as the Saxon race are concerned. The subject is so strange and so full of interest, both from historical, ethnological, and religious points of view, that we intend to enter on it fully in a note at the end of the present work.

that every one should be given up for his crime, that sin might not otherwise increase in the island.”⁹

The law of *Eric* was condemned by some English writers, who were not only ignorant of its peculiar application, but who were also ignorant of its almost universal existence. There were certainly—must we say there are—many persons to whom the words Irish and barbarian seemed convertible terms.¹

The law of contract was also very fully drawn out, and in this again there was a similarity to the Hebrew law. A man who was guilty of any fraud was obliged to go into the service of the persons whom he had defrauded, until he had liquidated his debt by his labour. There were also laws regulating the conduct of parents and children, and very special ones in respect to fosterage, the knowledge of which would explain the special regard which the Irish have always had for their foster children and the respect shown to them, while the custom itself is a strong evidence of the antiquity of the law.

A careful consideration of the laws of landlord and tenant would explain much that has puzzled political economists regarding the extreme tenacity with which the Irish Celt clings to the land, and the laws formed for co-occupiers of land show why they look upon any breach of this custom as a cruel injustice. When once a tribe had settled and obtained land either by conquest or immigration, the distribution of land would be the first object. If the land were obtained by immigration the chief would naturally secure the larger share,

9. The *Seanchus Môr*—Introduction to—Ancient Laws of Ireland, vol. i., p. 13.

1. The law of *Eric* existed amongst the ancient Greeks, and is mentioned in the Iliad. Tacitus mentions it also. It prevailed amongst the Germans, Franks, and Anglo-Saxons.

and the division, without any formal arrangement, would be in proportion. Cultivation would be the best object, but as some portions of land would yield to tillage more easily than others, waste lands, barren lands, and morasses would naturally remain unreclaimed, and hence as far as they could be used they would remain common property.

By degrees the drainage of adjacent tracts of land would in some degree reclaim such places, and make them of more or less value. Then disputes would necessarily arise as to possession. Hence there would be in those times at least two kinds of dispute about the possession of land—the dispute arising from a positive desire of possession of that which belonged to another, and which could only be ended *vis et armis*, and the dispute for possession of debatable land, which with advance of civilization would be referred to legal decision.

Legal decision would eventually become law, and each country, or, if tribes were widely divided, each tribe would probably have its own special decision and judgment. Thus, in ancient Ireland, while a general system of law prevailed throughout the country, each tribe under the government of a *righ* or king (the chief king being the Ardrigh) could make its own local laws, which would be observed in its territory.

The tribal division of Ireland was unquestionably a national misfortune. Separate interests gave rise to quarrels and feuds, which the national character, even by its very customs, kept up. Hence the internecine disputes, and the not unfrequent joining with foreigners, whether “ayue Danes” or Saxons, against those who should have been united in one common interest of nationality.

Nine² persons were required to make a lawful local custom—a king, a poet, a brughaidh,³ a bishop, a professor, an advocate, an *aire torgaill* (a sort of sheriff), and an *airdinneach*, or lay vicar.

About the year 690 the Munster men determined to have a code of laws of their own, or rather to revise and alter the national law to meet their special customs and requirements. In order to effect this important purpose, they commissioned Amargin, a distinguished scholar, to go and study the national law and compile a code. He complied with the request, on condition that there should be a great assembly of all the Munster men in one large plain to ratify the compilation.

It was difficult to find a plain of sufficient size: for it need proximity to rivers and mountains to furnish fish, flesh, fowl, and water, for so many people.

The plain between Killarney and Mangerton mountain was chosen, and here one of the most important Irish “monster meetings” was held. How little does the modern traveller know of these ancient annals of Ireland as he traverses this district. The land belonged to a chief named Cormac, probably a Mac Carthy, and he refused to allow it to be used unless the body of laws were named after himself and his land, so it obtained the name of *Cain Chormaic*, or “Cormac’s law,” not the first time in which a patron has obtained the credit of a work not his own. It was called *Cain Inith Rime*, from the name of the plain.⁴

2. The number nine seems to have had a very special meaning in ancient Erinn.—*Illustrated History of Ireland*, new edition, p. 77.

3. The *brughaidh* was a farmer who possessed a certain quantity of land—in fact, a tenant farmer.

4. O’Curry’s Lectures, vol. 2, p. 32.

Such a gathering of MacCarthys, O'Sullivans, O'Keeffes, and O'Briens was probably never seen. The Dalcassins were from Thomond (now Clare), Limerick, and part of Tipperary, numbering in their hosts O'Briens, MacNamaras, MacMahons, MacDonalds, MacEnirys, O'Gradys, O'Kennedys, O'Heas, O'Quins, O'Hurleys, O'Mahonys, O'Caseys, and Sheehans, with Tuomys and Nunans and Hickeys. The Eugenians came from Desmond, the families of Cork's kings, and of these were the MacCarthys, princes of Desmond ; the O'Sullivans, from Bear and Bantry ; the Mahonys, the O'Callaghans, the O'Donohoes, the Fogartys, the Moriartys, the O'Keeffes, and the MacGillicuddys, the Mahonys, the Kehoes, the Driscolls, the O'Learys, and the Flynnns.

Gleann Amhnach had then its own king or prince, to whom seven shields and seven swords were given as tribute,⁵ and no doubt he headed the O'Keeffes (*O'Caoimh*), whose district was *Gleanna Amhnach*, the present Glanworth, in the barony of Fermoy, Co. Cork. The Duggans (*O'Dubhagáin*) were their neighbours, and before the English invasion these two tribes possessed Fermoy, Condons and Clongibbons. The boundary between them cannot be determined precisely now, but the O'Duggans' country was between *O'Caoimh* and the *Ui Fidhghente*. After the English invasion the country of *Feara Muighe Feine* was granted to the Flemings, from whom it passed to the Roches, and was called *Crioch Riosteach*, or "Roche's country." The Duggans claim descent from the celebrated Druid *Mogh Ruith*. His descendant, who

5. *Book of Rights*, p. 79. See also Fermoy in topographical part of present work, and *Illustrated History*, new edition, p. 240.

ruled in Fermoy—the “Lordly king of the Farthmatha”—was entitled to tribute of seven steeds and seven drinking horns. He is entitled the “swift hero,” but whether this honourable appellation was generic or individual remains unproved. It is at least certain that *Cuanna Mac Cailchine*, who was chief of *Feaia Muighe* in the seventh century, was famous for hospitality and munificence, and the same race gave two saints to Munster, Mochuille and Molaga.⁶

The O’Heas (*O'h-Aodha*) came from *Muscraighe Luachra*, the country of the O’Heas, on the borders of the Blackwater (*Abhainn Mhor*). This district obtained its name from its contiguity to the mountains of *Sliabh Luachra* in Kerry.

The O'Donegans (*O'Donnagain*) came from *Muscraighe Tir Maighe* (Muskerry of the Three Plains), now Barrymore. The O'Flynn's came from *Muscraighe ui Fhloï*, now the deanery of Musgrylin.

How the vast assembly fared as to food is a difficult question. Probably many tribes brought their flocks with them, pastoral fashion ; and probably they did not disdain to eat as well as to hunt the *mathghamhain*, or brown bear of North Europe, which with the wolf (*un allaith*) remained until a late period. The red deer too (*fiadh ruadh*)—it may be a degenerate species of the famous Irish elk—would have been found in abundance on the mountains of Mangerton and Killarney, where the wild goat (*galkar*) would also abound.

The wild boar (*torc fiadhain*) would not be far to seek, as the name of Torc⁷ mountain at Killarney indicates; nor would

6. One of the lost books mentioned by Keating is the Black Book of St. Molaga.

7. *Torc*, pronounced “Turk,” hence Turk Waterfall, well known to tourists at Killarney. Wild boars abounded in Ireland, and hunting them was a favourite amusement. “By the

Kanturk (*Ceanntuirc*), the land or hill of the boar, have been out of reach of adventurous spears; and the “fish full” rivers and lakes of *Lein* would afford a sufficient variety of daily fare.

In one of the many domestic laws of ancient Erinn there is a law deciding the provision to be supplied to the aged, which gives us some idea of the ordinary food. Three items of maintenance were allowed by the law—maintenance in food, maintenance in attendance, and maintenance in milk. For maintenance in food, half a *bairghin*, or cake of wheaten meal, with salt and a vessel of sour milk; for attendance, his body to be washed every twentieth night, and his head every Saturday; for milk, one milch cow every month throughout the year.

The house which was to be built for the aged is also described, and gives a good idea of the habitation of the poorer class at this period, when, undoubtedly, Ireland was far more prosperous than it has been in what would be called more civilized times. The houses were generally rectangular or circular, and the houses or huts for poor aged men were to be not less than seventeen feet long, and were made of basket work with weather boards. This was the simplest description of house. Probably the interstices were filled up with mud or moss.

There is a short poem in the ancient Irish life of St. Colman which alludes to this kind of building, and the moral of which is so excellent that we give it in full.

aspirations of the genitive form, *tuirc* becomes ‘kirk,’ as in Drumkirk, a name of frequent occurrence in Ulster, which represents the Irish *druimthuire*, ‘the boar’s ridge.’ And when the ‘t’ is changed to ‘d’ by eclipse, the termination ‘dark’ or ‘nadurk’ is formed, as in Edendurk in Tyrone, ‘the hill brow of the boars.’—*Joyce’s Names and Places*, p. 463.

St. Baoithin, the nephew of St. Columcille, was placed under the instructions of St. Colman, and as he failed to remember his lesson the saint chastised him. The boy flew into a wood to escape further instruction and punishment, and then he saw a man building a house in the usual fashion. The lad mused on the work, and saw how one rod added to another completed the fabric—slowly indeed, but none the less surely.

Then a shower of rain came on, and he watched the drops falling into a little hole which was soon filled by them, and the result was the following poem, and a determination to persevere in his studies :—

“ Of drops a pond is filled ;
 Of rods a round house is built :
 The house which is favoured of God
 More and more numerous will be its family.

“ Had I attended to my own lessons
 At all times and in all places,
 Though small my progress at a time,
 Still I would acquire sufficient learning.

“ [It is a] single rod which the man cuts,
 And which he weaves upon his house :
 The house rises pleasantly,
 Though singly he sets the rod.

“ The hollow which my heel hath made,
 Be thanks to God and St. Colman,
 Is filled in every shower by the single drop—
 The single drop becomes a pool.

“ I make a vow, that while I live
 I will not henceforth my lessons abandon ;
 Whatever the difficulty may be to me,
 It is cultivating learning I shall always be.”⁸

8. O’Curry’s Lectures, vol. 3, p. 33. A similar story is told of St. Cummin-Fada, Bishop of Clonfert, who died A.D. 661.

Stone buildings were not much in use at this period, except for *duns* or forts, but churches were sometimes, though rarely, built of stone. We read in the life of the same St. Cumin, that the second son of a king showed his humility and the fervour of his faith by assisting those who were setting stones in the wall of his church.

The divisions of rank, and the kind of house depended upon the number of cows maintained by the proprietor—cows were the grand objects of barter, cows paid taxes, gave rank, and promoted dignity; and in ancient Erinn, as in our own day, money made the man—albeit that a college, across the sea, then not far from its founding, took for its legend that “manners” were the indicator of position. The more cattle the man had, and the more land he possessed, the higher he ascended in the social scale. Theoretically, ascent was supposed to be effected in strict justice. No murderer, or homicide, or perjurer, should go up in rank, until he had made full satisfaction for his crime, and as satisfaction meant a mulcting of cows, poverty was, or should have been, the necessary result of crime.

But justice compels us to say that then, as now, might was too frequently right, and we fear there were a good many Queen Meavs⁹ in divers ranks of life, who set their hearts, for various reasons, on their neighbours’ cattle.

9. The story of the *Tain bo Cuailgne* (Cattle spoil of Cuailgne) now Cooley, Co. Louth, is one of the most interesting of the early bardic tales. Meav was the daughter of *Eachaidh*, Monarch of Erinn, A.M. 5069. She was married to Conor, the Provincial King of Ulster, and then to Ailill, a Connaught prince. The lady and her husband were one day admiring and comparing their treasures, when it was discovered that neither could claim an advantage over the other, except in the matter of a certain bull, known as *Finn-bheannach* or “The White-Horned.” This animal had been calved by one of Meav’s cows, but (“Women’s Rights” notwithstanding) “not deeming it honourable to be under

As the fines for personal or other injury were very fully detailed, we have also details of the various grades of society. The *og aire*, or young land-holder, was obliged to have a share of one-fourth in one ox, a sock for a ploughshare, a barn, a kiln, a mill, etc., his house was ordered to be nineteen feet long, and his kitchen or store-room thirteen feet. This most ancient custom of having property in common explains the intense feelings of injustice expressed by the Irish Celt of the present day, when his agent forbids any sub-division of property or holdings.

That such sub-divisions are most injurious to the general good there can be no doubt; but there is a strong excuse for the feeling in favour of it, amongst a people of all others the most tenacious of ancient rights.

The *Aitheach ar Artheeba ar Bo Aire*, the "Man of Cows," succeeded his father, and counted his stock by tens. He had ten cows, ten pigs, &c.

The *Bo-Aire Febhsu*, or "Best Cow Keeper," was yet another rise in the social scale; and he had four times seven cumladhs of land, and a habitation and building of proportional greatness. The *Bo-Aire Gensa*, or "Chaste Cow Keeper," was obliged to qualify for his rank by still more extensive possessions, and the *Aire Reire Breethe*, or "Distributing Cow Keeper," had no less than seven houses and dwelling houses of twenty-seven feet in length.

a woman's control," had gone over to the prince's herds. Meav made no attempt to re-capture the bull, but ordered enquiries to be made for another bull, which should be equal, if not superior, to "White-Horn." The result was a terrible war, the particulars of which are far too long to insert here, though they are full of interest. We must therefore refer the reader to the *Illustrated History of Ireland*, new edition, p. 92, and to O'Curry's Lectures, p. 33.

The *Rath*, *Dun*, *Lis*, *Caiseal*, and *Cathair*, are thus described :—The *Rath* was simply a circular wall or enclosure of raised earth, in which stood the residence of the chief, or chief man of a tribe. The *Dun* was the same form as the *Rath*, but constructed of two or more such walls, with deep trenches for water. The *Lis* was the same as the *Rath*, but the term is generally applied to a fortification. The *Caiseal* and *Cathair* were of stone, but in other respects somewhat similar to the *Dun* or *Lis*. The early writers however often confused these terms.

There is a poem in the *Book of Lecan*,¹ in which *Aileach* is described as the senior or father of the buildings of Erinn.

“ It is the senior of the building of Erinn,
Aileach Trigrind.
 Greater praise than it deserves
 For it I indite not.”

From the poem it appears that stone, and even cut stone, was used at a very early period, for the top of the house of the “groaning hostages” at Tara was closed with one stone—but we reserve a fuller account of the ancient architecture of Ireland for a future page.

If the bardic accounts are to be taken as literally true, or even as poetically true—and poetic truth is but a cloud of fancy surrounding a pillar of fact—the dress of the early Irish must have been very costly. If the gold ornaments which they have so elaborately described had not been found, there might be some question of their veracity ; but since they still exist, and have even been found in abundance, there can

^{1.} The Book of Lecan, now in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, was compiled in 1416, by *Gilla Isa Mor*.

be no rational doubt of the correctness of their account of other ornaments.

The Book of Lismore contains an account of the courtship of Crede and Cael, and gives *inter alia* a description of the lady's mansion. We are informed that "the house in which she is, was delightful!" No doubt her lover thought so; and if the description of it is correct, we can only be amazed at the magnificence of the Munster princess. She was hospitable; for there is special mention of the "table servants who distribute;" and Crede the fair had the command of all. Crede's chair was the "pleasantest of the pleasant;" the household which was in her charge were in "the happiest of conditions." But the women of ancient Erinn were women after all, though they appear to have had their "rights," and to have been doctors, and philosophers, and soldiers, as their own sweet wills inclined; and of Crede it must be said, that—

"A bowl she has whence berry juice flows,
By which she colours her eyebrows black.

As early as fifteen hundred year before the Christian era sumptuary laws were passed to regulate the colours of dress. The Irish Celt was clothed, and well clothed, at a time when the Gaul and the Saxon were half-naked savages. *Eochaidh Edgandoch* (the cloth designer) was the originator of these laws, and Tigernmus was the first who dyed or put colours into clothes. He ordered that servants should wear one colour; rent-paying farmers (tenants) two colours; officers, three colours; chiefs, five colours; ollamvs and poets, six colours; and kings and princes, seven. After the introduction of Christianity a bishop was allowed to wear all colours.

The following is the description of Conor Mac Nessa :—

“A tall, graceful champion, of noble, polished and proud mien, stood at the head of the party. This most beautiful of the kings of the world stood among his troops with all the signs of obedience, superiority, and command. He wore a mass of fair, yellow, curling, drooping hair. He had a pleasing, ruddy countenance. He had a deep blue, sparkling, piercing, terrific eye in his head, and a two-branching beard, yellow, and curling upon his chin. He wore a crimson, deep-bordered, five-folding *fuan*, or tunic ; a gold pin in the tunic over his bosom, (and also) a brilliant white shirt, interwoven with thread of red gold, next his white skin.”

The chief of a company (Conor Mac Nessa’s son) is described thus :—

“This party, too, was led by a comely man. He had fair, yellow hair upon him. He had a glossy, curling beard. He wore a green cloak wrapping him about ; and there was a bright silver brooch (*cassan*) in that cloak at his breast. He had a brown-red shirt, interwoven with thread of red gold, next his skin, and descending to his knees.”

The *cochall* was a cape or short cloak for the shoulders, such as is worn at the present day : the *inar*, or tunic, was somewhat similar to the tight-fitting military frock of modern times ; and the *ochrath*, or trews, were tight-fitting pantaloons reaching from the hips to the ankles.

CHAPTER III.

ST. FINBAR, FOUNDER OF CORK.

The introduction of Christianity into Ireland—Why the Irish were well prepared to receive it—Cultivation of the peaceful Arts—Cork owes its foundation to Christian Monks—Omissions of former Historians—St. Finbar—His early life and piety—Peculiar circumstances attending his birth—His father Amergin emigrates to the Co. Cork—Various ancient MS. Lives of St. Finbar—Miraculous occurrences at his baptism—His education—Miraculous supply of food—He reads the “alphabet”—Meeting with St. Brandon, who recognizes the sanctity and prophecies the future of St. Finbar—He is instructed in ecclesiastical rules by a holy man from Rome—He remains at Cloyne for some time, and why he leaves it—The piety and learning of his disciples—The state of Cork when St. Finbar founded the city—The swamp of Cork—He asks St. Colman to be “the father of his confession”—He goes to Cloyne to die—His relics brought back to Cork with great honour—“Seventeen holy bishops rest in Cork with Barri and Nessan”—St. Finbar’s virtues—He is distinguished for his charity, and “blooming sweet” to the poor—The ancient Latin Lives of St. Finbar—The famous Schools of Cork—*Coleman O’Cluasiaghe*—His poems—St. Molagga, or “Laicin,” Patron of Tegh-Mollagga—His birth and parentage—Various places in Cork named after him—Timoleague, Mitchelstown, and Marshalstown.

WHEN St. Patrick came to Ireland to preach the gospel of Christ, he found a civilized people, who received him cordially. The intense respect of the pre-Christian Celt for his learned men, and for learning, and the comparative purity of such religion as he had, were all in his favour. Hence the Irish were the only people who received the gospel without bitterly persecuting their apostles; as they have been the only people on the earth who have been unswervingly faithful to the deposit of truth. Christianity being a religion of peace, its disciples were necessarily preachers of peace; hence the first effort in any country was to reconcile quarrels, to compose differences, and to avert wars. The peaceful arts came to be cultivated

when they came to be honoured ; and war, except for a just cause, to be looked upon as an evil, and not as a glory.

Everywhere, and in all ages of the world's history, there have been men of great minds, who have left their impress for good or evil, not only on their own, but on succeeding generations. Happy for themselves and for posterity if their acts have been such as to leave a memory of benediction.

Many of the great towns of Europe owe their origin to the Christian monk, and many a tract of arid land owes its beauty and fertility to the labour of those whom ignorance has reproached with idleness, and prejudice with evil, while they were the greatest benefactors of mankind.

Cork owes its foundation to an early Christian monk,² and yet, through ignorance or prejudice, former historians of Cork have omitted this fact, as they have also omitted all but the most cursory reference to the early history of their own country.

St. Patrick landed in Ireland in the early part of the fifth century. He was soon surrounded by ardent and devoted converts, whose one desire was to lead their fellow countrymen to the one Faith ; and this being rapidly accomplished, each little colony of missionaries soon formed the nucleus of a religious establishment, where charity to the poor, devotional practices, and the increase of learning, were their daily occupation. The light of St. Patrick's Easter fire at Slane had extinguished the light of pagan fires. He passed from end to

2. This has been noticed by several writers. Windell says—Smith unwisely, and without any authority, attributes the founding of Cork to those Danish Vikings or Sea Kings, whose *devastation* in Ireland, for two centuries, are the sole subjects of many records relating to them. The erection of cities seem to have proved no part of their vocation.—*Windell's Cork and Killarney*, p. 3.

end of the kingdom sowing the good seed, if not in tears of blood, at least in tears of earnest desire, and never was harvest so rich or so abundant as the harvest of Patrick.

St. Patrick died A.D. 492, and it is probable that St. Finbar was born about this time. It is, at least, certain that his successor St. Nessan died in or about A.D. 1551.³ There are several ancient lives of the saint from which we learn much of his early history, and still more of his goodness and piety. St. Finbar belonged to the sept of the *Ui-bruin* who were descended from Brian, brother of Nial of the nine hostages. Their district lay to the north-east of the present town of Galway. His father, Amergin, who had not been born in lawful wedlock, came to the country of the *Ui Liathain*,³ where he was ollamh-smith to Tighernach, the prince of the territory of *Raithleann*.

The post of ollamh-smith was a very honourable one, and the artificer held high rank at court. Amergin placed his affections on a lady for whom the king had also conceived a passion, and when he found that she was with child his indignation knew no bounds. It was a custom of ancient *Erinn*, or a law, that a seducer should be burned alive, and if his victim was found with child, she suffered the same fate. Tighernach was determined to have his revenge, and he ordered a funeral pile to be prepared at once. The driest

3. The country of the *Ui Liathain* was very near Cork, and hence the saints' early associations were connected with that part of Munster. The tribe derived their name and origin from Eochaedh Laithernach. After the English invasion their territory was granted to Robert Fitzstephens, who granted it to Philip de Barry. The grant was confirmed by King John, who gave his son "the cantred of Olethan, Muscherie, Donegan, and Killede. The present village of Castleyons, or *Caislean Ui Laithain*, and the island called *Oilean Mor Arda Heinnidh*, were in *Ui Laithain*."—*Book of Rights*, p. 72. The Rev. Mr. Brennan has made a mistake in his Ec. History in saying that St. Finbar was born in Connaught. Possibly he did not consult original authorities.

wood was to be used, and the two were bound in chains and cast thereon.

"But Divine power prevented this [their being burned], for the elements obeyed God, resisting one another, lest that deed should be accomplished. For the fire was after a wonderful manner extinguished, as it were of wet stones, [though made] of the driest wood. God did this on account of the holy infant who was closed in his mother's womb."⁴

It is further related that the child spoke from his mother's womb to the prince, who was henceforth favourable to his parents.

Early Irish history is full of similar marvels, which are said to have happened to holy persons. We hear of St. Patrick raising the dead to life; and even of the dead crying out to him from their graves. The miracles related of St. Columba, St. Adamnan, and other saints, are equally wonderful.

To those who in our age unhappily believe neither in angel nor spirit, they are simply so many idle legends, sometimes beautiful for their quaint simplicity, and the *naiveté* with which they are related; at other times repulsive, as they are often strongly opposed to modern ideas of refinement. This is neither the time nor place to defend our ancient annalists, neither would it be of the slightest use to offer arguments for the consideration of those who have pre-determined to disbelieve all supernatural occurrences.

4. The MS. Life of St. Barrus, from the *Book of Kilkenny*—Marsh's Library. In the Life of St. Finbar (O'Curry's MS.) we read :—"The king commanded his people to tie and to fetter the two, and to build a fire, and to light a kiln, and to put them both into it. They did as the king commanded them, but God did not allow them to put them to death, for a great thunder, and a heavy fall of rain, and fiery flashes of lightning, and such an unusual storm of rain came at the time, that they were not able to light the fires, because the child who was then an infant in the womb of the noble lady was beloved of the Lord, i. e., the blessed Barra."

But it is difficult to see how those who do believe in revelation can refuse to believe in miracles. We by no means assert that all reputed miracles are to be received without question : this would be indeed rash, and very contrary to true faith ; but it is equally unwise to reject all such accounts, because they do not fall in with our pre-conceived ideas of what miracles should, or should not, be performed.

He, by whose power alone the miracles of Peter and the miracles of Patrick were performed, has His own designs, which we may not question.

We cannot tell why He has chosen the weak things of the world to confound the wise, or why He permits miracles to occur at one time and not at another, or to be performed on what may seem to us insufficient occasions, and to be denied when we think they ought to be granted. Yet it may be observed that the conversion of a whole nation, and of a nation of especially vivid perceptive powers, and strong affections, must have needed just the very kind of supernatural manifestations which the early annalists record.

With regard to these miracles, we simply give them as we find them, feeling that it would be neither wise to mark out any for rejection, or to indicate any for special acceptance. That many, perhaps that all, of these miraculous interventions did occur, we do not doubt, but the carelessness or credulity of transcribers may have altered, added, or even omitted in a way which no modern criticizer can possibly explain.

Amergin returned to his own territory after the birth of

his child. The *Book of Kilkenny* relates the circumstances thus :—

“ Afterwards they returned to their own territory, namely, the *Plain of Dunteon*, with their son rejoicing, and nourished their son diligently, and good morals wonderfully appeared in him.”

Three anchorites from South Munster came to Amergin’s house after the child was grown a little, and they observed his personal beauty, but still more the beauty of his faith, and they wished to have him for a disciple, because “the grace of God shone in his face.” Amergin replied favourably to their request, and on their return from a further journey they took him with them to the territory of the *Lageniaus*. On their way the child cried for milk at a place called *Muneyll Monaid*, and a hind stood still to be milked for him, “because the holiness of the boy rendered her quiet.”

“ At this miracle the seniors were amazed, and decided that his hair should be shaven in the name of the Lord, and that he should read the alphabet,⁵ and all that were there wondered at his capacity. The senior said : ‘That hair is beautiful which the servant of God has.’ Another senior said : ‘You have said well, because his name must be changed, and he shall be called *Fyndbarr*.’ ”

St. Brandon was at that time in the same place, and it is

5. St. Patrick was in the habit of distributing what his biographers call alphabets. It is very improbable that these alphabets were such as we ordinarily understand by that term. It has been suggested that they might have been some compendium of Catholic faith, such as the alphabetical poem which St. Augustine composed against the Donatists, or, perhaps, the Apostles’ Creed. In the *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, page 411, it says : “Patrick went frequently to Ciarraighe-Airne, where he met Ernaise and his son Soarn under a tree, and Patrick wrote an alphabet for him, and stayed a week with them, with his twelve men. And Patrick founded a church there, *et tenuit illum abbatem* (sic), *et fuli quidem spiritu sancto plenus.*” Then, again, in the *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, page 428 : “Then the holy bishop, Bron of Caiset Irra, and the holy Mac Rime, of Cill Coraraidhe; and there he wrote an alphabet for him.”

said that his disciples saw him "first weep and then smile," and that when they enquired the reason of this he replied :

" 'I will disclose [the cause] to you, most beloved sons, because I now smile [is] that on account of a certain little boy who now stands near us, God has wrought great miracles, and will still work more ; he himself is called Barrus (Barro), who will have great honour with God and men. But therefore I am sad on that account, because I have not obtained from God what I have privately asked of Him just now, but He granted it to that holy boy, he himself (the boy) not requesting it—namely, that He should grant me to remain in these peaceful territories, where my monks might live (be, literally) [or] in with peace after my death, because our habitation is on a confine, and there will be frequently contests and wars there, and well has my God afforded that boy a peaceful seat (or habitation), because he himself (the boy) will live very peacefully.'⁶

The senior then commenced building a cell; and desired Barrus to make but the foundation of it ; but he declined to do so, from respect to his senior, with that humility which was his especial characteristic. They at last prevailed on him to comply with their request, and he remained here until there came from Rome⁷ a wise and holy man, who was the alumnus of Gregory the Pope, and was skilled in ecclesiastical rules.

As we are not writing a Life of the Saint, we cannot enter more fully into his further wanderings or miracles. The Irish Life (O'Curry's MS.) says :—

" After St. Barra had built the church of *Achadh Duirb-*

6. MS. Book of Kilkenny.

7. Intercourse between Rome and Ireland was frequent from the days of Patrick, And devotion to the See of Peter was a marked characteristic of the early Irish Church. There is an immense mass of well authenticated documentary evidence to prove this.—See *Life of St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, pp. 69-149, etc.

chon, near Cuas Baira, he crossed the *Abhan Mor*⁸ to Cill-Chuana,⁹ and he built a church there, and remained there for some time, till two pupils of St. Ruadan of Lothra, *i.e.*, Cormac and Baoithin, came to him, and soon after Ruadan himself came to him there. After this Ruadan's pupils came to ask him for a place for themselves, and Ruadan said to them : 'Go forth to where the tongues of your bells will sound, and it is in that place your resurrection will be on the last day, and remain in that place.' They then went forth, till they reached Cill Cluana (the Church of Cluain), where Barra was, and the bells sounded there, and the clerics became very much disheartened, as they did not expect to get this church or place. Barra saw this, and said to them : 'Be not disheartened,' said he, 'for I will give up this church, and all the wealth and property that belonged to it, to God and to you.' And so Barra gave his church to them, and the above-named clerics remained in that church. And Barra built twelve churches more after this before he came to Cork, and gave them all in charity and love of God. And he was then led by the angel to where Cork is to-day, where he settled down in the seat of his résurrection."

When St. Finbar established his monastery at Cork, it was a low, marshy swamp.¹ The river Lee flowed through the centre of the plain, and when it overflowed its waters the whole country appeared like one vast lake, which was then called *Loch Irc*. It was at the source of this river that St. Finbar founded his first cell, in the beautiful and lovely district of *Lough Allua*, now known as Gougane-Barra (St. Barra or Finbar's rock cleft). Colgan says :—

"After these things, St. Barra came to a place which in the

8. Blackwater.

9. The cell or church of Cloyne.

1. The swamp of Cork was called *Corcach-Mor-Mumhan*, the "Great Marsh of Munster," now abridged to the one syllable "Cork."—*Joyce's Words and Places*, p. 446; *Archdall's Monasticon*, new edition, p. 110; and *Manuscript Lives*.

Irish language is called Lough-Eree, near which is constructed a monastery, to which, as to the abode of wisdom and sanctuary of all Christian virtues, disciples flowed in crowds from every quarter in so great numbers, through zeal of holiness, that, from the multitude of the monks and cells, it changed that desert as it were into a large city ; for from that school which he instituted there, numerous men came, remarkable for holiness of life and the praise of learning, amongst whom were conspicuous St. Eulangius or Eulogius, the instructor of St. Barra himself ; St. Colman of Dore Dhunchon, St. Bathinus, St. Nessan, St. Garbhan, son of Findbarr ; St. Talmach, St. Finchad of Rossailithir, St. Lucerus, St. Cumanus, St. Lochinus of Achadh-airaid, St. Carinus, St. Fintanus of Roscoerach, St. Euhel de Roscoerach, St. Trellanus of Druimdraigniche, St. Coelchuo, St. Mogenna, St. Modimochus, St. Sanetanus, and St. Lugerius, son of Columb. All these, and many others, that come from that very celebrated school, by the merits of holiness and virtue, constructed cells in different places, and consecrated themselves and all these to St. Barra, their father and master, and his successors."

The Kilkenny MS. is full of beautiful and touching details of the saint. It is said that he and Bishop Macruiss were consecrated by angels, and that in token of this miracle "much oil broke forth from the earth near the altar, until it covered the shoes of those that were standing there."

After the death of "his master," St. Macruiss, St. Finbar did not know who he should have for his father confessor,² so he determined to go to the "holy senior," St. Colman, and ask him to be his spiritual guide, or to advise him who he should choose for this important office. St. Colman was

2. Literally, "the father of his confessor." There are some valuable and important ecclesiastical canons preserved in the *Leabhar Mor Duna Doighre*, in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, such as canons on "Hearing Mass on a Sunday," on "Confession and Absolution," concerning the "Duties of the Parish Priest and his Flock," etc. This is a very ancient MS., and is written on vellum.

made aware supernaturally of his coming. Contentions of humility commenced, and St. Colman obtained at last that his “resurrection”³ might be in the same place as that of St. Barrus, and then surrounded by saints and angels, the one saint heard the confession of the other.

When St. Finbar found his end approaching he stole away secretly from Cork, so that he might die at Cloyne, and here he went to his reward. His remains were then carried to Cork, where they were encased in a silver shrine, and where they were venerated by the faithful. Here they remained till 1089, when Dermod O’Brien devastated Cork and carried them away.

So many holy men wished to be buried in Cork, that St. Aengus⁴ wrote about the year 800 :—

“ Seventeen holy bishops, and seven hundred favoured servants of God, who rest in Cork with Barri and Nessan, whose names are written in the heavens—all these I invoke into mine aid, through Jesus Christ.”

And he further invokes all the saints who by their prayers and penitential deeds had sanctified that district :—

“ Three hundred and fifty holy bishops, three hundred and fifty priests, three hundred and fifty deacons, three hundred and fifty exorcists, three hundred and fifty lectors, three

3. It is very remarkable in reading early Irish history how special places were selected for burial, or, as it was more poetically called, for “the place of resurrection.” This explains the passionate desire that many of the Irish have for burial in particular places.

4. The *Felire*, or “Festology” of Aengus, is preserved in the *Leabhar Mor Duna Doighre*, which was compiled about the year 1400. Aengus wrote between 793 and 817. His poem consists of a stanza for every day in the year. Aengus was well read both in Holy Scripture and in the sacred and profane literature of his time. The Circumcision of our Lord is placed at the head of the Festivals, and the poem begins thus, showing how the saints are to be honoured in and for God :—

“ At the head of the congregated saints
Let the King take the front place ;
Unto the noble dispensation did submit
Christ, on the kalends of January.”

hundred and fifty ostiarii, and all the saints, with the blessing of God, in Loch Eirchi, in the territory of Muscraighe and Hy-Eachach Cruadha, as is said :

‘The protection of Loch Irchi,
In which is a sweet-toned bell :
Numerous as leaves upon trees
Are the saints who around it dwell.’

All these I invoke to my aid, through Jesus Christ.”

According to several accounts, St. Gregory the Great predicted the advancement of St. Finbar to the episcopate when he made a pilgrimage to Rome with SS. Colgu, Macdhoe, and David, and twelve religious of his own community.

St. Finbar was eminently distinguished for his charity, and in the poetical language of the annalist he is described as

“Blooming sweet to the poor,”

and he has certainly left his spirit after him to the people of his heart.

His fame spread far and wide in the early Irish Church. St. Cuimin of Connor, in his poem on the characteristic virtues of our saints, writes :—

“Fin-Barr, the torch of wisdom, loved
Humility towards all men ;
He never saw in pressing distress
Any one whom he would not relieve.”

In the ancient list of Irish saints, which illustrates their lives by comparison with the saints of other nations, St. Finbar, who is styled “Bishop of Munster and Connaught,” is placed in parallel with St. Augustine, the apostle of England.

The martyrology of Donegal marks St. Bairre’s Festival on the 25th of September. The martyrology of Tallaght on that day gives the Feast of Barrind Corcaine, but adds, on the 26th of September, *vel hic* Barrind Corcaine. In the famous

Catalogue of the "Three Orders of Irish Saints," published by Fleming and Usher, the name of St. Barrindeus appears among the saints of the second order. Marianus O'Gorman, in his "Metrical Martyrology," prays :—

" May the noble Baire from Corcach
Be before me to the great land.
For he is blooming-sweet to the poor."

St. Ængus, in his *Felire*, also commemorates, on the 25th of September—

" The solemnity of the beloved man,
The festival of Bairre from Corcagh."

And the note is added in the Seabhar Breac :—

" This is the Festival of Bairre from Corcach. He was of the race of Brian, son of Eochaidh Muidhmhedhoinn, and it is in Achadh Cill-Clochair, or Drochait, in Airdh-Uladh on this day with Bairre."

There is evidently an omission in this note, which is thus supplied in the Roman MS. of the *Felire* :—

" Of the race of Brian Mac Eochaidh M. was Bairre of Córcach, and it is in Achadh Cill-Clochair, or at Drochait, in Airdh-Uladh, that his festival is kept ; or it is the Feast of Tomchadh that is kept in Cill-Clochair, at Ard-Uladh, on this day with Bairre."

Two ancient Latin lives of St. Finbar were published by Dr. Caulfield in 1864. In the Irish Life preserved in the Bussells' MSS. the virtues of the saint are thus enumerated :

" His humility, his piety, his charity, his abstinence, his prayers by day and night, won him great privileges : for he was godlike and pure of heart and mind, like Abraham ; mild and well-doing, like Moses ; a psalmist, like David ; wise, like Solomon ; firm in the faith, like Peter ; devoted to the truth, like Paul the Apostle ; and full of the Holy Spirit, like John the Baptist. He was a lion of strength, and an orchard full of apples of sweetness. When the time of his death

arrived, after erecting churches and monasteries to God, and appointing over them bishops, priests, and other degrees, and baptising and blessing districts and people, Barra went to Kill-na-Cluana (*i.e.*, Cloyne), and with him went Fiana, at the desire of Cormac and Baoithin, where they consecrated two churches. Then he said, ‘It is time for me to quit this corporeal prison, and to go to the Heavenly King, who is now calling me to Himself.’ And then Barra was confessed and received Holy Sacrament from the hand of Fiana, and his soul went to heaven at the cross which is in the middle of the church of Cloyne ; and there came bishops, priests, monks, and disciples, on his death being reported, to honour him. And they took him to Cork, the place of his resurrection, honouring him with psalms and hymns and spiritual songs ; and the angels bore his soul with joy unspeakable to heaven, to the company of the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and disciples of Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.”⁵

It has already been remarked that the pre-Christian Celt was strongly attached to learned men, and as a necessary consequence set a high value on learning. There is a long and important tract in the *Book of Ballymote*⁶ on this subject. It is called the *Leabhar Ollamhan*, or “ Book of the Learned Men,” and gives directions for a course of study which was to continue for twelve years. The poem contains one quatrain which runs thus :—

“ It is no palace without kings ;
He is no poet without stories ;
She is no virgin if not modest ;
He has no good sense who does not read.”

Thus when the Christian monks began to found schools

5. Archdall’s Monasticon, new edition, p. 111.

6. “ This little volume, though defective in a few places, still consists of 502 pages of the royal folio vellum. It was written by different persons, but chiefly by Solomon O’Droma and Manus O’Duigenaun, at Ballymote, Co. Sligo, about the year 1391.”—O’Curry’s MS., *Materials of Irish History*, p. 188.

they had no difficulty in obtaining scholars, for they had to do with a people singularly eager for instruction. One of the most famous of the many famous men connected with St. Finbar's schools or college in Cork was *Coleman O'Cluasiaghe*, the *Fer-leighinn*, or "head master." O'Cluasiaghe was a poet, and some of his poems are happily still extant as a specimen of the literary ability of Corkmen in the seventh century. A fragment of a few lines remains which were written in honour of his pupil St. Cumain Foda, son of Fiochna, king of West Munster, who was bishop of Clonfert, and died in 661. He says :—

"The Luimneach did not bear on its bosom, of race of Munster unto
Leath-Chuinn,
A corpse in a boat so precious as he, as Cumine, son of Fiochna.
If any one went across the sea, to sojourn at the seat of Gregory [Rome],
If from Ireland, he requires no more than the mention of Cumine Foda.
I sorrow after Cumine, from the day that his shrine was covered ;
My eyelids have been dropping tears ; I have not laughed, but mourned
since the lamentation at his barque."

An important poem, by the Cork monk, is happily preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, in the ancient *Liber Hymnorum*.⁷ The hymn was written as a "shield of protection" against the ravages of the Buidhechair, or "yellow disease," which raged in Ireland about 664. The poem begins thus :—

7. "This is an important piece," says Mr. O'Curry, "with respect to ecclesiastical, if not general, history, as it distinctly shows that the teaching of the ancient Catholic Church of Ireland was on the doctrine of the Invocation of the Saints ; the same, from the very infancy of the faith, as it has unswervingly continued from that time to the present day. The *Liber Hymnorum*—a MS. written in a magnificent Irish hand, and splendidly illuminated—is now eleven or twelve hundred years old, and with its arguments or prefaces to each of the hymns contained in it, and the scholia with which it is thickly enriched, is certainly one of the most valuable ecclesiastical documents in Europe. The late Rev. Dr. Todd, of Trinity College, commenced the translation of the work."—*O'Curry's Lectures*, vol. 2, p. 90.

"The blessing of God come upon us ;
 May the Son of Mary screen us,
 May He protect us this night,
 Wherever we go—though great our numbers."

The writer then invokes the intercession of the patriarchs, the apostles, the Blessed Virgin Mary, Saint Joseph, Saint Stephen, and many other saints of the New Testament, by name.

Before passing to secular history, we must give some brief account of another saint—*St. Molagga*, or “Laicin,” patron of Tegh-Mollagga. His parents lived at a place called *Clock-Lia-thm mine*,⁸ in the neighbourhood of Fermoy. His father, Dubkligh, was descended from the famous druid, Maigh ruith. But his parents were good Christians, who devoted their lives to laborious occupations, and accepted with resignation the will of God, which deprived them of offspring. One day, as they were sowing flax seed “on the south side of the highway,” St. Cummin Fota and St. Comdham passed by, with a number of priests. The saint enquired of the aged couple if they had any children, and on their replying that they had not, he predicted that they should yet have a son, “who would be a glorious and shining light in his generation;” and it was further added, that he should devote himself to literature in *Inlach-mhin* in *Ardriure*. The holy couple, it is said, appeared to renew their youth from this moment, and in seven months’ time the saint was born.⁹

The child was baptised by St. Cummin, and it is said that

8. Identified by Dr. O'Donovan as Clogh-lia-Money, in the parish of Kilgullane, and barony of Fermoy.

9. We are indebted to the *Lives of Irish Saints*, by the Rev. John O'Hanlon, for the above. The labours of Father O'Hanlon have placed him in the first rank as a hagiologist and a scholar, and his name will be handed down to posterity with veneration.

a well of water sprung up miraculously for the purpose, and that angels assisted at the ceremony.

There is some difficulty in identifying some of the sites mentioned in the Life of St. Molagga, but it is supposed that the site of his monastery was in the parish of *Teampul Molagga*, though other authorities say that his church lay about a mile to the north-east of Kildorrery, on a bend of the river Funcheon, at present the site of a considerable ruin. There are the townlands called Labha Molagga East, Labha Molagga West, and Labha Molagga Middle—a sufficient evidence of the high estimation in which the saint was held in ancient times. There is a ruined church in Labha Molagga Middle: these ruins are of great antiquity, and date back to the seventh century. The masonry is cyclopean and massive—in itself a sufficient evidence of its age. Here there is a kind of kist, consisting of a large flag stone, standing on two side stones, and having an open space underneath, which is known as “St. Molagga’s bed,” and by lying in this grave many pilgrims are said to have been cured of their diseases. Towards the north there are the ruins of another and larger church, but of a later date.¹

After many wanderings, which we have not space to record, St. Molagga returned to his native country, at the earnest request of the people of Fermoy. They are said to have offered him as a tribute every year a *screapall*² from each person, with fifty cows as a tribute from all; or, according to another account:—

1. Lives of the Saints, by Rev. J. O’Hanlon, vol. I, p. 342; and Windell’s MS. Topography of the Co. Cork.

2. A *screapall* was three pinginns or pennies, and a pinginn was the weight of eight, or, according to some authorities, twenty-five grains of wheat, “grown in good land.”

" Molagga is entitled to get
 From the men of *Muigh* of gentle rules
 Fifty white cows, ever fruitful,
 Every successive year."

The saint was honoured on his return with acclamations of joy, and continued doing good to all men, poor and rich alike, until the close of his holy and useful life. When the plague of the *Buidhe Chonniel* had swept away the inhabitants, so that only thirty-three men and twenty-eight women were saved, by the grace of God, through his intercession, they escaped the plague, and in a few years had so multiplied that the population amounted to nine hundred. That his name was held in high honour in this part of Munster was a necessary consequence.

The Martyrology of Tallaght records his " birth day " (*natalis*) the 20th of January, for in ancient Erinn, as in the early Christian Church at Rome, death was looked upon as the birth to a new and happy life.

The memory of the saint is still venerated in many places in the South of Ireland. At Timoleague, where a noble Franciscan abbey was erected in the thirteenth century, St. Molagga is said to have founded a church also. According to tradition he was buried at Leabha Mologga, and his feast was kept both at *Trulach-Mhin* in Munster, and at *Lannbeehuir* in Leinster.

The place called *Ath-Cros-Molaga*, between Mitchelstown and Kildorrery, Co. Cork, is named after him, and *Eidham Molaga* was the ancient name for St. Molagga's Church near Marshalstown, Co. Cork.

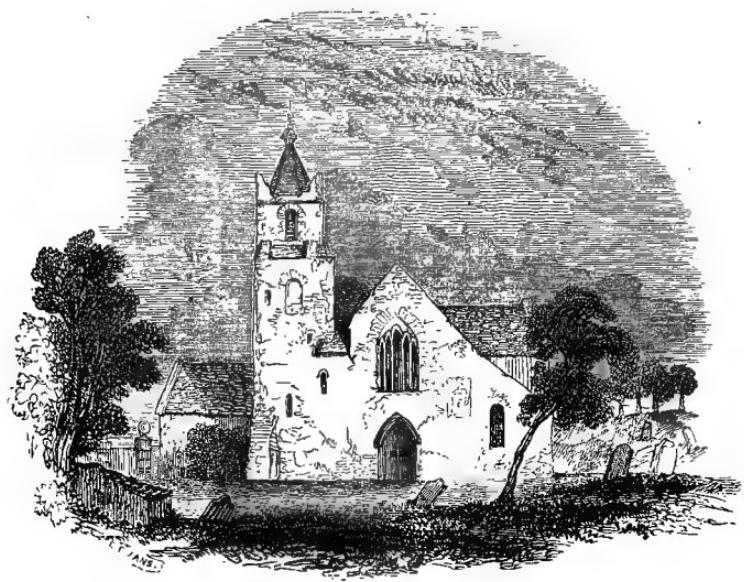
CHAPTER IV.

THE DANISH INVASION.

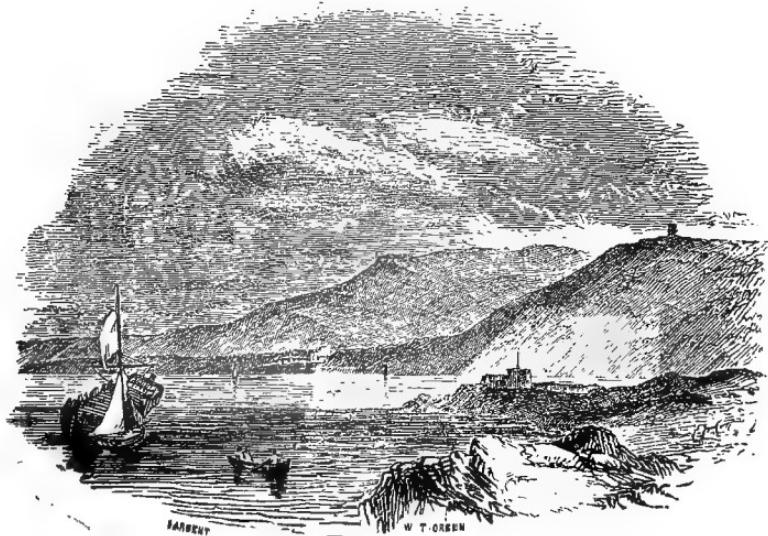
Foundation of the City of Cork by St. Finbar—Peace and Plenty for Two Hundred and Fifty Years—Situation of the Abbey of St. Finbar—Extract from Mr. MacCarthy's Lecture—Death of Sweeny, Bishop Prince of Cork—Cruel injustice of the English noticed by Bede—Death of Roisseni, Abbot of Great Cork, 685—The first Danish invasion—Cloyne and Ross devastated—*Cogadh Gall re Guedhil*—Extracts from this Work—Cork plundered—Innishannon, on the river Bandon—Curious prophecies—Bec-Mac-De—Prophecy of St. Bercan—Death of *Cucaech*, Abbot of Cloyne—Death of the Abbot of Kinneigh—Carbery—Rosscarbery—the Wood of the Pilgrims—Cork burned again—*Bri-Gobhann* (Brigown) plundered—Drowning of Turgesius, the Danish champion—Slaughter of the Danes by the men of Munster—Plunder of Cloyne, Ross, and Kenmare—Fight between the Black and White Gentiles—Death of Columb, Abbot of Cork—The Abbots of Cork and Lismore mortally wounded by the Danes—Death of another Abbot of Cork—Forty years of comparative quiet—The men of Youghal gain a great victory over the Danes—Cork plundered A.D. 877—Death of Reachtaidh, the learned Bishop of Cloyne—The Prior and Abbot of Cloyne slain by the Danes—Death of Arggatann, Abbot of "Great Cork"—A Famine—The Abbot of *Trian* Cork falls in battle with the Danes—The men of Fermoy burn the Danish camp—Death of the Abbot of Cork, "Head of the Monks of Ireland," A.D. 915—The Danes settle in Cork—The "nose" tax.

ND so the city of Cork was founded by the monks of Finbar; and for some two hundred and fifty years it was the abode of learning, of peace, and of plenty.

The Abbey of St. Finbar was situated in the suburb now called Gill Abbey, and strangely enough the present Queen's College is near the old site. The little lake called the Lough still remains to give evidence of the vast lake or morass cleared and cultivated by the toiling, patient monks, through whom Cork became a centre of civilization to Southern Ireland, and even to distant lands.



Church of St. Multose, in Kinsale.



Berehaven



"The Abbey of Cork," says a recent writer, "was a sort of outpost in the work of Christianization. Dungarvan owes its name, and Waterford its Christianity, to Brother Garvan, of the Abbey of Cork ; Brother Coleman became the Missioner Bishop and Patron Saint of Cloyne ; Brother Fachnan, of Ross ; Brother Nessan, of Mungret ; another Coleman, of Ossory ; Brother Brian, of St. Brienne, in France ; and in the North of Scotland brave sons of St. Finnbarra gave his patronage to the city of Caithness, and his name to the island of Barra."³

And, he adds, with a noble eloquence worthy of his ancient name :—

"The Cork University was one of these great Irish schools which were the glory of the time. I think it is as well proved as anything in history that these schools were glorious. Shrewd old Sam Johnson thought so ; and he had no prejudices in favour of Ireland. So did Bellarmine and Muratoria ; Mabillon and Denina ; Mosheim, Scaliger, and Niebuhr ; Schlegel, Görres, and Döllinger ; Cousin, Thierry, and Michelet ; Hallam, Newman, and Macaulay. It seems safe to conclude that they were not all mistaken. Civilization had, to use Görres' happy phrase, taken up its 'winter quarters' in Ireland. Winter times it certainly had of it throughout Europe. The Roman Empire of the West had fallen. The various tribes of the North had settled down amidst the ruins : the Angles and Saxons in Britain ; the Franks in Gaul ; the Goths in Germany ; the Vandals and Lombards in Italy ; the Huns in Rome itself. Of course the old inhabitants were terrified, and had cause to be so. Equally, of course, the conquerors scarce knew what to do with themselves. But Ireland remained uninvaded. As she had escaped the eagles of the South, so she had hitherto escaped the ravens of the North. And just then her keen Keltic intellect had seized, together with the truths of Christianity, all the secular learning of the time. Her abbeys had recently been founded : her schools opened. Hither fled the timid for safety, and the

3. Lecture on the History of Cork, by John George MacCarthy, M.P.

learned for leisure, bringing with them their best books and finest tastes. Hither also came the aspiring and inquisitive. The Romanic citizen sent his sons to the schools of Erin for the culture which had become almost impossible at home, and the sons of the conquerors sought from the gentle and scholarly Kelt the instruction they would have disdained from the men whom their race had subdued. The occasion was a great one; and our fathers were equal to it. They received students from all lands; they went to all lands to teach. To them Alfred came to learn; from them Charlemagne received professors. Ireland became, as Johnson said, ‘the school of the West.’ Scaliger writes that at this period nearly all the learned were of Ireland. The Universities of Oxford, Paris, and Pavia were of Irish origin. There is scarcely an important continental city, from Palermo to Cologne, in which some Irish saint and scholar is not still reverenced. It was of this great movement that the University of Cork took part; and it was thus that in the old days, by the banks of our old river, the olive-tinted son of the South met the blue-eyed Saxon, Hun read with Gaul, Angle with Iberian, and all with O’Mahons from Drohid-Mahon, O’Driscolls of Inberscheine, O’Sullivan Beare, and O’Sullivans of Bantriagh, and O’Sullivans of Dunkerron, MacGillicuddys and O’Donoghues of the far West, and MacCarthys, to whom every tribe owed allegiance, from the Shannon to the Lee.”

In the age of Christ 680 the Four Masters have an entry of the death of St. Finbar’s successor, thus:—

“The seventh year of Finachta; Suibhne, son of Maelmhuha, successor of Bairre of Corcach, died.”⁴

In the year 680, the Annals of Clonmacnoise record “extreme great wind and earthquakes in Ireland,” and add:

4. In the Annals of Ulster his death is entered at the year 681, and in the Annals of Clonmacnoise at 677. Thus: A.D. 681—Obitus Suibue Filii, Maelduin Principis, Corcaige—Ann. Ult.

“A.D. 677, Swyne Mac Moyle, bishop prince of Cork, died *An. Clon.* The true year is 682, as marked by Tighernach.”—*Four Masters*, vol. i, p. 287.

"The Saxons, the plains of Moyebrey, with divers churches, wasted and destroyed in the month of June, for the alliance of the Irish with the Brittons."

Bede⁵ speaks strongly of the "cruel injustice done by the English to that inoffensive nation [the Irish], which had always been most friendly to the English."

In the year 684 "there was a terrible mortality of all animals, and a great frost, so that the lakes and rivers of Ireland were frozen, and the sea between Ireland and Scotland was frozen, so that there was a communication between them on the ice."

Adamman went to "Saxon land" to request a restoration of the prisoners, and obtained the act of justice by the "wonders and miracles" which he performed.

In 685 Roisseni, another abbot of "great Cork," died.

It was well for him that he had gone to his peaceful rest, so that he did not live to see the terrible desolation which was so soon to overspread the land.

The Annals of Ulster record the first ravages of the Northmen under the year 794, thus :—

"794. The burning of Rechru by Gentiles, and its shrines were broken and plundered."

This was the beginning of desolation. The Four Masters give the same record under the year 790, which Dr. O'Donovan corrects to 795. The one object of the Danes was plunder; therefore the churches and monasteries were the first subjects of attack. The great wealth of the nation was still in herds and flocks; but on their sacred shrines all that was of

5. Ec. Hist. lib. iv., c. 26.

portable value had been offered to God by the piety of the people.

The first Danish invasion met with stout resistance at *Loch Lein* (Killarney), where the Eoganachts repulsed them with considerable slaughter.

But the booty, of which they had more than a glimpse, was too tempting to be lost without further effort, and another invasion was planned and carried out in 822, during the reign of Fedhlimedh, son of Crimthann, King of Munster.

This invasion was directed to the South of Ireland, and took a range from Cork to Wexford Bay.

Cork, Inis Temhni,⁶ Begere, Cloyne, and Ros-Maclain were each visited and plundered.

The Danes, as the Four Masters graphically express it, "marched escorted by fire." A French writer says when they had desolated shrines and sanctuaries they would cry out, "We have sung the mass of the lances."

The native annalists speak of them with a horror that seems almost exaggerated, and which we need a full knowledge of their evil deeds to appreciate.

In the *Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaell*⁷ the narrative

6. Neither *Inis Temhni* nor *Ros-Maclain* have been satisfactorily identified. *Inis Temhni* or *Inis Doimhli*, called also *Inis Uladh*, because the Ulstermen dwelt there, is probably in the Suir, near Waterford, now called Little Island. See *Four Masters*, A.D. 960, and the *Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaell*, p. xxxvii., *Introduction*.

Rosmaclain is now perhaps Rostellan, a parish in the barony of Imokilly, Co. Cork. Begere Island is in Wexford Harbour.

7. This is one of the most important and valuable of our early Irish historical narratives. It is called *Cogadh Gall re Gaedhil*—the War of the Danes (or Galls) with the Gaedhil (or Irish). A perfect copy of this work, in the handwriting of the Franciscan Friar, Brother Michael O' Cleary, was found by Mr. O'Curry in the Brussels collection of Irish MSS. in 1846. An ancient but much soiled and imperfect copy was also found in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. The ancient pamphlet, Mr. O'Curry thinks, is as old as the date of the Battle of Clontarf, at which the Danish power was finally broken. See *MS. Materials of Irish History*, p. 231.

opens thus, and we give the original, as it contains the names of the Kings of Munster during this period :—

“ There was an astonishing and awfully great oppression over all Erinn, throughout its breadth, by powerful azure Gentiles, and by fierce hard-hearted Danars, during a lengthened period, and for a long time, namely, for the space of eight score and ten years, or two hundred, according to some authorities : that is to say, from the time of Airtri, son of Cathal, son of Finguine, to the time of Brian, son of Cannidegh, and from the reign of Aedh, son of Niall Frassach, son of Ferghal, to Maelsechlainn, son of Domhnall. There were eighteen kings in Cashel during that time. These are their names, viz. :—Airtri, son of Cathal, son of Finguine ; and Feidhlimedh, son of Criomhthann ; Olchobhar, son of Cinaeth ; Ailgenan, son of Dungal ; Maelguala, son of Dungal ; Cennfaeladh, son of Murchadh ; Dounchadh, son of Dubhdabhoirenn ; Dubhlachtua, son of Maelguala ; Finguine, son of Laeghaire, surnamed Cenngegain ; Cormac, son of Cuilennan ; Flaithbhertach, son of Toumhainen ; Lorcan, son of Connligan ; Cellachan, son of Buadhachan ; Mailfathartaigh, son of Brian ; Dubhdabhoirenn, son of Domhnall ; Fergraith, son of Clerech ; Dounchadh, son of Cellach ; Mathghamhain, son of Cenneidigh ; and Brian, son of Cenneidigh. But in Temhair, there were twelve kings during the same period, namely :—Aedh Oirdnidhe, son of Niall Frassach ; Conchobar, son of Dounchadh ; Niall, son of Aedh Maelsechlainn, son of Maelruanaidh ; Aedh Finnleath Flann, son of Maelsechlainn ; Niall Glundubh Dounchadh, son of Flann ; Coughalach, son of Maelmithigh ; Domhnall, grandson of Niall ; Maelsechlinn, son of Domhnall ; and Brian, son of Conneidigh. During the time of those kings and chieftains much hardship and oppression, contempt and indignity, fatigue and weakness, were submitted to by the learned and accomplished nobles of the Gaedhil, from pirate Dannarcachs and barbarous robbers. It was in the time of Airtri, son of Cathal, and of Aedh, son of Niall, that the foreigners first began the devastation of Erinn ; for it was in their time the foreigners came into Camas o-Fothaidh Tire—

viz., an hundred and twenty ships, and the country was plundered and devastated by them, and Inis Labrainn and Dairinis were burned by them. And the Eoganachts of Loch Lein gave them battle, when four hundred and sixteen men of the foreigners were killed. This was the year after that in which Diman of Aradh was killed, and ten years after the death of Airtri, son of Cathal.⁸

It is said that the Danish invasion was the subject of one of St. Columcille's "prophecies." The Book of Leinster contains a quatrain attributed to him on the subject, which runs thus :—

" Those ships upon Loch Ree,
Well do they magnify the pagan foreigners ;
They will give an abbot to Ardmacha ;⁹
His will be the rule of a tyrant."

The North was plundered next, and then Cork came in for another and yet more terrible visitation. Dundermuighe, near Kinsale, and *Inis Eoganain*, on the river Bandon, were plundered.

According to the authors of the *Wars of the Gaedhil and the Gaell*, Ciaran of Saigher had foretold the desolation of Ireland by the Danes : "that is, a party of them [in punishment] for the banishment of Columcille ; a party of them for

8. *Wars of the Gaedhil*, pp. 4-5. The kings of Munster are called kings *in Caisel* or Cashel, and of Ireland are called of Tára, this being nominally the seat of government, though long since deserted. *Camas o-Fothaidh Tire*, called by Keating the "Fair Island of *Ui Fothaidh*," was probably in the territory of *Corca Luighe*, south-west of the present Co. Cork, but the identification is doubtful. See *Miscellany of the Celtic Society*, and *Four Masters*.

9. Turgesius did actually proclaim himself Abbot of *Ardmacha* (Armagh), and he made his wife head of the Abbey of Clonmacnoise. She is said to have given her orders seated on the altar.

1. "The Fort of the Oak Plain." The visitation is thus recorded in the Book of Leinster :—"By them (*i.e.*, the Danes) were demolished Dun-der Maigi and Inis Eoganian (Owens Island], now Innishannon, on the river Bandon. The large *dun* from which Dunderan takes its name is still in existence.

the insult to [Ciaran] himself at *Tailten*; and a party for the fasting of the apostles at *Temair* [Tara].

This prophecy was further sung by the poet *Bec-Mac-De*, who said :—

“ When the bell was rung in warm Tailltin,
 Ciaran the old, the wealthy, of Saigher,
 Promised [to Erinn] that three times there should be
 Parties of Danars of the black ships.”

And by St. Bercan² :—

“ Gentiles shall come over the soft sea ;
 They shall confound the men of Erinn ;
 Of them there shall be an abbot over every church ;
 Of them there shall be a king over Erinn.

“ Seven years shall they be ; nor weak their power
 In the high sovereignty of Erinn,
 In the abbacy of every church,
 The black Gentiles of Dubhlinn.

“ There shall be of them an abbot over this my church,
 Who will not attend to matins
 Without Pater and without Credo :
 Without Irish, but only foreign language.”

Under the year 820 the Four Masters enter “the plundering of *Inis-Doimhle* of Corcach by the Gentiles.” Under the year 821 they enter the death of *Cucae*, Abbot of *Cluain-namha*³ and of Forbhasach, successor of Bairre of Corcach (Cork).

2. St. Bercan, called by the writer of the *Wars of the Gaedhil* “chief prophet of heaven and earth.” St. Bercan was of *Cluain Sosta* (Clonsort), King’s County. *Bec-Mac-De*, or “Mac Degadh,” was a celebrated Irish prophet. His name occurs in the Martyrology of Donegal, at Oct. 12. He is said to have flourished in the sixth century. *Bec* was an original whenever he lived. His prophecies and sayings are preserved in an ancient vellum MS. in the British Museum (Harleian, 5,280). O’Curry is of opinion that all these prophecies are doubtful. The Four Masters enter his death under the year 557. His name probably was appended to predictions which he never entered.

3. “The Lawn or Meadow of the Cave,” near Cloyne, Co. Cork. (*See article Cloyne.*)

In the year 824, Conmmach, son of Saerghus, Abbot of *Rosailithir*,⁴ died. Under the year 850 we find the death of *Condith*, Abbot of Rosailithir, and of Toobhasach, son of Maelindhin, Abbot of Cill-mor-Cinnech.⁵

Under the year 837 the *Chronicum Scotorum* enters terrible ravages effected by the Danes :—

“A fleet of three score ships of Norsemen on the Boinn. Another fleet of three score ships on the river Liffe. These two fleets ravaged Magh Life and Magh Bregh, both churches and territories. A victory gained by the men of Bregh over the Gentiles, of whom six score were slain. A battle gained by Gentiles over the Ui Neill, from Tubher-Na-Mbarc, from the sea to the Sinuinn, in which such slaughter was inflicted as had never before been reckoned, but the chief kings escaped.

“ Burning of Cluain-Muc-Nois, and Inis Celtra, and all the churches of Loch Erne, and Daimhinis destroyed by Gentiles. The killing of Saxolb, Lord of the Foreigners, by the Cean-nachta. A slaughter of Gentiles at Carn-Feradhaigh. The victory of the Ferta gained by Gentiles. A slaughter of Gentiles at Eas-ruaidh. The first taking of Ath-sliath by Gentiles. Cormac, son of Cuillennan, was born. Cathal, son of Muirghe, King of Connacht, moritur.

“ Kal. Ruaidhri, son of Donnchadh, Vice-Abbot of Cluain-Traird, and Tanist Abbot of Cluain-muc-nois, quievit. A battle gained by Gentiles over the Connachtmen, in which fell Maelduin, son of Muirghe, and other, Bran, son of Faelan, King of Laighen, mortuus.

“ Kal. Muiredhach, son of Eochaidh, King of Uladh, murdered by his brothers, viz., Ædh and Ængus, and others. Foreigners on Loch Echach, so that they devastated the North

4. Ros-ailithir, “the Wood of the Pilgrims,” now Rosscarbery. (*See* Rossbarry.)

5. The great church of *Ceann-eide*. This was probably Ceameich [Kinneigh], near the village of Inniskeen, in the barony of Carbery, Co. Cork, where there are the remains of a round tower.

of Erinn, both churches and territories Burning of Ferna
and Corcach by Gentiles.”⁶

A host of three score and five ships landed at *Dubhlinn of Ath-cliath*⁷ about 873, and so rapid were their movements that the annalists describe them as “great sea-cast floods of foreigners,”⁸ and say that there was not “a point of Erinn without a fleet.”

They plunder *Bri Gobhann*⁹ in the Co. Cork, *Cill Ita*, and *Cuil Emhni* by a fleet which landed in *Ciarraige Luachra*, Co. Kerry.

Turgesius, the great Danish champion, was drowned in *Loch Uair*¹⁰ by *Mael Sechlainn*, the King of Meath, who soon afterwards became Monarch of Ireland. He was the successor of *Feidh Limidh*, King of Munster, of whom a very contradictory story is told. The *Chronicum Scotorum* describes him as “the best of the Scotti,” as “a scribe and an anchorite,” and puts his quievit in 847, with this quatrain :—

“Alas ! O God ! for Feidhlimedh ;
The cold wave of death has drowned him ;
It is a cause of grief to the men of Erinn
That the son of Crimthann of Claire lives not.”

6. *Chronicum Scotorum*, p. 141. The *Chronicum Scotorum* was compiled by *Dubhchtach Mac Firbhisigh* (Duala Mac Firbris) from ancient sources, about the middle of the seventeenth century.

7. *Dublinn of Ath-Cliath*—“Black Pool of the Ford of Bundles”—the ancient name of Dublin. This invasion is put under 836 by the *Four Masters* and *Annals of Ulster*.

8. *Wars of the Gaedhil and the Gaell*, p. 15.

9. *Bri-Gobhann*—“Hill of the Smith”—now Brigown, Co. Cork.

10. *Loch Uair*, now Loughowle, near Mullingar, in the county of Westmeath. There are some very curious stories told about the same drowning, or rather about the capture which preceded it—see *Illustrated History of Ireland*. The *Annals of Ulster* enter it under the year 844; the *Annals of Clonmacnoise* under 842. The *Chronicum Scotorum* graphically, and with manifest satisfaction, has it thus :—“Turges was taken prisoner by *Mael Sechlain*, son of *Machruanaidh*; and Turges was drowned in *Loch Uair*”—page 147. The *Four Masters* attribute his death, with thankfulness, to have occurred “through the miracle of God and Cearan.”—*Four Masters*, p. 469.

Plundering of Termon of Ciaran by Feidhlimidh, son of Caimthann. Ciaran, however, followed him to Mumhan, and [gave] him a thrust of his crozier, so that he received an internal wound.

The Danes met with strong opposition more than once in the South of Ireland. They were slaughtered at *Ard-Tera-daigh* by the men of middle Munster, and they were opposed by the "South of Ireland,"² the men of Cork and Kerry, who were commanded by Donnchadh, and by *Clochna*, Lord of *Corca-Laighe*.³ Both were slain, even in the hour of victory.⁴

In 836 *Cenain-Mor* (Cloyne), *Ros-Ailithir*, and *Cenn-mare* (Kenmare) were all plundered. Indeed, places were plundered so frequently and persistently by each succeeded raid, that one wonders how anything could have been left to take away.

The Danes were divided into two parties, the Black Gentiles (*Dubhgáill*), and the *Finngall*, or White Gentiles. The White or Azure Gentiles were Norwegians, and their power was considerably broken after the death of Turgesius.

The Black Gentiles arrived in Dublin in 852, and commenced their depredations by a tremendous conflict with the White Gentiles. This important event is thus recorded in the *Chronicum Scotorum* :—

"A fleet of eight score ships of *Finn Ghenti* arrived to fight against the *Dubh Ghenti*, at *Suamh Aigneal*."

Under the same year they enter the death of an Abbot of Cork—"Colum, son of Airechtach, Abbot of Cork, quievit."

2. *Chronicum Scotorum*, p. 19.

3. *Corca Laighe*, "the Country of the O'Driscolls." *Ui Edriscoil*, nearly co-extensive with the Diocese of Ross.

4. One MS. adds, "It was at Cork he was killed."

The White Gentiles took “the women, the gold, and all the property of the Lochlanns with them.” “And thus,” says the historian,⁵ “the Lord took away from them [*i.e.*, from the Norwegians] all the wealth which they had taken from the churches and sanctuaries and shrines of the saints of Erinn.”

In 863 *Daniel na Luaidhidhe*, Abbot of Cork and Lismore, was mortally wounded ; and in 868 *Reihtubhner*, son of *Corchadh*, Abbot of Cork, *queivit*.

In 881 Barid, son of Imhar, chief of the Norsemen, died “through the miracle of God and Ciaran,” but several years before his death he had plundered Leinster and Munster, until he reached Kerry.

“They left not a cave under ground that they did not explore ; and they left nothing from Limerick to Cork that they did not ravage.”⁶

No doubt these marauders had discovered the treasures contained in our sepulchral cairns and had a rich booty from them.

For forty years from A.D. 875 to 915 “there was rest to the men of Erinn.” This, however, did not prevent small frays and depredations on all sides.

Under the year 865 the Four Masters record a great victory over the Danes at Eochaille (Youghal), where they had entrenched themselves about the middle of this century. In 872 we find the plundering of the Deisi by *Cearbhall* as far as *Bealach-Eochaille*.⁷

5. Dugald Mac Firbis, in the *Fragments of Annals*, printed for the *Irish Arch. and Celtic Society*, 1860.

6. *Wars of the Gaedhil and the Gaill*, p. 25.

7. *Bealach-Eochaille*, the road of Eochaill. This was an ancient road extending from Lismore to Youghal.—*Four Masters*, p. 520.

In 877 Munster was plundered from *Boraimhe* to *Corcach* by Flann, the son of *Maelseacheain*. The death of Barid, "a fierce champion of the Northmen," is entered the following year; he is called "the chief of the persecutors", and it is added, with manifest satisfaction, that he "was slain and burned."

The death of *Reachtaidh*, the learned Bishop of *Cluain-Uamhrach* (Cloyne), is entered under the year 884. In 885 Fearghal, the Abbot, and Uamanian, the Prior of Cloyne, were slain by the Danes. In 894, according to the Four Masters, and 898, in the annals of Ulster, Arggatann, the Abbot of "Great Cork," died.

The *Chronicum Scotorom* enters the death of *Saerbretach*, a sage and Bishop of Cork, in 896, and Arggdan's death in 889, in which year they say there was a famine of bread and much rain.

Cork must have merited the appellation of "great" at this period, for we find Ailill mentioned as Abbot of Trian Corcaigh,⁸ falling in battle with the King of Rathluine and of Kerry Luachira, and 6,000 men.

In 869 there was "an 'extensively and indescribable slaughter of the foreigners at *Dun-main*, in the west of Ireland." The *Dun* was demolished, and was probably a stronghold of the Danes. The victors were the men of Kerry under Congalach, the men of Limerick under Flannery, and the Eognachists of Loch Lein under Conlegan. Amlaff, the Danish chief, plundered Lismore about this time, but the men

8. *Chronicum Scotorom*—Trian Corcaigne, the third part or quarter of Cork.

of *Firmuighi* (Fermoy), under the chief Foenteran, had ample revenge, for they burned Amlaff's camp in the night.

In the year 926, *Cennachta*, Abbot of Cork, died, and is described as the head of the rule of the Monks of Ireland.

In the same year Celedubhaill, son of Scannal, went on a pilgrimage to Rome from the abbey at Bangor, and he composed these quatrains at his departure, which show that the raids of the Northmen, terrible as they were, had neither lessened the devotion nor the literary taste of the Irish :—

“ Time for me to prepare to pass from the shelter of a habitation,
 To journey as a pilgrim over the surface of the noble, lively sea :
 Time to depart from the snares of the flesh, with all its guilt :
 Time now to ruminate how I may find the great Son of Mary :
 Time to seek virtue, to trample upon the will with sorrow :
 Time to reject vices, and to renounce the Demon :
 Time to reproach the body, for of its crime it is putrid :
 Time to rest after we have reached the place wherein we may shed our
 tears :
 Time to talk of the last day, to separate from familiar faces :
 Time to dread the terrors of the tumults of the day of judgment :
 Time to defy the clayey body, to reduce it to religious rule :
 Time to barter the transitory things for the country of the King of
 Heaven :
 Time to defy the ease of the little earthly world of a hundred pleasures :
 Time to work at prayer, in adoration of the high King of Angels :
 But only a part of one year is wanting of my three score :
 To remain under holy rule, in our place it is time :
 Those of my own age are not living who were given to ardent devotion :
 To desist from the course of great folly, in our place it is time.”

Waterford and Limerick were the great Danish strongholds, both being easily reached by sea, and as easily escaped from. When the Irish rose up in sufficient power to expel the enemy, Cork was not so frequently invaded, but it had its fair share of attention from the irrepressible foreigner.

In the year 915 or 919 Ragnall, grandson of Imar, and Earl Otter, landed at Waterford :

" And Domhnall, son of Donnchadh, heir apparent of Caisel, was killed by them : and they plundered Muscraighe and Ui Caerpe ; and they afterwards separated into three parties ; one-third settled in Coreach, and one-third in Inisnahednighi,⁹ and one-third in Glas-Linn ; and the whole of Munster was ravaged by them, so that there was not a house or a hearth from Lui¹ southwards.

" This was the year before the death of Flann, son of Maelsechlainn. It was also by that fleet that Gebennach, son of Aedh, King of M'Conaill, was killed, and they carried away his head after killing him. Wherefore the poet said :—

' Great is the pity, O God of Heaven,
That the people of Tomar should have it.
Behold the head of Gabhra's King is taken from you !
Illustrious gem of the west of the world ! '

Cork was now fairly in the possession of the enemy, and the Corkmen unquestionably had a hard time of it. They plundered all Munster, " both churches and chieftainries," taking hostages and exacting the oppressive nose² tax, besides taking captives from time to time in successive forays.

These were taken " over the broad green sea," and the annalists exclaim in pathetic language at the cruel injustice of separating father and mother and mother and sister.

" The entire of Mumhain, without distinction, was plundered by them on all sides and devastated. And they spread themselves over Mumhaim, and they built duns and

9. Inis na h Edneghi, now Iny, Co. Kerry.

1. Lui, the river Lee.

2. This was a capitation tax ; and it is said that loss of the nose was the penalty for non-payment.—Keating and MS. authorities.

fortresses and landing ports over all Erinn, so that there was no place in Erinn without numerous fleets of Danes and pirates ; so that they made spoil-land and sword-land and conquered-land of her throughout her breadth, and generally ; and they ravaged her chieftainries and her privileged churches and her sanctuaries ; and they rent her shrines and her reliquaries and her books. They demolished her beautiful ornamented temples ; for neither veneration, nor honour, nor mercy for Termonn, nor protection for church or for sanctuary, for God or for man, was felt by this furious, ferocious, pagan, ruthless, wrathful people. In short, until the sand of the sea, or the grass of the field, or the stars of heaven are counted, it will not be easy to recount, or to enumerate, or to relate what the Gaedhil—all, without distinction—suffered from them : whether men or women, boys or girls, laies or clerics, freemen or serfs, old or young—indignity, outrage, injury and oppression. In a word they killed the kings and the chieftains, the heirs to the crown, and the royal princes of Erinn. They killed the brave, and the stout knights, champions, and soldiers, and young lords, and the greater part of the heroes and warriors of the entire Gaedhil ; and they brought him under tribute and servitude, they reduced them to bondage and slavery.

“ Many were the blooming lively women, and the modest, mild, comely maidens, and the pleasant, noble, stately, blue-eyed young women ; and the gentle, well brought-up youths, and the intelligent, valiant champions whom they carried off into oppression and bondage over the broad green sea. Alas ! many and frequent were the bright and brilliant eyes that were suffused with tears and dimmed with grief and despair at the separation of son from father, and daughter from mother, and brother from brother, and relatives from their race and from their tribe.”³

3. *Wars of the Gaedhil and the Gaell*, p. 41-42.

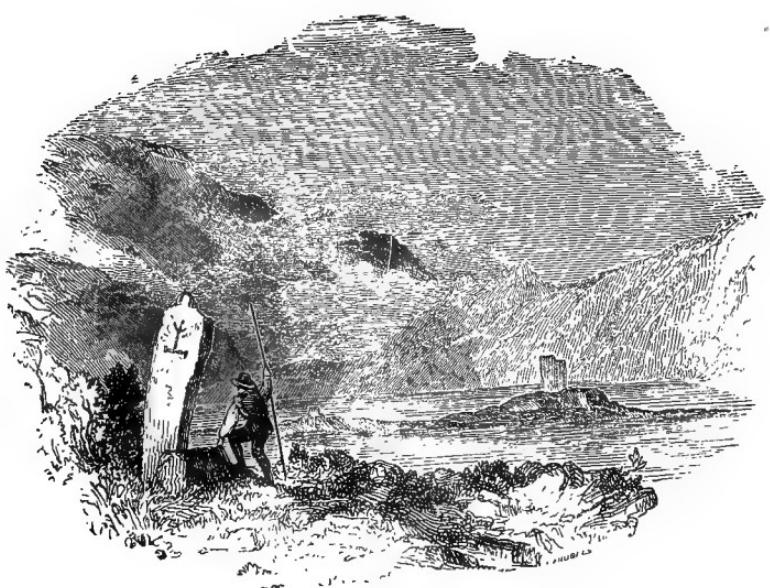
CHAPTER V.

THE DANISH PERIOD.

Doubtful conversion of the Danes to Christianity—Sketch of the general state of Ireland at this period—Brian Boromhe and his brother Mahoun (*Mathgamhain*)—Brian will have nothing to do with the “Grim Black Gentiles”—The Eoghanists ally themselves with the Danes—Quarrels between the Eoghanists and the Dalcassians—The result—The treacherous murder of Mahoun in the Co. Cork—Different accounts of this event—He places himself under the protection of the Bishop of Cork, who is unable to avert the crime—The Bishop “maledicts” all who were concerned—Desecration of the “Gospel of St. Barri”—The site of the murder in the Macroom Mountains—The conspiracy by Ivor, the Danish King of Limerick, Donovan, and Molloy—The Bishop remains at *Raithen Mor*, near Fermoy—One site of the murder at Kilkelly, another shown in the Musher Mountains—Molloy is cursed for his treachery—Brian Boromhe’s vengeance—Elegy on Mahoun’s death, supposed to have been spoken by him—Brian revenges his brother’s murder—The battle of *Glen-Mama*, and its results—The subjugation of the Danes—What led to the battle of Clontarf—Brian’s marriage with Gormley—Her character—A scene at the palace of Kincora—The war begins in earnest—The battle of Clontarf—The places of the Cork men—Raids on Cork after this battle.

THE year 948 has been assigned as the date of the conversion of the Danes to Christianity ; but if conversion is to be tested by deeds, the less said on the subject the better. Plundering and burning went on as usual, while the unhappy divisions of the Irish prevented any effectual resistance to the oppressor.

The ancient division of the country into five provinces no longer held good ; and the Ard-Righ, or chief monarch, was such only in name. Even the great northern Hy-Nials, long the bravest and most united of the Irish clans, were now divided into two portions—the Cinel-Connaill and Cinel-Owen ; the former of whom had been for some time excluded from the alternate accession of sovereignty, which was still main-



Island in Lough Hyne.



tained between the two great families of the race of Nial. But, though this arrangement was persevered in with tolerable regularity, it tended little to the promotion of peace, as the northern princes were ever ready to take advantage of the weakness of the Meath men, who were their inferiors both in numbers and in valour.

The sovereignty of Munster had also been settled on the alternate principle, between the great tribe of Dalcassians, or north Munster race, and the Eoghanists, or southerners. This plan of succession, as may be supposed, failed to work peaceably ; and, in 942, Kennedy, the father of the famous Brian Boroimhe, contested the sovereignty with the Eoghanist prince, Callaghan Cashel, but yielded in a chivalrous spirit, not very common under such circumstances, and joined his former opponent in his contests with the Danes. The author of the *Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaell* gives a glowing account of the genealogy of Brian and his eldest brother, Mathgamhain. They are described as “two fierce, magnificent heroes, two stout, able, valiant pillars,” who then governed the Dalcassian tribes ; Mathgamhain (Mahoun) being the actual chieftain, Brian the heir-apparent. A guerilla war was carried on for some time in the woods of Thomond, in which no quarter was given on either side, and wherein it was “woe to either party to meet the other.” Mahoun at last proposed a truce, but Brian refused to consent to this arrangement. He continued the war until he found his army reduced to fifteen men. Mahoun then sent for him. An interview took place, which is described in the form of a poetic dialogue, between the two brothers. Brian reproached Mahoun with

cowardice ; Mahoun reproached Brian with imprudence. Brian hints broadly that Mahoun had interested motives in making this truce, and declares that neither Kennedy, their father, nor Lorcan, their grandfather, would have been so quiescent towards the foreigners for the sake of wealth, nor would they have given them even as much time as would have sufficed to play a game of chess⁴ on the green of Magh Adhair. Mahoun kept his temper, and contented himself with reproaching Brian for his recklessness, in sacrificing the lives of so many of his faithful followers to no purpose. Brian replied that he would never abandon his inheritance, without a contest, to "such foreigners as Black Grim Gentiles."

The result was a conference of the tribe, who voted for war, and marched into the country of the Eoghanists (the present co. Kerry), who at once joined the standard of the Dalcassians. The Danes suffered severely in Munster. This aroused the Limerick Danes ; and their chieftain, Ivor, attacked the territory of Dal-Cais, an exploit in which he was joined, to their eternal shame, by several native princes and tribes, amongst whom were Maolmuadh (Molloy), son of Braun, King of Desmond, and Donabhan (Donovan), son of Cathal, King of Ui Cairbhri. The result was a fierce battle at Sulcoit, near Tipperary, wherein the Danes were gloriously defeated. The action was commenced by the Northmen. It continued from sunrise till mid-day, and terminated in the rout of the

4. *Chess*.—Flann Sionna, Monarch of Ireland, had encamped on this plain, and ostentatiously commenced a game of chess as a mark of contempt for the chieftains whose country he had invaded. His folly met its just punishment, for he was ignominiously defeated. See *Wars of the Gaedhil*, p. 113, note.

foreigners, who fled "to the ditches, and to the valleys, and to the solitudes of the great flower plain," where they were followed by the conquerors, and massacred without mercy

The Dalcassians now obtained possession of Limerick, with immense spoils of jewels, gold and silver, foreign saddles, "soft, youthful, bright girls, blooming silk-clad women, and active well-formed boys." The active boys were soon disposed of, for we find that they collected the prisoners on the hillocks of Saignel, where "every one that was fit for war was put to death, and every one that was fit for a slave was enslaved. This event is dated A.D. 968.

Mahoun was now firmly established on the throne, but his success procured him many enemies. A conspiracy was formed against him under the auspices of Ivor of Limerick and his son Dubhcerm. The Eoghanist clans basely withdrew their allegiance from their lawful sovereign, allied themselves with the Danes, and became principals in the plot of assassination. Their motive was as simple as their conduct was vile. The two Eoghanist families were represented by Donovan and Molloy. They were descendants of Oilioll Ollim, from whom Mahoun was also descended, but his family were Dalcassians. Hitherto the Eoghanists had succeeded in depriving the tribes of Dal-Cais of their fair share of alternate succession to the throne of Munster; they became alarmed at, and jealous of, the advancement of the younger tribe, and determined to do by treachery what they could not do by force. With the usual headlong eagerness of traitors, they seem to have forgotten Brian, and quite overlooked the retribution they might expect at his hands for their crime.

There are two different accounts of this murder, which was accomplished in the Co. Cork ; but though they do not coincide in detail, the main incidents are unhappily true.

The annals of the Four Masters state the fact briefly thus :—

The age of Christ, 974, Mathghamhain, son of Cinneidigh, supreme chief of all Munster, was treacherously taken prisoner by Donnabhan, son of Cathal, Lord of Ui-Figente,⁵ who delivered him up to Maelmnuaidh, son of Bran, Lord of Desmond, who put him to death, against the protection of saints and just men.

The record is entered in the *Annals of Tighernach*, under the year 976, with little difference.

The *Annals of Innisfallen* give the following account, A.D. 976 :—

“Donovan, son of Cathal, Prince of Cairbre Aodhbha, treacherously seized upon Mahon, son of Kennedy, in his own house (at Brugh Righ), where he was under the protection of Coleim, son of Ciaragan, Bishop of Cork, (successor of Barra) who guaranteed his safety, to make peace with Maolmhuadh, son of Bran, to whom and to whose brothers, Teige and Brian, Donovan treacherously delivered Mahon, who was murdered by them, without respect to the saint, (*rectè* holy man) who had ensured his safety. Some antiquaries say that it was at Bearna-dhearg (Red Chair) on the mountain of Feara-Maeghe-Feine, this shocking murder of Mahon was

5. This territory lay to the west of the river Maigh, (Muigue) besides the barony of “Coshma,” in the same country. In the time of Mathgamhain (Mahon) King of Munster, and his brother Brian Borumha, Donnabhan (Donovan), the progenitor of the family of O’Donovan, was called king of this territory ; but his race were driven from these plains by the Fitzgeralds, Burkes, and O’Briens, a few years anterior to 1201 ; when Amhlaoibh O’Donnabhain (Auliffe O’Donovan) was seated in Cairbre, in the County of Cork, having a few years before effected a settlement there among the tribe of O’h Eidirsceoil (O’Driscolls) by force of arms. These people were exempt from tribute as being the seniors of the “Eugenian” line, being descended from Daire Cearba, the grandfather of the great monarch Criomhthaun Mor Mac Fidhaigh.

committed ; and others that it was at Leacht Mhathghamhna (Mahon's Leap) on Muisire-na-mona-moire [now Mushera Mountain, near Macroom] he was betrayed. The Bishop of Cork maledicted all who were concerned in conspiring the murder of Mahon.”⁶

Full details are given by the author of the *Wars of the Gaedhil and the Gaell*. Envy was the cause of the quarrel, and murder the result.

Donovan and Maelmhnaedh (Molloy) were jealous of the increasing power of the Dalcassians, and were afraid that the kingly power in Munster would become inalienable from that family.

These two men therefore formed a conspiracy with Ivor,⁷ who ruled over the Danes in Limerick, which had for its object to undermine the power of Mahoun, the eldest son of Kennedy, king of Munster. A plot was necessary, to get the unfortunate prince into their power. At the suggestion of Ivor, Donovan invited Mahoun to a banquet at his own house, at Bruree. The invitation was accepted, but either Mahoun had his suspicions, or the temper of the times made caution necessary, for he took care to have the security of the Bishop of Cork⁸ for his safety. But the traitors had pre-determined to violate all conditions ; and Donovan arranged to get Mahoun into the hands of Ivor and Molloy, who were

6. From our own MS. copy of the *Annals of Innisfallen*.

7. Ivor's daughter was married to Donovan. This chieftain was the head of the family of the O'Donovans.

8. This was *Colomb*, son of *Cioragan*, the Comharb, or successor of St. Finbar. The annals of Ulster and Four Masters call him the *Airchinneach* of Cork, and date his death 987, *recte* 990. The annals of Innisfallen say that the object of the Bishop was to make peace. The *Wars of the Gaedhil and the Gaell* do not mention the banquet, and it is not clear where Dr. O'Donovan got the information. In a poetical lament, it is said that Mahoun “had trusted in friendship, to the treacherous word of Donovan.”

stationed near with a body of Danish and Irish troops. Mahoun was brought to *Cnoc-an-rebhrainn*, in the mountains of *Sliabh Caein*,⁹ but Molloy remained with the bishops at *Raithen mor*,¹ either to allay any suspicions he might have now formed, or because he did not wish to be present at the commission of the crime, to which he was so ready to be accessory.

Some of the Cork clergy went with Mahoun, in entire ignorance of the premeditated treachery. There is a difference in the accounts as to the exact locality where the foul deed was done. But there is a gap or pass called *Bearna Dhearg*,² in the mountain of *Sliabh Caein*, where tradition says the murder was committed.

Molloy carried “the Gospel of Barri”³ on his breast for protection ; but when he found that treachery was intended, he flung it from him “the full flight of an arrow,” to save it from desecration, and it fell into the breast of a priest of the bishop’s people.

9. *Cnoc-an-rebhrainn* has not been identified. The mountains of *Sliabh Caein*, now *Sliabh Riach*, are on the borders of Limerick and Cork.

1. *Raithen mor* was at or near Fermoy. There is a parish called Rahan, east of Mallow, and on the road to Fermoy.

2. *Bearna Dhearg*, “the Red or Bloody Gap.” It is one mile south of the church of Kilfin, and on the road from Kilmallock to Cork. The Annals of Innisfallen say that Mahoun was murdered at *Muisire-na-Monadhmoire*, supposed to have been the Mushera mountain near Mallow, Co. Cork, where it is stated that there is a heap of stones called *Leacht Mathgamhna*, “the Tomb of Mahoun.”

3. The early Irish had the highest respect for the holy Gospels. Copies of books of any kind were then so scarce as to be of immense value, and such books were more than doubly precious because of their sacred character. Many Irish sees preserved the Gospel or Psalter used or written by their first bishop, and it usually bore his name. These volumes were preserved in rich cases, generally of silver. Many of these relics are still extant, and are in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. It is not known what became of the Gospel of Bairri (St. Finbar).

Molloy was watching at a distance, but he saw “the flash of the sword,” and knew that the fatal blow had been given.

It is said that a priest was with him, and that as Molloy turned to fly he asked what he was to do. Molloy replied, in bitter irony, “Cure yonder man if he should come to thee.”

The annalists say that the priest cursed Molloy for his treachery, and that he uttered the maledictions in verses which are still preserved, verses being supposed to be more efficacious than prose on such occasions. From internal evidence, however, it is believed that this poem was composed at a much later period. A magnificent elegy on Mahoun’s death, supposed to be spoken by his brother Brian, the future conqueror of the Danes, is also preserved. It commences thus :—

“ The death of Mathgamhain to me is grievous ;
 The high king of Caisel the renowned,
 His fall—great the deed—
 Unless he had fallen by a high king.

“ Woe is me ! that it was not in battle or combat
 He was left dead, under cover of his shield,
 Before he had trusted in friendship
 To the treacherous word of Donnabhan.

“ Donnabhan, the brown-haired, delivered up
 Mathgamhain of brave combat
 To Maelmudh ; small was the renown
 The high king of Caisel to murder.”

Then after proclaiming Mahoun’s praises, by telling how he gave “some great defeats to the Gaell,” he concludes with this outburst of grief and indignation :—

" My heart shall burst within my breast
 Unless I avenge this great king ;
 They shall forfeit life for this foul deed,
 Or I shall perish by a violent death."⁴

In truth, the traitor had not calculated on the vengeance of Brian. It was a strange omission. "He was not a wisp in place of a club, but he was a hero in the place of a hero, and valour after valour."

Much of the early Celtic descriptive style is spoiled by bombast and a curious redundancy of adjectives,⁵ but this is, perhaps, as fine a quatrain as was ever pronounced.

Brian was not long in avenging the death of his brother. He attacked the Danes of Limerick immediately, and slew Ivor and two of his sons.

Donovan then sent for Harold, another son of the Danish chief, and made him king : but Brian turned on Donovan now, and, after seizing a vast spoil of cattle, slew him, which the annalists call "a praiseworthy deed." He next slew Harold and plundered the Danes of Limerick.

In the year 978 the Four Masters enter the battle of *Bealach Leachta*, fought by Brian, in which *Mail-mhuaidh* Lord of Desmond, was slain by Brian's son, Morrough, and "the men of Munster slaughtered."⁶

4. The former verses are quoted from the translation in the *Wars of the Gaedhil and the Gaell*; the latter from Mr. O'Donovan, which is bolder.

5. e.g., this passage continues thus :—He then made an invading, defying, rapid, subjugating, ruthless, untiring war, in which he fully avenged his brother. His reign, at the beginning of his reign, was one full of battles, wars, combats, plundering, ravaging, unquiet. But at its conclusion, this reign at length became bright, placid, happy, peaceful, prosperous, wealthy, rich, festive, giving of banquets, laying foundations.—*Wars of the Gaedhil and the Gaell*.

6. Bearna-dhearg (Red Chair), gap or seat on Sliabh Caoin. Another account places the site in Muskerry, near Macroom, at the junction of the Lee and the Sulanee.

In the year 1005 Brian made the famous visitation of Ireland, which has added not a little to the halo of romance that still lingers around his memory. Undoubtedly he was the greatest and best king who ever held sway in Ireland. The annalists not unnaturally exaggerate the importance of this visitation, but it certainly had the effect of overawing the Danes and helping to keep peace amongst the native princes for a time.

"So," says the Chronicle :

"Brian returned from his great royal visitation around all Erinn made in this manner, and the peace of Erinn was proclaimed by him, both of churches and people; so that peace throughout all Erinn was made in his time."

"After the banishment of the foreigners out of all Erinn, and after Erinn. He fined and imprisoned the perpetrators of murders, trespass, and robbery, and war. He hanged and killed and destroyed the robber and thieves and plunderers of Erinn. He extirpated, dispersed, banished, caused to fly, stripped, maimed, ruined, and destroyed the foreigners in every district and in every territory throughout the breadth of all Erinn. He killed also their kings and their chieftains, their heroes and brave soldiers, their men of renown and valour. He enslaved and reduced to bondage their stewards and their collectors and their swordsmen, their mercenaries, and their comely, large, cleanly youths, and their smooth, youthful girls."⁶

It was then that the "lone woman," or, as Moore has it more poetically, if not more expressively, "the lady" wandered safely from end to end of Erinn unmolested.

After the banishment of the foreigners out of all Erinn, and after Erinn was reduced to a state of peace, a lone woman

6. *Wars of the Gaedhil and the Gaell.*

came from Torach, in the north of Erinn, to Cliodhna, in the South of Erinn, carrying a ring of gold on a hazel rod, and she was neither robbed nor insulted, whereupon the poet sang :

“From Torach to pleasant Cliodhna,⁷
And carrying with her a ring of gold
In the time of Brian, of the bright side, fearless
A lone woman made the circuit of Erinn.”

Brian also set to work to make bridges and roads, to restore religious houses, and to “buy books beyond the sea,”⁸ to replace those that were destroyed by the burning, plundering Northmen. Whatever good was effected was certainly not of long continuation, for we find that Cork was plundered and burned again by “a great fleet of the foreigners” in 1012.

But we must go back a little to note more particularly some of the events which preceded the famous battle of Clontarf, when the Danish power was so thoroughly crushed that the Northmen were never able to enslave the Irish again.

Brian took up the government with a strong hand after Mahoun’s death. He quieted the country by overawing it, and he took a very summary method of putting an end to the local feuds which were at once the disgrace and the weakness of Ireland. The cause of these feuds had been that there was never any one government in Ireland sufficiently strong to hold the mastery. Each new set of immigrants conquered

7. Pleasant *Cliodhna*, or *Corroic Cliodhna*, is a rock in the harbour of Glandore, anciently *Cuandor*, a beautiful bay between the baronies of East and West Carbery, Co. Cork. There is a most romantic and ancient legend attached to this rock. A wave beats on it called *Tunn Chliodhne* (*Tun-clena*), Cleena’s wave, which utters a plaintive sound whenever a southern monarch dies. Cleena was a fairy princess.—*Wars of the Gaedhil and the Gaell*, 139.

8. *Wars of the Gaedhil and the Gaell*, p. 136. *Four Masters*, p. 169.

those who preceded them, so far as to hold the place they had invaded ; but, notwithstanding their common origin, the races did not amalgamate thoroughly, and there was always just sufficient individuality and sense of resistance between the conqueror and the conquered to keep up the feud.

Brian knew that to rule effectively he must be master, and a master whose word should be law. He demanded *Eric* for the murder of Mahoun, and for this purpose he sent a message to *Maelmuadh* (Molloy), by Cogaran, his confidential officer.

Whether the message was conveyed in prose or verse is not quite clear, but it is given in verse in the Annals, and it is very probable that it was conveyed in that form, as poetry was so much used in ancient Erinn for such and kindred purposes.

The message is so characteristic of the time that we append it, with a few omissions. Brian spoke thus :

“ Go, O Cogaran, the intelligent,
Unto Maelmuadh of the piercing blue eye,
To the sons of Brian, of enduring prosperity,
And to the sons of the Ui Eachdach.

“ Ask them what were the reasons
Why they killed my brother,
Why did the men kill
Mathgamhain, son of Cennedigh ?

“ Woe ! to have killed unarmed people—
Woe ! to have killed the son of Cennedigh ;
Great the misfortune, that they thought it better
To be on Ivor's side than on his.

“ Though I had forgiven that—
The cutting open the side of Cennedigh's son,
The brave Dal-Cais would not forgive,
The cutting open the side of their lord.

* * * * *

“ Whenever the son of Brian, son of Cain, shall offer
 The Cumhal⁹ of my brother unto myself,
 I will not accept from him hostages or steeds,
 But only himself in atonement for his guilt.

“ Murchadh the great, the son of Brian, promises
 To check Maelmuadh in the first combat,
 And his pledge will not be forfeited
 By the heir of the chief king in Erinn.

“ Say unto the son of Brian that he fail not,
 After a full fortnight from to-morrow,
 To come to Belach Lechta hither
 With the full muster of his army and his followers.

“ But if we do not come from the South
 To Belach Lechta, the evergreen,
 Let him answer at his house
 The Dal-Cais and the son of Cennedigh.

“ For him shall not be accepted from them
 Gold, nor silver, nor land,
 Nor hostages, nor cattle, O man !
 Tell them this and—go.

Cogaran did “ go,” and the result was the battle of *Belach Lechta* already mentioned, when Maelmuadh met the fate he so well deserved, and by which Brian established his power yet more securely.¹

9. The *cumhal* was a fine or *Eric* to be paid for murder, if the relatives of the murdered man would accept it. This was generally paid in cows. Brian would only take life for life.

1. Then Brian fought the battle of Belach Lechta, in which fell Maelmuadh, son of Brian, King of Mumhain, and twelve hundred along with him, both Gaell and Gaedhil, and he took the hostages of Mumhain even unto the sea.

After that Brian gained the battle of Fan Conroch over the foreigners, and he ravaged and plundered the Desi even to Port Lairge, and he banished him who had forced the war on him, to wit, Domhnall, the son of Faelan of Port Lairge, and he took the hostages of all Mumhain, as the fruit of his arms there, and he took the hostages of the principal churches of Mumhain, that they should not receive rebels nor thieves to sanctuary in the churches.—*Wars of the Gaedhil and the Gaell*, p. 194.

Malachy II. was nominal King of Ireland, and he began to entertain apprehensions as to the ulterior object of this activity on the part of Brian. He sought an interview with the energetic southern king, and the result, as might be expected, was very much to Brian's advantage. He left Malachy in possession of *Leth Cuinn* (the northern half of Ireland), but he took good care to take all Malachy's hostages from him A.D. 998.

Two years after the Leinster men and the Danes of Dublin revolted, and the battle of *Glen-mama* was the result. And here an event happened which was to have a serious influence on the future of Ireland.

Brian gained a brilliant victory.² The battle was "great and rapid"—"no harder ever was fought." Immense prizes of gold and silver, of precious stones, and "carbuncle gems," were secured from "the howling, furious, loathsome crew."³

"It was," says the annalist, "an unlucky day for the foreigners when Brian, the son of Kennedy, was born, for it

2. The poetical account is too graphic to omit :—

"The battle of Glenn Mama was great and rapid ;

No harder battle was ever fought—

The man who says so makes no false assertion—

For its slaughters and its losses ;

Its valour and its severity ;

Its championship and its full impetuosity ;

Many on every side were its misfortunes,

Each party destroying the other.

Piercing and hacking of bodies ;

Cleaving of comely and handsome heads ;

Feet in action—it is not false—

And hands in full activity.

Many were the dead of them and of you ;

Crowds in trances and in swoons ;

Crowds of ready Danars without cessation,

Bravely contending with them."

—*Wars of the Gaedhil and the Gaell*, p. 113.

3. *War of the Gaedhil and the Gaell*, p. 115.

was by him they were killed, destroyed, exterminated, enslaved and bondaged. So that there was not a winnowing-sheet from Benn Edair to Tech Duinn in western Erinn that had not a foreigner in bondage on it, nor was there a quern without a foreign woman, so that no son of a soldier or of an officer of the Gaedhil deigned to put his hand to a flail, or any other labour on earth ; nor did a woman deign to put her hands to the grinding of a quern, or to knead a cake, or to wash her clothes, but had a foreign man or a foreign woman to work for them.”⁴

But, as we have intimated, an incident, apparently trifling, but most important in its results, occurred at this battle. Maelmordha, the king of Leinster, hid himself in a yew-tree and was forcibly dragged out of his concealment by Murchaida, Brian’s son. He was taken captive, but was eventually released.

Brian went on to Dublin, and after a time made peace with Sitric, the Danish ruler of Dublin, and to further cement the alliance, a double marriage took place. Sitric married Brian’s daughter, and Brian married Gormflaith (Gormley), Sitric’s mother—a lady whose moral character does not bear a close inspection.⁵

After this Brian made the circuit of Ireland already recorded, and then retired to Kincora, but not without further efforts to establish his power.

While at Kincora the event occurred to which undoubtedly led directly to the famous engagement at Clontarf.

4. *Wise of the Gaedhil and the Gael*, p. 117.

5. She is described by the Danish writers as “the fairest of all women, and most gifted in every thing that was not in her own power.” Her beauty must have been extraordinary, but she certainly neither controlled her temper nor her inclinations.—*Burnt Njal*, vol. 2, p. 323. She is described as having made “three jumps which a woman should never jump;” in other words her matrimonial arrangements had not the sanction of Canon Law.

The account is told by the author of the *Wars of the Gaedhil and the Gaell*, and is so characteristic of the times, and so graphic, that we give it in detail.

"After this⁶ Maelmordha, son of Murchadh, King of Laighin, set out to convey three masts of pine of the trees of Fidh Gaibhli to Brian, to Cenn Coradh, viz. :—A mast from the Ui Failghe, and a mast from the Ui Faelain, and a mast from the Ui Muiraedaedhaigh, (and from Laighis, and from the three Commainns). But a dispute took place between them, when ascending a boggy mountain, whereupon the king, himself, viz., Maelmordha, put his hand to the mast of the Ui Faelain, having a silken tunic which Brian had previously given him, which had a border (of gold) round it, and silver buttons ; the tunic was on him, and one of its buttons broke with the exertion. Now when they had arrived at Cenn Coradh, the king took off his tunic, and it was carried to his sister, to put a silver button on, viz. : to Gormbaith, daughter of Murchadh, Brian's wife, and she was the mother of Donnchadh, son of Brian. The queen took the tunic and cast it into the fire, and she began to reproach and incite her brother, because she thought it ill that she should yield service and vassalage, and suffer oppression from any one, or yield that which his father or grandfather never yielded ; and she said that this (Brian's) son would require the same thing from his son."

This was enough to set Maelmordha in a rage ; but another incident occurred which kindled the fuel of his wrath past quenching :—Morrough, who had dragged Maelmordha out of the yew-tree at Glenmama, was playing a game of chess with his cousin Conning ; Maelmordha was looking on, and suggested a move by which Morrough lost the game. The young prince exclaimed "that is like the advice you gave the Danes, which lost them Glenmama." "I will give them

6. After this, that is after Brian had been chief king of Munster for two score years, wanting two—*Wars of the Gaedhil and the Gaell*—pp. 142-3.

advice now, and they shall not be defeated," replied the other. "Then you had better remind them to prepare a yew-tree for your reception," answered Murrough. Early the next morning Maelmordha left the place without permission, and without taking leave. Brian sent a messenger after him to pacify him, but the angry chief, for all reply, "broke all the bones in his head." He now proceeded to organize a revolt against Brian, and succeeded. Several of the Irish princes flocked to his standard. An encounter took place in Meath, where they slew Malachy's grandson, Domhnall, who should have been heir, if the usual rule of succession had been observed. Malachy marched to the rescue, and defeated the assailants, with great slaughter, A.D. 1013. Fierce reprisals now took place on each side. Sanctuary was disregarded; and Malachy called on Brian to assist him. Brian at once complied. After successfully ravaging Ossory, he marched to Dublin, where he was joined by Murrough, who had devasted Wicklow: burning, destroying, and carrying off captives, until he reached Cill Maighnem (Kilmainham). They now blockaded Dublin, where they remained from St. Ciaran's in harvest (Sept. 9th) until Christmas day. Brian was then obliged to raise the siege, and return home for want of provisions.

The glorious battle of Clontarf, with its triumphant victory, took place on Good Friday, 23rd April, 1014. How it was fought and how it was won must be read elsewhere, as the details would occupy too much space in the present work. But it must be said that the Munster men had their full share in the conflict, and the honour of the victory.

"The conflict was wrestling, wounding, noisy, bloody,

crimsoned, terrible, fierce, quarrelsome : that conflict of the Dal Cais and the men of Munster and of Conacht, and the men of Brefui, and of the foreigners, and of the Laighin.

“ Now, on the one side of that battle were the shouting, hateful, powerful, wrestling, valiant, active, fierce-moving, dangerous, nimble, violent, furious, unscrupulous, untamable, inexorable, unsteady, cruel, barbarous, frightful, sharp, ready, huge, prepared, cunning, warlike, poisonous, murderous, hostile Danars ; bold, hard-hearted Denmarkians ; surly, piratical, foreigners ; blue-green, pagan, without reverence, without veneration, without honour, without mercy for God or for man.”

The Danish armour

“ Was sharp and swift, bloody, crimsoned, bounding, barbed, keen, bitter-wounding, terrible, piercing, fatal, murderous, poisoned arrows, which had been anointed and browned in the blood of dragons and toads and water-snakes of hell, and of scorpions and otters and wonderful venomous snakes of all kinds, to be cast and shot at active and warlike and valiant chieftains. They had with them hideous, barbarous quivers, and polished, yellow-shining bows, and strong, broad, green, sharp, rough, dark spears, in the stout, bold, hard hands of freebooters. They had also with them polished, pliable, triple-plated, heavy, stout corslets of double refined iron, and of cool uncorroding brass, for the protection of their bodies and skin and skulls from sharp terrible arms, and from all sorts of fearful weapons. They had also with them valorous, heroic, heavy, hard-striking, strong, powerful, stout swords.”

But Brian’s troops were

“ Brave, valiant champions ; soldierly, active, nimble, bold, full of courage, quick, doing great deeds, pompous, beautiful, aggressive, hot, strong, swelling, bright, fresh, never-weary, terrible, valiant, victorious heroes and chieftains, and champions, and brave soldiers, the men of high deeds, and honour and renown of Erinn ; namely, the heavy weight that broke down every stronghold and cleft every way, and sprang over

every obstacle, and flayed every stout head : that is to say, the descendants of Lugaiddh, son of Ænghus Tirech, who are called the Dal Cais of Borumba, and the stainless, intelligent heroes of the Gaedhil along with them.

“These were a tribe worthy of being compared with the tribe of Miledh for kingliness and great renown, for energy and dignity and martial prowess.

“They were the Franks of ancient Fochla in intelligence and pure valour ; the comely, beautiful, noble, ever victorious sons of Israel of Erinn, for virtue, for generosity, for dignity, for truth, and for worth ; the strong, tearing, brave lions of the Gaedhil, for valour and bold deeds ; the terrible, nimble, wolf-hounds of victorious Banba, for strength and for firmness ; the graceful, symmetrical hawks of mild Europe, against whom neither battle, nor battlefield, nor conflict, nor combat was ever before nor then was maintained.

“The arms of the Irish were spears glittering, well rivetted, empoisoned, with well-shaped, heroic handles of white hazel, terrible sharp darts with variegated silken strings, thick set with bright, dazzling shining nails, to be violently cast at the heroes of valour and bravery. They had on them also long, glossy, convenient, handsome, white, neat, well-adjusted, graceful shirts. They had on them also beautiful many-coloured, well-fitting, handsome, well-shaped, well-adjusted, enfolding tunics, over comfortable long vests. They had with them also great warlike, bright, beautiful, variegated shields with bosses of brass, and elegant chains of bronze, at the sides of their noble, accomplished, sweet, courteous, elegant, clansmen. They had on them also crested golden helmets, set with sparkling, transparent, brilliant gems and precious stones, on the heads of chiefs and royal knights. They had with them also shining, powerful strong, graceful, sharp, glaring bright, broad, well-set Lochlaun axes in the hands of chiefs and leaders, and heroes, and brave knights, for cutting and maiming the close, well-fastened coats of mail. They had with them steel, strong, piercing, graceful, ornamental, smooth, sharp-pointed, bright-sided, keen, clean, azure, glittering, flashing, brilliant,

handsome, straight, well-tempered, quick, sharp, swords, in the beautiful, white hands of chiefs and royal knights, for hewing and for hacking, for maiming and mutilating skins, and bodies and skulls."

The Corkmen fought in the second battalion, which was formed of Munster troops, under the command of Mothla, son of Domhnall, son of Faelan, King of the Deise of the County Waterford, and Magnus, son of Anmchadh, King of Uí Liathain.⁶ Magnus was amongst the slain, and also *Gabbennach*, son of *Dubhagan*, King of *Fera Muighe* (Fermoy).

The Danish power was broken, but not altogether crushed, for we still find records of raids on Cork. In 1088 a great slaughter was made on the foreigners who attempted to plunder Cork.⁷ Under 1089 the Four Masters enter "Corcach, Imbeach, Ibhair, Ardfeada, and Cell-dura."

In 1092 Muireadhach Mac Carthaigh died. He is the ancestor of the Munster Mac Carthys, and the first person who was called Mac Carthaigh.

In 1130, a "Dane of Limerick" stole the jewels belonging to the church of Clonmacnoise. But he tried in vain to escape from Ireland, with his booty. He tried to sail from Lismore, and from Waterford, and from Cork, but no ship

6. Uí Liathain, now the Barony of Barrymore, Co. Cork. The Phelans and Whelans are descended from Faelan. The Duggans are descended from Dubhaigan.

7. The annals of Ulster have the following record under the year 1088. Cathalan O'Forrey, chief in learning and prayer, 3 Non. Martii in Imlech Ivair, Shrovetide Sunday, in pace quievit. An army by Donell Mac Lochlaim, King of Ailech, in Connacht, that Rory gave him the hostages of Connacht, and "(they) " went together into Mounster, and burnt Limerick and the Machaire to Dunached, and brought with them the head of Mac Cailig, and brake down Censora, &c. Tiernach O'Bryne, Ainchinnech of Cloumie-Nois, in christo quievit. Great slaughter of the Galls of Dublin, of Wicklow" [recte Wexford], "and Waterford, by the O'Neachays of Mounster, the day that they enterprise to spoyle Corke."

into which he entered could get a full wind, while the sails of other vessels were amply filled.

"This was no wonder indeed, for Ciaran used to stop every ship in which he attempted to escape; and he said in his confession, at his death, that he used to see Ciaran with his crozier, stopping every ship into which he went. The name of God and Ciaran was magnified by this."⁸

8. The annals of Clonmacnoise enter it thus:—A.D., 1130, the jewels that were stoler from out of the church of Clonvicknose were found with one Gillecowgan, a Dane of Limbrick. The said Gillecowgan was apprehended by Connor O'Brien, and by him delivered over to the family of Clonvicknose, who, at the time of his arraignment confessed openly that he was at Cork, Lismore, and Waterford, expecting for wind to goe over seas with the said jewels. All the other passengers and ships passed with good gales of wynde out of the said towns, save only Gillecowgan, who said as soon as he would enter a shipp-board, any shipp, he saw St. Keyran with his staff, or bachall, return the ship back again, until he was so taken. This much he confessed at the time of the putting of him to death by the said family.

CHAPTER VI.

EARLY ECCLESIASTICAL FOUNDATIONS.

Ecclesiastical foundations in the County Cork from the sixth to the tenth century—Ross the most ancient town in Ireland—Foundation of the See by St. Fachtna—Prediction of his birth by St. Ciaran of Ossory—His pedigree—St. Ciaran a Cork saint—His bounty to the poor—Quatrain of the seven and twenty Bishops of Ross—St. Fachtna styled the “hairy”—His vocation encouraged by St. Ita—He applies to St. Mochaelmoc for the cure of his sight—St. Fachtna believed to be also the patron of Raphoe—His commemoration by Ængus and by St. Cuiman of Conor—Obituaries of the Abbots of “Ross of the Pilgrims”—Foundation of the Monastery of Fermoy by St. Finnchana—His education in the Monastery of *Benchor* (Bangor) by St. Comgall—The fame of this Monastery—Opinion of St. Bernard—The Rules of the Monks of “Great Cork,” Fermoy, Cloyne, and Brigown—Their devotion to the study of Holy Scripture—Their occupations—Devotion to the celebration of Mass—The translation of important Irish ecclesiastical documents by the Rev. Dr. Todd and Rev. Dr. Reeves—How humility and charity were practised in the monastery—The ecclesiastical foundations of St. Cairthage, near Cork—His Monastic Rule still preserved—The foundation of St. Senan—The true story of St. Senan and the lady—The lady a Cork saint and nun—Her visit to St. Senan, and death.

It will be necessary to give some brief account of the early Ecclesiastical Foundations of the County of Cork, before proceeding to the history of the English Invasion.

Ross claims precedence as being one of the most ancient towns in Ireland, and an Episcopal See. The Monastery of Ross and the See was founded in the sixth century by St. Fachnan, or Fachtna, who was a disciple of St. Finbar's in his famous school of Loch Eirche. The birth of St. Fachnan and his future career was foretold by St. Ciaran.⁹ His genealogy

9. He is styled by ancient writers *Primicerius Sanctorum Hibernia*, first in dignity of the Irish Saints. St. Patrick is said to have prophesied of him in this quatrain :—

“Saigir the cold, Saigir the cold,
Raise a city on its brink.
At the end of thirty fair years
We shall meet there, I and thou.”

The sketch of his life given by Cathal Maguire, from the old narrative of Carnech, (who,

is thus given in the *Sanctilogium Genealogium*: “Fachtna, the son of Maonaigh, the son of Cairill, the son of Fiachna, and descended from Lughad, son of Ith. His brothers, Cassan and Cailcin, also bear the title of saint.” St. Fachtna belonged to the family of the O’Driscolls, who were warm supporters of the monastic institutions which he founded in their territory. An ancient quatrain found in the Book of Lecan says that twenty-seven bishops of his tribe ruled this diocese.

“Seven-and-twenty bishops nobly
Occupied Ross, of the truly fertile lands,
From Fachtna the melodious, the renowned,
To the well-ordered Episcopate of Dongalach.”²

The annalist called St. Fachtna *Mac Mongach*, or “the

according to Colgan, was almost contemporary with our saint) represents him as rich in flocks and herds, “yet he himself partook not of their fruit, but divided all amongst the poor of Christ.” His only food was a little barley bread, which he partook of in the evening, together with some uncooked herbs; his only drink was water; his garments were made of skins, and when he laid down to rest the hard ground was his only couch.

St. Ciaran may be classed as a Cork saint, as he was born at *Triagh Ciaran* (St. Ciaran’s Strand), in Cape Clear Island.

1. *Archdall’s Monasticon*, new edition, p. 143.—St. Fachtna is commemorated in all our ancient Martyrologies on the 14th of August. The entry in the Martyrology of Donegal on the 14th of August seems, however, at first sight to exclude St. Fachtna from the See of Ross. The whole entry for that day is as follows:—“Fachtna, Bishop and Abbot of Dairinis Maclanfaidh, in Hy-Ceimselach; forty-six years was his age, and he was of the race of Lughaidh, son of Ith, according to the Seanchus, Echlech, Crimmea, and Caemhan, three sons of Daighre, Broeadh, Dinil.”—(*Martyrology of Donegal*, page 219.) Thus all mention is omitted of Rossaileithir. There is, however, some confusion in this entry, owing probably to a transposition of names. We are, happily, able to detect the error by the correspondent entry in Martyrology of Tallaght, as preserved in the Roman fragment of the Book of Leinster, which is as follows:—“XIX. Kalendas Septembbris, Fachtna Mac Mongan O Ros-Ailithir : Dinil Macintsair Mac-Intsaeir, Episcopus et Abbas Darinsi Maclianfeid Broceain Mac Lugdach, Cummini, Coemin Aicelig.” Thus it was not St. Fachtna who was abbot of Darinisi Molana in Hy-Kiunselagh, but St. Mac-an-Isaer. What possibly gave occasion to this confusion of names was the tradition mentioned by Lynch, that St. Fachtna, before proceeding to Ross, was abbot of another monastery called also Molana, situate on the islet of Daisinis, at the mouth of the Blackwater.

2. *Archdall’s Monasticon*, new edition, p. 145. See for details of archæological interest under the word Ross in the topographical part of this work.

hairy," because his head was covered with hair when he was born.

It is said that St. Ita, whose name and influence is associated with nearly every southern saint at this period, advised St. Fachtna to apply to the parents of Mochaemog,³ a saint whose fame was great, for the recovery of his sight, which had become seriously injured, and that he obtained his desire.

St. Fachtna of Ross is believed to be the same as St. Fachtna, patron of the diocese of Kilfenora. The festival is kept in both places on the 14th of August, and the same tribe ruled in both territories. St. Fachtna is thus commemorated in the Felire of St. Angus :—

“With the calling of Fortunatus
Over the expansive sea-of ships,
Mac-an-Isaer, the noble chief,
The festival of Fachtna Mac, Mougash.”

Marianus O'Gorman commemorates him also :

“Great vigil of Mary,
Gregory, and the bright hero, Felix;
The just Eusebius in their company,
The sons of Daigre, with Dinil;
Let Broeadh be in their presence,
Fachtna, the smooth, fair, hairy son;
Eiclu, Cummen, Coeman,
Nor narrow fences this structure.”

And St. Cuimin, of Conor, in his poem on the characteristic virtues of the Saints of Ireland, says :

3. Variously called Mochoemoe and Pulcherius. He is called “the father of many saints.” Mochoemoe was a nephew of Saint Ita. His mother, Nessa, was her sister, and had intended to devote herself to a life of celibacy, but St. Ita advised her to remain in the world; the reason is not given. Nessa married Boeanus, a skilled artificer, and their son, Machoemoe, is said to have been the fruit of St. Ita's prayers.—*Colgan, et al., S.S.*

"Fachtna, the generous and steadfast, loved
To instruct the crowds in concert;
He never spoke that which was mean,
Nor aught but what was pleasing to his Lord."

The following are the principal annals of "Ross of the Pilgrims" from the Four Masters and *Chronicum Scotorum* :—

"A.D. 824 (*i.e.*, 825), the repose of Conmhach, son of Saerghus, Abbot of Rossailithir.

"A.D. 839, the death of Airmeadhaeh, Abbot of Rossailithir.

"A.D. 840, the 'Wars of the Danes' mentions an irruption of the Northern Pirates about the year 840, when 'they killed Cormac, son of Selbach, the Anchorite. He it was whom the angel let loose three times, but each time he was bound again. Moreover, Cork was plundered by them, and they burned Rossailithir and Kenmare and the greater part of Munster. But the men of middle Munster gave them battle, and their slaughter was completed at Ard-Feradagh.'

"A.D. 850, Condach, Abbot of Rossailithir, died.

"A.D. 866, Fearghus of Rossailithir, Scribe and Anchorite, died. This entry also occurs in the *Chronicum Scotorum*, but at the year 868, 'Feargus of Rossailithir, Scribe, quievit.'

"A.D. 921, the death of Dubhdabraise, Abbot of Rossailithir.

"A.D. 1016, Airbhearthach, son of Cosdohroin, Airchinnech of Rossailithir, died.

"A.D. 1055, Colum Ua Cathail, Airchinnech of Rossailithir, died.

"A.D. 1085, Neachtain Mac Neachtain, distinguished Bishop of Rossailithir, died.

"A.D. 1096, the death of Colum Ua Hanradhain, Airchinnech of Rossailithir.

"A.D. 1127, the *Chronicum Scotorum* records the facts that in this year 'the fleet of Toirdhealbach sailed to Rossailithir, and despoiled Deas-Muinlain very much.'

"A.D. 1168, the Bishop Ua Carbhail, Bishop of Rossailithir, died."

The Monastery of Fermoy⁴ was founded by St. Finnchna at the beginning of the seventh century. This saint was baptised by St. Ailbe, and studied at the great monastery of *Benchor* (Bangor), under its holy founder St. Comghall. The fame of this monastic establishment was indeed great and well deserved.

St. Bernard thus records his opinion of it :—

"A most noble monastery had been founded in Bangor by St. Comgall, which brought forth many thousand monks, and was the head of many monasteries. It was a place truly holy, pregnant with saints, and bringing forth most copious fruit to God : so much so, that one of the members of that holy congregation, Molua by name, is said to have been the founder of one hundred monasteries. Its branches overspread both Ireland and Scotland. Nor were these the only countries blessed by its religious : as bees from the hive, they flocked to foreign shores, and one of them, named Columbanus, pro-

4. *Magh Meine* was the ancient name of Fermoy, by which it was known until Munster was invaded by Cormac Mac Airt about A.D. 220. He encamped at *Drom Damhghaire*, now Knocklong, in the Co. Limerick. *Mogh Ruith*, a famous Druid, was sent for from *Oilean Daicke*, now the island of Valentia, to assist the Munster men. He did this so effectually, that they obtained a splendid victory, and drove out the invaders. *Magh Meine* was conferred on the Druid in reward for his services ; it was called *Fearn Moga*, or "the and of Muga," as written in some old MSS. His tribe and family, who settled down in this territory, took the tribe name of Fer Mugia, i.e., "the men of Mugai," anglicised Fermoy ; and the race of Mogh Ruth continue to inhabit there even to this day in the families of O'Dugan, O'Cronin, and others in that and the neighbouring districts. The following extract from MS. Book of Lismore further illustrates its names :—

"They then sent for the clay of Comlehaillé Meic Con., i.e., "the Caile (or land) of Mene," son of Erc, son of Deaghaidh, which is called Fir Mulghe, i.e., "Fermoy," today. The reason it is called Caile Meic n Eirce is because his sons dwelt there, namely, Mene, son of Erc, and Uatha, son of Erc, and Ailbhe, son of Erc. Another name for it was Fir Muighe Mene, so called because of the abundance of the minerals contained in the mountains around it, and because there are minerals in all the fields around it also. Another name for it was Corr Chaille Meic Con, because it was the patrimony of the Clann Dairine ; and it is in it Rossachna-Righ is, i.e., Ross-na-Righ, the ancient burial place of the Kings of Munster ; and it is there Mac Con was till the time of the battle of Céann Abrath."

ceeding to Luxieu, founded there a monastery which soon grew into a great people.”⁵

St. Comgall was born about the year 516, and was of a distinguished family of Dalaradia. He was educated by St. Fintan of Clonenagh, and afterwards at Clonmacnoise, where he was ordained priest.

The monastery which he established at Bangor soon obtained a European fame, and some of the most celebrated Irish educational establishments adopted its rule and were founded by its pupils.

No doubt St. Finnchua brought the rule of the Bangor monks to Fermoy, as he was himself for a time Abbot of Bangor ; and happily some of the monastic rules of the monks of this period of Irish history are still preserved, so that we can know the manner of life enjoined on those who lived in “Great Cork,” and Fermoy, and Cloyne, and Brigowne.

The rules consist in lessons or instructions on the duties of a priest, an abbot, and a monk, and on the fashion in which their lives should be regulated.⁶

The time of the monks was to be divided between the service of God and the service of their neighbour, for love of Him. They were especially recommended the study of the

5. Vita S. Malachiae.

6. “There are eight copies of early Irish Monastic Rules in Dublin. Six are in verse and two in prose, and of these seven are on vellum. The first is a poem of 276 lines by St. Ailbha of Emly, who died A.D. 541. The second is the Rule of St. Ciaran, but whether of Clonmacnoise or Laighre is not apparent. The third is the Rule of St. Coinn gall, and is addressed not only to abbots and monks, but to all who wish to live a devout life. The fourth is the Rule of St. Columcille, of which an abstract is given above. The fifth is the Rule of St. Curthach. The sixth is the Rule of the Ceilé De, or Culdees. The seventh is the Rule of the Grey Monks, of which only a stanza remains. And, lastly, there is the Rule of the celebrated Cormac Mac Cuilenan, King and Archbishop of Cashel, who died A.D. 903.”—*O'Curry's MS. Materials of Irish History*, p. 373.

Holy Scriptures, which they copied so carefully, and on which they meditated so devoutly while reciting the Divine office, then, as now, a principal part of the devotional exercises of monks and nuns :

“ For one of the noble gifts of the Holy Spirit is the Holy Scriptures, by which all ignorance is enlightened and all worldly affliction comforted ; by which all spiritual light is kindled, by which all debility is made strong. For it is through the Holy Scripture that heresy and schism are banished from the Church, and all contentions and divisions reconciled. It is in it well-tried counsel and appropriate instruction will be found for every degree in the Church. It is through it the snares of demons and vices are banished from every faithful member in the Church. For the Divine Scripture is the mother and the benign nurse of all the faithful who meditate and contemplate it, and who are nurtured by it, until they are chosen children of God by its advice. For the Wisdom, that is the Church, bountifully distributes to her children the variety of her sweetest drink and the choicest of her spiritual food, by which they are perpetually intoxicated and cheered.”

And they were above all to devote themselves to the celebration of the Divine mysteries,⁷ for

“ Another division of that pledge, which has been left with the Church to comfort her, is the Body of Christ and his Blood, which are offered upon the altars of the Christians. The Body, even, which was born of Mary the Immaculate Virgin, without destruction of her virginity, without opening of the womb, without presence of man ; and which was crucified by the unbelieving Jews out of spite and envy ; and

7. We are indebted to the Rev. Dr. Todd, a Protestant clergyman, and a very learned archæologist, for publishing translations of the hymns of the early Irish Church. He attributes a very high antiquity to the hymn *Sancti Venite*, and dates it as in use long before the seventh century. See *Liber Hymnorum*, pp. 30-31.

which arose after three days from death, and sits upon the right hand of God the Father in Heaven, in glory and dignity before the angels of Heaven. It is that Body, the same as it is in this great glory, which the righteous consume off God's Table, that is the holy altar. For this is the rich viaticum of the faithful, who journey through the paths of pilgrimage and penitence of this world to the Heavenly fatherland. This is the Seed of the Resurrection in the Life Eternal to the righteous. It is, however, the origin and cause of falling to the impenitent, who believe not, and not to the sensual, who distinguish it not, though they believe. Woe then to the Christian who distinguishes not this Holy Body of the Lord by pure morals, by charity and by mercy. For it is in this Body that will be found the example of the Charity which excels all charity, viz., to sacrifice Himself, without guilt, in satisfaction for the guilt of the whole race of Adam.

"This then is the perfection and the fulness of the Catholic Faith, as it is taught in the Holy Scriptures."

The devotion of Irish monks to the preservation and reduplication of the Holy Scriptures, and every work known at the time that could benefit civilization, is too well known to need more than a passing observation. No doubt Cork, Cloyne, and Ross had their scriptoriums, where such works were carried out to a degree of perfection scarcely attainable even in the present day.

While one monk laboured for the diffusion of literature with the pen or the pencil, another toiled in the field or the morass, fulfilling the Divine precept of labouring for the general good. At certain hours of the day and night they lifted up pure hands and hearts to Heaven, praying for the spiritual good of those for whose temporal good they spent

so many hours in weary toil. At all times they strove to practice the Gospel lessons of peace, humility, and charity.

They would bear wrong rather than offer it to another; they would suffer unjustly sooner than make reprisals; for in the rule which St. Fachtna took to Fermoy, from his *Alma Mater*, we read:—

“ If the cultivator of the land and the husbandman, when preparing the soil to commit to it the seed, does not consider his work all done when he has broken up the earth with a strong share, and by the action of the plough has reduced the stubborn soil, but further endeavours to cleanse the ground of unfruitful weeds, to clear it of injurious rubbish, to pluck up by the roots the spreading shoots of thorns and brambles, fully persuaded that his land will never produce a good crop unless it be reclaimed from mischievous plants, applying to himself the words of the prophet, ‘ Break up your fallow ground, and sow not among thorns :’ how much more does it behove us, who believe the hope of our fruits to be laid up, not on earth but in heaven, to cleanse from vicious passions the field of our heart, and not suppose we have done enough when we subdue the ground of our bodies by the labour of fasting and of watching, unless we primarily study to correct our lives and reform our morals.”

And further, we read that it was a custom in the monastery, “ when any one rebuked another, the person who was rebuked, whether he was guilty or not, humbly knelt down,” a practice which the world could scarcely appreciate, since it could not understand its motive or its end.⁸

8. Dr. Reeves, another Protestant clergyman, to whom Irish archaeology is deeply indebted, has published a translation of the Commemoration of the Abbots of Bangor used in the Office Book or Antiphonary of Bangor. “ Great their reward,” cries out the poet, “ whom the Lord hath gathered to the mansions of His heavenly kingdom.” “ Christ,” he says, “ loved Comgall,” and Comgall, “ well too did he love his Lord.”

“ Amavit Christus Comgillum ;
Bene et ipse Dominum.”

St. Cairthage, or Mochuda, of Lismore, made several foundations in the County Cork.

In the Irish Life of the Saints it is said that he came unto *Ciarraighe Cuirche*, now Kerry Currihy, where he met Carbery Crimthan, king of Munster. One of the royal castles was destroyed by a thunderbolt, and his queen and son *Ædan* were killed. The king asked the help and intercession of St. Cairthage, and he seeing the faith of the king, obtained the restoration to life of the queen and her son. The king then bestowed many favours on him to enable him to extend his great work of establishing religious houses in Munster. Cairthage also cured Cathel Mac *Ædan*, another king of Munster, who was afflicted with blindness, and also became deaf and dumb.

"Mochuda came where the king was, and the king and his friends implored Mochuda to relieve his distress. Mochuda made prayers to God for him, and put the sign of the holy cross on his eyes, and ears, and mouth, and he was cured of all his diseases and troubles, and the king, Cathel, gave extensive lands to God, and to Mochuda for ever, namely, Cathel Island, and Ross Beg and Ross More, and Pick Island (now Spike Island), and Mochuda sent holy brethren to build a church in Ross Beg in honour of God, and Mochuda himself commenced building a monastery in Pick Island, and he remained there a full year."⁹

9. The Life says further:—"Mochuda then placed three of his disciples above mentioned, namely, the three sons of Nascann, *i.e.*, Bishop Caban, and Straphan, the priest; and Laisren, the saint, in those churches. And it was the holy Bishop of Ardomain that gave holy orders to these three in Mochuda's presence; and it was he that was appointed to preserve them in the path of righteousness; and he left two score more of his brethren in his own stead in the monastery of Pick Island. Pick Island is a most holy place, and most pious people reside in it perpetually."

For curious particulars of the origin of the name of Appleford, near Fermoy, see topographical portion of this work.

The biographers of St. Cairthage or Mochuda say that he was given this name because “he was beloved by God and man.” St. Cuimin, of Connor, commemorates him thus :—

“The beloved Mochuda, of mortification :
Admirable every page of his history.”
Before his time, there was no one who shed
Half as many tears as he shed !”

And *AEngus* says :—

“S.S. Corona and Victor,
With their company without deduction,
And with them the bright perpetual solemnity—
The noble feast of Cairthage of Raithin.”

St. Cairthage died in 636. His monastic rule is still extant, and is mentioned by Usher.¹ In giving directions for the duties of a priest, he says :—

“If you be a priest, you will be laborious ;
You must not speak but truth ;
Noble is the order which you have taken,
To offer up the body of the king.

And again,

“When you come into the Mass—
It is a noble office—
Let there be penitence of heart, shedding of tears,
And throwing up of the hands,
For pure is the body which thou receivest ;
Purely must thou go to receive it.²

The story of St. Senan, or Senanus, and the lady, of which Moore has sung, is connected also with the Cork monasteries of this period. When St. Senan of *Inis Cathaigh* (Seathy Island) was returning from the monastery of St. David, Kilmony, he came to Munster, and settled at *Oilean Arda Crich Liathain* (now Barrymore Island). He remained here for forty days, when

1. *Usher Primard*, p. 919.

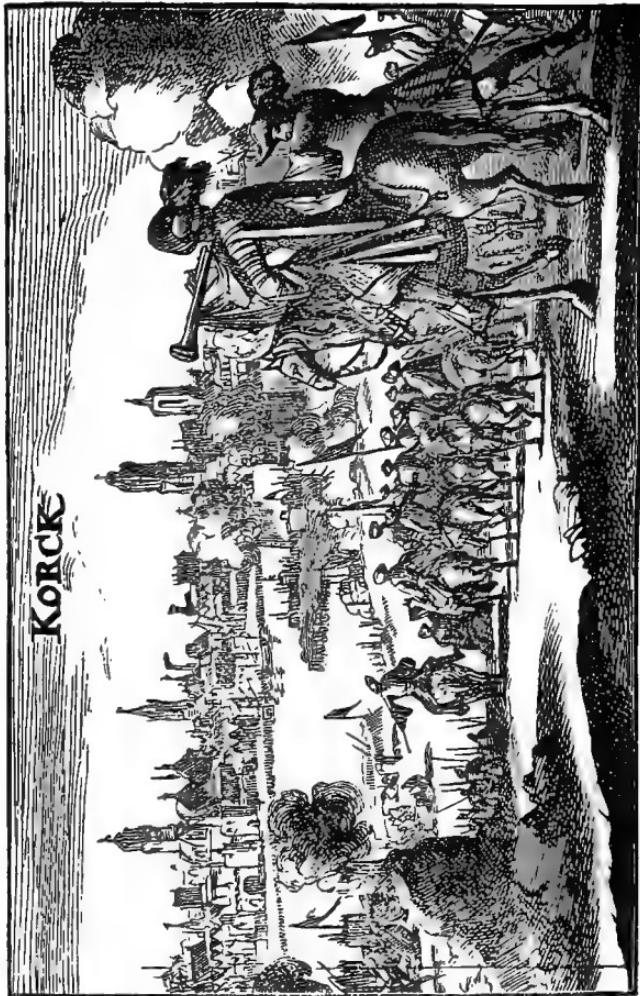
2. *Essays on the Early Irish Church*, p. 184.

an angel appeared to him, and told him to found a church and assemble his disciples around him. St. Senan went to *Tuaim-na-mba*, on the side of the river *Linne* (Lee), and there founded his church. But the local chief ordered him off his ground and demanded rent, and at last sent his horse to be maintained at the expense of the monastery. "The steed," says the chronicler, "fell into the river and was drowned, and nothing remained but her quarters, (*carra*). Hence the place was called *Inniscarra*."

St. Senan left eight disciples here with St. Cillian under the protection of Fechin, son of *Faighe*, King of *Muscraighe*, who was a disciple of St. Senan.

There was, however, at the time a pious virgin, living at *Beantraighe* (Bantry), and her visit to St. Senan is thus told in her life :—

"The pious Cannera, a virgin saint of Beantraige (Bantry), in the south west of Erin, who established a desert in her own country. A certain night after vespers, as she was at her prayers, she saw all the churches of Ireland and a tower of fire rising out of every one of them up to heaven. The fire which rose out of Innis Carthaigh was the largest, the highest and most brilliant of all, and rose most directly heavenward. On beholding this the holy virgin exclaimed—that is a beautiful Reclis (church), said she, and it is to it I will go that my resurrection may be out of it. Oh Heavenly spouse, said she, whatever church or holy place that is, it is there I wish my resurrection to be, and she then prayed God that she might not lose sight of that tower of light, but like the tower of fire that led the children of Israel through the wilderness, so it might lead her into the place, and God granted her prayer. When she reached the water at Luimneach (Limerick), she went on foot over the water as if she walked



King William besieging Cork. Fac simile from a contemporary print.

on the dry ground, and reached the shore at Innis Cathaigh at early dawn next morning. St. Senan, knowing this, came to the shore to meet her, and bade her welcome. It is for that I came, said Cannera, and blessed are they who come in the name of the Lord. Go, said Senan, to my mother and sister who abide in that island on the east, and you will be entertained by them there. That is not what I come for, said Cannera, but to be received by yourself into this island, and to remain here in communion of prayer with you. Women do not abide in this island, said Senan. What is your reason for that? said Cannera: Christ did not come less to redeem women than to redeem men. Christ was crucified not less for women than for men. Women were serving and attending Him and his Apostles, and women do not go less to heaven than men. You are speaking in vain, said Senan to the holy virgin; there is no distinction between their souls, but not so with their bodies, and so women shall not reside in this island as long as I live, said Senan. And will you give me a place of interment and resurrection in your island, and communion and sacrament from yourself? You shall have a place of resurrection on the brink of the sea, said Senan, but I fear the tide will take away your remains. I fear not, said she, for my hope is in the Lord God, and I have confidence in your great sanctity that you will put a protection over my body. The holy virgin was standing on the water, and her Irosdan under her bosom, as if she had been on the dry land all this time while Senan was conversing with her, and at last Senan permitted her to come into the brink of the island, and Cannera scarcely reached the island alive. Senan then went into the church and brought communion and sacrament with him to Cannera, and she then died and was buried in the strand on the south side of the island, where her grave is. Any person in the state of grace who goes to the stone, which is over her grave, and who prays there with fervent piety, beseeching her intercession with the Trinity for him, if he be going to sea, he will return by the grace of God, and he will not be drowned in any part of the world."

St. Cyra, or Chera, had a Convent at Kilcrea, *Cill Chera*, which is mentioned in an account of the Irish Saints entered in the *Leabhar Breac*, in which *Ciarascach Gobinait* and *Sciach* are mentioned as the three *Cailechs* (nuns) "who freely gave their love to Christ."

St. Colman Mac Lenin was the founder of the See of Cloyne.³ He was nearly related to the royal family of Munster, and was especially distinguished for his poetical talent. He wrote a metrical life of St. Senan, and the Book of Lismore contains a short poem on the life of St. Brendon, which begins thus:—

“Brendon flame of victorious lightning ;
He smote the chafer, he ploughed the waves
Westward to the populous assemblative place—
The fair-sided Land of Promise.”

St. Brendon would appear to have influenced his religious vocation, for it is said that he asked St. Ita to address him on this subject, and that she said, “God has called thee to salvation, and thou shalt be as an innocent dove in the sight of God.”

Colman was one of the disciples or companions of St. Finbar, but it is not certain at what date he founded the See of Cloyne.

3. There were several Colmans, and Dr. Lamigan is of opinion that it was not this saint who founded the See of Cloyne.

But a higher authority, the Right Rev. Dr. Moran, Bishop of Ossory, the able editor of the new edition of *Archdall's Monasticon*, says:—"There seems no ground for doubting the accuracy of the statement made by O'Halloran in his *History of Ireland*, on the authority of the Psalter of Cashel, that *Eochareadh*, Monarch of Ireland in 560, founded the church of Cloyne for St. Colman.

Dr. Lamigan is very severe on Smith's inaccuracies. He says:—"Smith might have easily known that Senin's daughter could not have been Bridget of Kildare, and that the sixth of March was not the day of this great saint's festival. And was he so ignorant of Latin as not to know the meaning of frater Germanus?"

He was present in his capacity of royal poet at the inauguration of *Aodh Caomh*, King of Cashel, about the year 550.

The Four Masters place his death in the year 601, and his festival is kept on the 24th of November.

He is mentioned thus in the *Felire of Aengus* :—

“With Cianan of Daimliac
A beautiful ear of our wheat
Mac Lenine the most excellent,
With Colman of Dubh-chuillenn.”

And in the martyrology of Donegal :—

“Colman, son of Lenin, the full,
And Mothemneag, son of Cerben,
Were of the race of two brothers—
Oilioll Olum, and Lughaidh.”

The succession of Bishops in the See of Cork cannot be traced with perfect accuracy until the year 1140, when the learned *Giolla-Aedha O Muidhin* was made Bishop under circumstances of singular interest. A vacancy occurred in the See, and there were many discussions as to the choice of a prelate. St. Malachy then governed the Irish Church, and St. Bernard has left us a most interesting account of the way in which he regulated this most important affair⁴ :—

“About the year 1140 a vacancy occurred in the See of Cork; dissensions followed, each party being desirous of electing one pleasing to themselves, heedless of the choice of God. Malachy hearing of such dissensions proceeded thither. Having assem-

⁴. *Vita S. Malichiae* cap. 8, *Archdale's Monasticon*, page 113, *Lynch's MS.*, and *Brennan's Ec. History*. St. Malachy was apostolic legate for the Holy See. When he visited Rome he asked permission from Pope Innocent II. to spend the remainder of his days at Clairveaux, with St. Bernard, who was then attracting all the more earnest minds in Europe by his fervour and devotion. But the request was wisely refused. The saint had work to do at home, and Ireland, suffering from intestine troubles, needed his prudent guidance. Dr. Lanigan (*Ec. History*, vol. 4, p. 113), is very sharp on Ledwich or some absurd mistakes or misrepresentations about the pallium.

bled the clergy and people, he restored to union their hearts and their desires, for all agreed to leave the selection of their future bishop to him, whose pastoral solicitude extended to that and to all other churches of Ireland. He then chose for the See, not one of the princes of the land, but one from among the poor, whom he knew to be holy and learned, and one, moreover, who was not a native of that diocese. This person being sought for, was found laid up with illness, and so weak that he was unable to proceed abroad, except when borne in the arms of assistants. Then Malachy said, "In the name of God, I command him to arise : obedience will restore him to health." What was the poor man now to do ? He was anxious to obey, but he was unprepared to do so ; and even were he able to go thither, yet he feared the episcopal ministry. Thus, the two-fold enemy of sickness and fear of the burden, struggled against his desire to obey ; nevertheless, this was victorious—the hope of salvation coming to its aid. Therefore he makes an effort; he raises himself up, he tries his strength, he finds that his strength has increased. With his material strength his faith also increases, and this too becoming more robust, reflects its firmness on his physical powers. And now he arises by himself, he moves about without difficulty ; he feels no fatigue in walking. At length, without the help of an assistant, he proceeds, sane and courageous, to Malachy, who placed him in the See, amidst the applause of the clergy and people. Thus was all done in peace, for seeing the miracle, no one dared to resist the decision of Malachy, and neither did he who was chosen make further opposition, seeing that the will of God was so manifestly made known."

Giolla O Muidhin, it will be observed, is not mentioned by name in the narrative, but the omission was made because he was living at the time, and there is no doubt that he was the "holy and learned" man selected by the saint. He is called in the annals "A man full of the grace of God, the lover of

virginity and wisdom." His name is mentioned in the list of bishops who attended the Synod of Kells, A.D., 1152. Amongst other good works he restored the Church and Abbey at Cork, which from him was called *Gill Abbey*, and which name is still preserved.

The annals of the Four Masters have the following entry under 1172 :—*Giolla-Aedha O'Muidhin* (of the family of Erren of Lough Con), Bishop of Cork, died. He was a man full of the Grace of God, the tower of the virginity and wisdom of his time.

Giolla Aedha, i.e., servant of St. Aodh, or Aidus. The word *Giolla* occurs so frequently as the first part of the names of men, that I shall explain it here once for all on the authority of Colgan. *Giolla*, especially among the ancients, signified a youth, but now generally a servant ; and hence it happened that families who were devoted to certain saints, took care to call their sons after them, preferring the word *Giolla*, intimating that they were to be the servants or devotees of those saints. Shortly after the introduction of Christianity, we meet many names of men joined by prefixing the word *Giolla* to the names of the celebrated saints of the first age of the Irish Church, as *Giolla-Ailbhe*, *Giolla-Phatraig*, *Giolla-Chiaraine*, which mean servant of St. Ailbhe, servant of St. Patrick, servant of St. Kieran.

This word was not only prefixed to the names of saints, but also to the name of God, Christ, the Trinity, the Virgin Mary, and some more named from saints in general, as well as from the angels in general, as *Giolla-na-Naomh*, i.e., the servants of the saints ; *Giolla-na-Naingeal*, i.e., the servant of the angels ; *Giolla-De*, the servant of God, and *Giolla-na-Choiimdhe*, i.e., the servant of the Lord ; *Giolla-na-Trionoide*, the servant of the Trinity ; *Giolla-Christ*, the servant of Christ ; *Giolla-Tosa*, the servant of Jesus ; *Giolla-Muire*, the servant of Mary. These names were Latinized by some writers in modern times *Marianus*, *Christianus*, *Patricianus*, *Brigidianus*, etc., etc. But when an adjective, signifying a colour or quality of the mind or body is post-fixed to *Giolla*, then it has its ancient signification, namely, a youth, a boy, or a man in his bloom, as *Giolla-dubh*, i.e., the black, or black-haired youth.

CHAPTER VII

ENGLISH INVASION.

The English invasion of Ireland—Assembly of the Irish clergy in 1167—Mistaken policy of the English invaders—The Normans in England—Their character from contemporary sources—Dermot Mac Murrough's career of perfidy and injustice—He is called “a cursed atheist”—Arrival of the Norman nobles in Ireland—Strongbow—Maurice Fitz-Gerald and Robert Fitz-Stephen—Bargain between Dermot and Strongbow—The siege of Wexford—Miserable end of the traitor, Dermot Mac Murrough—Landing of Henry II. at Crook—Roderic, King of Ireland nominally, an incapable prince—Character of the English King—His object the conquest of Ireland by fair means or foul—A recent History of the English in Ireland, and its romantic statements—Facts set at defiance, and contemporary history not read—Mr. Froude's account of the Normans and the accounts given by contemporary historians widely at variance—John of Salisbury's account—What Thiebault, Count of Champagne, said—Mr. Froude says the conquest was “peaceful”—All accounts, both English and Irish, say the reverse—He admits the Normans “hammered” the heads of the Celts—Dermod Mac Carthy yields allegiance to Henry II. after some opposition—He is rewarded by having his kingdom confiscated—Quarrel between Dermod and his son—He calls Raymond *Le Gros* to the rescue—Raymond in reward gets part of the kingdom of Kerry, and founds the family of Fitzmaurice, now Marquis of Lansdowne.

THE History of the English invasion of Ireland in the twelfth century is one of the most important events in our national annals. The effects of this invasion are felt to the present day, and probably will be felt for centuries to come. So much political and religious controversy has been mixed up with the whole subject, that an impartial account of what has occurred has scarcely been given, and yet all the main facts are undeniable.

An assembly of the Irish clergy and bishops was held in 1167, which emulated, if it did not rival, the triennial assembly of ancient Tara. It was the last act of Irish independence. The tyrannical Danes had been expelled as a body, and those who yet remained amalgamated with the

Celt. But a race was at hand whose proclivities were not indeed at first so cruel and ruthless as those of the Dane ; but in years to come they were yet more cruel, and yet more ruthless : for never did Northman nor Dane do half so savage or monstrous deeds as “did the English in Ireland” in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁵

The restless Norman, not being able to cope with Continental nations, and having conquered England, and subdued the Saxon race to vassalage or worse, looked out for new quarry, and found it—across the channel.⁶

The idea of taking forcible possession of Ireland seems to have occurred first in a definite form to William Rufus. As he stood on the rocks near St. David's, in Wales, he is said to have boasted that he would make a bridge with his ships from that spot to Ireland. The King of Leinster was informed of the king's speech, and enquired if he had added “if it so pleases God.” The reply was in the negative. “Then,” answered the king, “seeing this king has put his

5. “The mistaken policy of the first royal invader of Ireland, as necessitated by the circumstances of his reign, was to establish and endow a class of needy adventurers in Ireland, and to found a government within the pale of that devoted country which was felt only in its power to do injustice. Well had it been if the consequences of that misrule had died with the tyrants who first perpetrated it ; unfortunately, however, for generations of ages, the acts of these debauched and licentious adventurers were permitted to assume the name of English administration, and bigotries were engendered and hatred associated under that sanction which yet remain to be disabused.”—*Irish Penny Magazine*, p. 84.

6. Henry of Huntingdon says :—“ In the year of grace 1060 God accomplished what He had pre-ordained towards the English nation. He delivered them up to the Normans as a nation to be exterminated. The nobles and bishops built castles, and filled them with devilish and wicked men, and oppressed the people cruelly, torturing men for their money. They imposed taxes on towns, and when they had exhausted them of everything, set them on fire. You might travel a day and not find one man living in a town, nor any land in cultivation. Never did the country suffer greater evils. If two or three men (Normans) were seen riding up to a town, all its inhabitants left it, taking them for plunderers. And this lasted, growing worse and worse, throughout Stephen's reign. Men said openly that Christ and his saints were asleep.”

trust only in men, and not in God, I fear not his coming"—a fine sentiment certainly, but the Irish prince had forgotten that the wicked often prosper.

Yet it must not be forgotten that an Irish traitor, Dermot Mac Murrough, was the direct cause of the subjection of Ireland to English rule. Dermot commenced his career of perfidy by carrying off the Abbess of Kildare from her cloister, killing 170 of the people of Kildare, who interfered to prevent this wanton and sacrilegious outrage. In 1141 he endeavoured to crush the opposers of his atrocious tyranny by a barbarous onslaught, in which he killed two nobles, put out the eyes of another, and blinded⁷ seventeen chieftains of inferior rank. A fitting commencement of his career of treachery towards his unfortunate country ! In 1148 a temporary peace was made by the Primate of Armagh between the northern princes, who had carried on a deadly feud ; but its duration, as usual, was brief. Turlough O'Brien was deposed by Teigue in 1151. He was assisted by Turlough O'Connor and the infamous Dermot. The united armies plundered as far as Moin Môr,⁸ where they encountered the Dalcassian forces returning from the plunder of Desmond. A sanguinary combat ensued, and the men of north Munster suffered a dreadful slaughter, leaving 7,000 dead upon the field of battle. This terrible sacrifice of life is attributed to the mistaken valour of the Dal-Cais, who would neither fly nor ask quarter.

7. In 1165, Henry II. gratified his irritation against the Welsh by laying hands upon the hostages of their noblest families, and commanding that the eyes of the males should be rooted out, and the ears and noses of the females cut off ; and yet Henry is said to have been liberal to the poor, and though passionately devoted to the chase, he did not inflict either death or mutilation on the intruders in the royal forests.

8. Now Moanmore, Co. Tipperary.

In 1157 a synod was held in the Abbey of Mellifont, attended by the Bishop of Lismore, Legate of the Holy See, the Primate, and seventeen other bishops. Murtough O'Loughlin, the Monarch of Ireland, and several other kings, were also present. The principal object of this meeting was the consecration of the abbey church and the excommunication of Donough O'Melaghlin, who had become the common pest of the country. He was, as might be expected, the particular friend and ally of Dermot Mac Murrough. His last exploit was the murder of a neighbouring chief, despite the most solemn pledges. In an old translation of the Annals of Ulster, he is termed, with more force than elegance, "a cursed atheist." After his excommunication, his brother Dermot was made King of Meath, in his place.

When Dermot Mac Murrough was driven in disgrace from Ireland, he fled to Bristol. There he learned that Henry was still in Aquitaine ; and thither, with a perseverance worthy of a better cause, he followed the English king. Henry was only too happy to listen to his complaints, and forward his views ; but he was too much occupied with his personal affairs to attempt the conquest of a kingdom. Letters patent were incomparably more convenient than men-at-arms, and with letters patent the renegade was fain to be content. Dermot only asked help to recover the kingdom from which he had been expelled for his crimes ; Henry pretended no more than to give the assistance asked, and for all reward only wished that Dermot should pay a vassal's homage to the English king. Henry may have known that his client was a villain or he may not. Henry may have intended to annex Ireland

to the British dominions, (if he could), or he may merely have hoped for some temporary advantage from the new connexion. Whatever he knew, or whatever he hoped, he received Dermod "into the bosom of his grace and benevolence," and he did but distantly insinuate his desires by proclaiming him his "faithful and liege subject." The royal letter ran thus:—

"Henry, King of England, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and Earl of Anjou, to all his liegemen, English, Norman, Welsh, and Scotch, and to all the nations under his dominions, sends greeting. As soon as the present letter shall come to your hands, know that Dermod, Prince of Leinster, has been received into the bosom of our grace and benevolence: wherefore, whosoever, within the ample extent of our territories, shall be willing to lend aid towards this prince as our faithful and liege subject, let such person know that we do hereby grant to him for said purpose our licence and favour."

In this document there is not even the most remote reference to the Bull of Adrian, conferring the island of Ireland on Henry, although this Bull had been obtained some time before. In whatever light we may view this omission, it is certainly inexplicable.

For some time Dermod failed in his efforts to obtain assistance. After some fruitless negotiations with the needy and lawless adventurers who thronged the port of Bristol, he applied to the Earl of Pembroke, Richard de Clare. This nobleman had obtained the name of Strongbow, by which he is more generally known, from his skill in archery. Two other young men of rank joined the party; they were sons of the beautiful and infamous Nesta,⁹ once the mistress of Henry I.,

9. David Powell, in his notes to the *Itinerary of Cambria*, states that this lady was a daughter of Rufus, Prince of Demetia. She was distinguished for her beauty, and infamous for her gallantries. She had a daughter by Gerald of Windsor, called Augweth,

but now the wife of Gerald, Governor of Pembroke and Lord of Carew. The knights were Maurice Fitz Gerald and Robert Fitz Stephen. Dermot had promised them the city of Wexford and two cantreds of land as their reward. Strongbow was to succeed him on the throne of Leinster, and to receive the hand of his young and beautiful daughter, Eva, in marriage.

There is considerable uncertainty as to the real date and the precise circumstances of Dermot's arrival in Ireland. According to one account, he returned at the close of the year 1161, and concealed himself during the winter in a monastery of Augustinian Canons at Ferns, which he had founded. The two principal authorities are Giraldus Cambrensis and Maurice Regan—the latter was Dermot Mac Murrough's secretary. According to his account, Robert Fitz Stephen landed at Bannow, near Waterford, in May, 1169, with an army of three hundred archers, thirty knights, and sixty men-at-arms. A second detachment arrived the next day, headed by Maurice de Prendergast, a Welsh gentleman, with ten knights and sixty archers. Dermot at once assembled his men, and joined his allies. He could only muster five hundred followers; but with their united forces, such as they were, the outlawed king and the needy adventurers, laid siege to the city of Wexford. The brave inhabitants of this mercantile town at once set forth to meet them; but fearing the result, if attacked in open field by well-disciplined troops, they fired the suburbs, and en-

who was mother to Giraldus Cambrensis. This relationship accounts for the absurd eulogiums which he has lavished on the Geraldines. Demetia is the district now called Pembrokeshire, where a colony of Normans established themselves after the Norman Conquest.—See Thierry's *Norman Conquest*.

trenched themselves in the town. Next morning the assaulting party prepared for a renewal of hostilities, but the clergy of Wexford advised an effort for peace; terms of capitulation were negotiated, and Dermod was obliged to pardon, when he would probably have preferred to massacre. It is said that Fitz Stephen burned his little fleet to show his followers that they must conquer or die. Two cantreds of land, comprising the present baronies of Forth and Bargy, were bestowed on him; and thus was established the first English colony in Ireland. The Irish princes and chieftains appear to have regarded the whole affair with silent contempt. The Annals say they "set nothing by the Flemings;" practically, they set nothing by any of the invaders. Could they have foreseen, even for one moment, the consequences of their indifference, we cannot doubt but that they would have acted in a very different manner. Roderic, the reigning monarch, was not the man either to foresee danger, or to meet it when foreseen; though we might pardon even a more sharp-sighted and vigilant warrior for overlooking the possible consequence of the invasion of a few mercenary troops, whose only object appeared to be the reinstatement of a petty king.^x

^x. Dermod Mac Morough died at Ferns on the 4th of May, 1171. His miserable end was naturally considered a judgment for his evil life. His obituary is thus recorded: "Diarmuid Mac Murchadha, King of Leinster, by whom a trembling soil was made of all Ireland, after having brought over the Saxons, after having done extensive injuries to the Irish, after plundering and burning many churches, as Ceanannus, Cluan-Iráired, &c., died before the end of a year [after this plundering], of an insufferable and unknown disease; for he became putrid while living, through the miracle of God, Colum-cille, and Finnen, and the other saints of Ireland, whose churches he had profaned and burned some time before; and he died at Fearnamor, without [making] a will, without penance, without the body of Christ, without unction, as his evil deeds deserved." The Annals of Clonmacnois give a similar account; but in a paper MS. in Trinity College, Dublin, it is said that he died "after the victory of penance and unction." The old account is probably the more reliable, as it is the more consonant with his previous career.

Henry II. landed in Crook, in the county Waterford, on the 18th of October, 1171. He was attended by Earl Strongbow, soon to be so famous in our native history; by William Fitz Aldelm, Humphrey de Bohan, Hugh de Lacy, Robert Fitz Bernard, and many other lords. The force at his command consisted of about five hundred knights and four thousand men. For transport they had four hundred ships.

Roderic was at this time nominally king of Ireland, but he had neither brains nor energy, while the Norman prince had a full share of both, whatever he may have wanted in the way of virtue.

Contemporary historians do not give a favourable character of the English king, though he purposed to have come to Ireland to improve it.

Cambreensis says "he was more given to hunting than holiness." It would have been well if he had been given to nothing worse than hunting.²

St. Thomas of Canterbury, who had excellent reason to know his character, said that he "overflowed with treachery." Whether Henry II. got the grant of Ireland by Papal Bull or not is far too large a question to discuss here.

But it is certain that Henry had neither the ability nor the inclination to reform any people; and that if he had, he might have found quite sufficient occupation at home.

His object was the conquest of Ireland—if by fair means,

2. He was a tyrant to the nobility; pushed his encroachments on the holy things of God to a detestable excess, and by a zeal for justice (but not according to sense) combined or rather confounded the rights of the State and Church, and would make himself all in all. The revenues of vacant benefices he seized for his treasury; and, as a slight leaven, corrupteth the whole mass, while the treasury plunders the rights of Christ, the unipious soldier receives what was due to the priest.—*Cambreensis Eversus*, p. 483.

good ; if not, there was Strongbow and his five thousand men and five hundred knights, and four hundred ships to return in if conquest proved impossible. And, no doubt, conquest would not have been possible but for native disunions, and these were carefully fomented. Each petty chieftain was afraid that his neighbour would join the English invader from fear or policy, and soon nearly all made their own terms, while terms were possible.

A recent English writer has devoted several pages of a romance—entitled by a cruel irony of which he is utterly unconscious, *The English in Ireland*—to a glowing description of the incalculable advantages which the barbarous Celt derived from the administration of the cultivated, enlightened, and eminently human Norman prince. As there are nearly as many false statements as there are lines in each page, it would be impossible to refute them seriatim. Mr. Froude does not appear to have read contemporary history, either English or Irish.

Some one has said that a fact is always truer after it has happened. It remained for this veracious historian to evolve a theory out of his inner consciousness, and then to compose an historical narrative to support it. The method is simple, to a person of fertile imagination it is entertaining.

The Normans were perfect, they were “qualified and gifted.”³ Contemporary writers say they were gifted—gifted with no scanty share of depravity, and qualified for any amount of impiety.⁴ A cardinal pronounced Henry to be an

3. *The English in Ireland*, vol. I, p. 16.

4. John of Salisbury gives the following account of another Norman prince :—“During the reign, shall I call it, or desolating scourge of King Stephen, our clergy

“audacious liar.” Count Thiebault, of Champagne, warned an archbishop not to rely on any of his promises, no matter how solemnly they were made. His own son thus graphically describes the family characteristic :—“The custom in our family is that the son shall hate the father ; our destiny is to detest each other ; from the devil we came, to the devil we go.”

Mr. Froude has said nothing about this “gifted and qualified” prince going to the devil; but he evolves out of his inner consciousness a wonderful account of how he came to Ireland, and what his nobles did there. The Irish were “vagabonds.” “They were wild and wayward ;”⁵ but they were not wayward long—at least not in Mr. Froude’s inner consciousness. A marvellous tranquility came over Ireland when the Normans landed. There was a whole century during which these savages had peace and rest and justice and plenty (in the History of Ireland, according to Froude). The poor savages certainly became “humane” and “rational,” and all because (I still quote this very valuable historian) the English in Ireland “did not destroy the Irish people.”⁶ They only “hammered” the heads of the Celts who were unwilling to submit, and “drove the chiefs into the mountains ;” but it is not explained how all this ham-

and people, there was an universal grasping of all things ; might was truly the only law of right. Many wicked things he did ; but worst of all, his flying in the face of God and laying violent hands upon his anointed. But the bishops, though the first, were not the only victims of his fury. Every man on whom his suspicion fell was instantly the doomed prey of his treachery. But the imprisonment of the bishops was the beginning of the evils of the land in his day, that even a brief sketch of them would exceed the horrors of Josephus.”

5. *The English in Ireland*, p. 17.

6. *The English in Ireland*, pp. 16-18.

mering and driving was carried out peacefully. Contemporary historians, both English and Irish, give a very different account to Mr. Froude's, but a person of fertile imagination does not require authority for his statements.

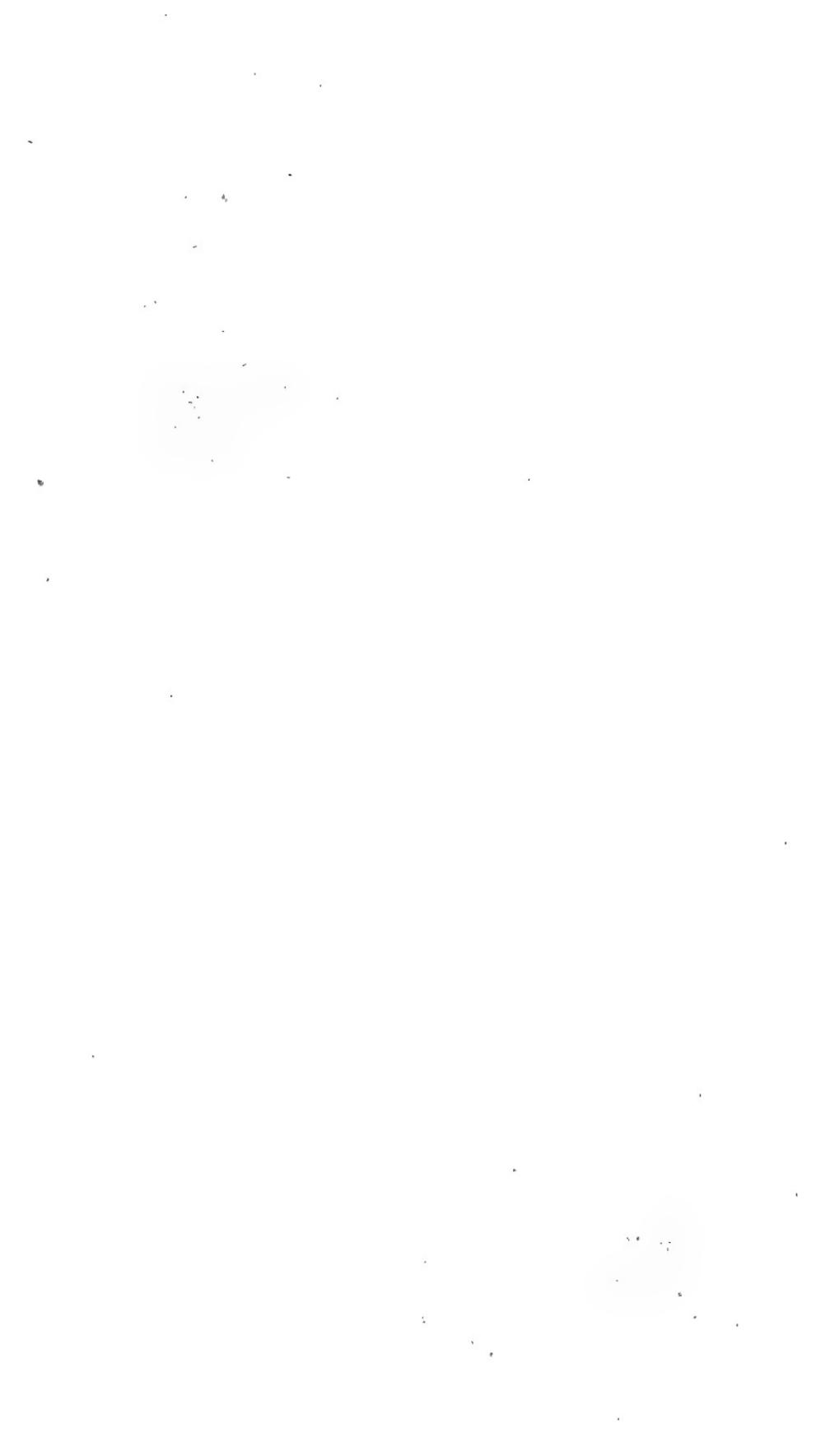
The Normans "only took the government of Ireland," just as a man would take his hat and cane to go out for a walk. Let those who doubt look at the original ; but this very calm and just and extremely dignified "taking the government" involved dispossessing the chiefs. We shall see presently how they liked this dispossessing during this wonderful century of peace and "changing the order of inheritance into an orderly succession," according to Mr. Froude : in Irish annals, driving out the rightful owners and putting in usurpers. Indeed, as much is admitted in one part of the page, for here he says :— "The new comers rooted themselves in the soil, built castles, gathered about *them retainers of their own blood*, who overwhelmed and held down those whom they forced to be their subjects."⁷

In the interval, too, there was "incessant fighting and arduous police work."⁸ The existence of this useful force having been historically pre-imagined with a good many other amusing fictions.⁹ We leave this romance for the present, but shall return to it again when necessary.

7. *English in Ireland* p. 17.

8. *The English in Ireland*, p. 18.

9. Amongst other fictions it is coolly said that the Irish Church was anxious to claim protection from Roman rule. Previous chapters of this work proved the very opposite; but it is useless to refute a writer who compiles from a rich store of fancy. That the Irish Brehon Law was barbarous—either Mr. Froude read and studied the Brehon Law, or he did not. If he read it is difficult to understand how any amount of prejudice could blind a man to write such a statement. If he did not read it, he had no right to pronounce judgment.





Castle of Carrig-a-droid, on the Banks of the River Lee.



Abbey Kilcrea.

We proceed to consider the events of this very "peaceful" country, and to consider the effect produced by Norman "hammering" of Celtic heads, and of the just and kindly process of improving the Irish savage by taking possession of his property and driving him to the woods and mountains.

Dermod Mac Carthy—king of Desmond, of which Cork then formed a considerable portion—was one of the first to submit to Henry II. In the year 1170 he gained a victory over the English knights, who were left to protect Port Lairge (Waterford). The Danes had by this time established themselves well in Cork city, and we find in the grant of Cork, made by Henry II., that they had also some adjacent land. Dermod Mac Carthy, probably, soon saw the hopelessness of resistance —might was stronger than right. Probably he heard that Henry only intended a polite conquest, such as Mr. Froude has imagined ; that he would be content with a formal submission, and would return to his own land contented with the name of king.

Dermod was undeceived somewhat rudely. Henry made a grant of the kingdom of Cork to his faithful followers, Robert Fitz Gerald and Miles de Colgan. The grant runs thus :—

"Henry by the grace of God, King of England, and Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, Earl of Anjou.

"To all Archbishops, Abbots, Earls, Justices, and all Ministers, and Faithful Subjects, French, English, and Irish, greeting :

"Know ye, that I have granted, and by this charter confirmed to Robert Fitzstephen and Milo de Colgan, the government of the City of Cork, with the cantred which belonged to the Ostmen of the said city—which I retain in my own hands—to have and to hold them together during my

pleasure, and as long as they shall serve me faithfully. I, moreover, by this my charter, give, grant, and confirm to them and their heirs, all the kingdom of Cork, except the said city, and the before mentioned cantred, which I retain in my own hands. To hold to them and their heirs, of me and of my son John, and our heirs, by an exact division towards the Cape of Saint Brandon on the sea coast, and towards Limerick and other parts, and as far as the water near Lismore, which runs between Lismore and Cork, and fall into the sea, by the service of sixty knights to be performed thereout to me and my son John, and our heirs ; the service of thirty knights, to be performed by the said Robert, and his heirs ; and the service of thirty knights, by the said Milo, and his heirs. Wherefore, I will, and strictly command, that the said Robert and Milo shall have and hold the government of the said city and cantred, in a manner as it is before mentioned, and that they and their heirs shall have and hold all the kingdom aforesaid, except the city and cantred (which I retain in my own hands) from me and my son John, and our heirs, by an exact division, as above described, well and peaceably, freely and quietly, entirely, fully, and honourably, in wood and in plain, in meadows and pastures, in waters and mills, in warrens, ponds and fishings, in ways and paths, and in all other places and things belonging thereto, with all their liberties and free customs, so that from the aforesaid river that runs between Lismore and Cork, the whole land as far as Waterford, together with the city of Lismore, shall remain in my hands for the government of Waterford.

"Witnesses present :—John, Bishop of Norwich ; Adam, Bishop of St. Asaph, and Augustine, Bishop of Waterford ; Richard de Lucy, William Fitz Alden, my sudor ; Hugh de Lacy, Hugh de Burid, Roger Fitz Kemsey, Maurice de Prendergast, Robert Dene, Robert Fitz Eliode, Jeoffrey Poer, Harvey de Monteand Marisco, at Oxford."

In 1174, Strongbow led an army to plunder Munster, and Roderic came against him. The English got help from the

Danes of Dublin, and a battle was fought at Thurles, where they were defeated by “dint of fighting.” The earl “proceeded in sorrow to his house at Waterford,” and would hardly have endorsed the *veni vidi vici* theory of “the English Conquest of Ireland.” In the year 1175 Maurice O’Melaghlin was slain by the English after they had acted treacherously towards him.¹

But though Henry II. granted all the kingdom of Cork to his followers, as he did not possess it, the grant was worth just as much as the swords of Fitz Stephen and de Cogan could make of it, and no more.

Desmond’s eldest son was in rebellion against his father, and according to the fatal custom of the times, the father called in foreign aid to suppress the domestic broil. He asked the assistance of Raymond *le Gros*, who was then besieging Limerick, and Raymond set out without a moment’s hesitation, seized Cormac, and delivered him to his father, who had him beheaded. In gratitude for his assistance, Dermod bestowed a considerable portion of Kerry on Raymond. Raymond handed over the part to his eldest son, and so originated the family of Fitzmaurice, barons of Lixnau, now represented by the Marquis of Lansdowne.

It was a time of feuds, and the English barons were quite as willing to fight with and dispossess each other, as they were to fight with and dispossess the “common enemy.”²

1. In 1175 Conor Mac Coille, abbot of the Church of St. Peter and Paul, and afterwards senior of St. Patrick’s, died at Rome, having gone thither to confer with the succession of St. Peter, which, no doubt, would prove that the Irish were not attached to that See; and in 1176 Fore, Kells, and Louth were laid waste by the Saxons, another specimen of their peaceful conquest of Ireland. In the same year the death of “the English earl, Richard,” is attributed to the anger of St. Bridget and Columcille for all the churches he had destroyed. “He thought he saw St. Bridget in the act of killing him.” This shows that at least some of the Norman robbers were aware of their misdeeds, though Mr. Froude cannot see them.

Smith has the following entries under the year 1177³

"About this time Dermott Mac Carthy's son, Cormac, rebelled against his father, and, having taken him prisoner, used him barbarously. The old king applied to Raymond *le Gros*, who was then at Limerick, for his assistance. He marched to his relief, vanquished the rebellious son, and delivered him up to his father, who caused him to be beheaded. And for this service Raymond had a large territory in the county of Kerry granted to him by King Dermott, where he settled his son Maurice, who married Catherine, daughter to Milo de Cogan, and there grew so powerful, that he gave his name both to his posterity and country ; the former being called, from him, Fitzmaurice (of whose family the Earls of Kerry are descended), and the latter, the barony of Clancmaurice, in that county.

"Milo de Cogan and Fitz-Stephen about this time invaded Connaught ; but for want of a sufficient force, and provisions being scarce, they were obliged to quit the enterprise.

"1179. In order to secure a quiet possession of this country (granted them by King Henry), they came to an agreement with Dermot, King of Cork, and the other Irish chiefs, to let them have 24 cantreds at a small annual rent ; and they divided seven others, which lay contiguous to the city, between themselves, as is mentioned at large. (Vol. i., Book i., Chap. i.) They also agreed at the same time to divide the rent of the other 24 cantreds equally, which they had granted to the Irish. Fitz Stephen also granted three cantreds to his

2. Under the year 1150 the *Annals of Innisfallen* say :—

A.D. 1150. "The O'Briens and the Dalgais laid waste the entire principality of Desmond, from the river called Amhain Mor (now Blackwater) to Corke. 1151, Turlough O'Connor and all the Canatian princes joined by Diarmoid Mac Morrogh, King of Leinster, with his forces, Malachy, son of Morough O'Maol-Seachlin, with the forces of Meath and Tiagharnan O'Ruairc, with the joint forces of Connaicne and Feathblia, marched in one great body into Munster to the assistance of Dermod Mac Carthy, as far as the banks of the *Blackwater*, that night.

3. Under the year 1175 we find that Donal Caomhanch and Fitzpatrck marched from Limerick into Musgary Aodh, and in their rout laid waste with fire and sword *Bealach Authe* and Cule Grinn ; Diarmod More Mac Carthy came to meet them and concluded a treaty. —*Annals of Innisfallen*. Under the year 1177 we find that Milo Cogan was banished from Dublin by Hugh de Lacy, and forced to fly to Corke.

sister's son, Philip de Barry,⁴ who soon after built the castle of Barry's-Court, and some say also that of Shandon, near Cork.

The *Annals of Innisfallen*, under the year 1180, enter the death of Meredith, son of Robert Fitz Stephen, at Cork.

1183. Great slaughter was made by the English of Cork, and Robert Fitz Stephens was forced to retire to the citadel for protection, till Raymond *Le Gros* came with his English force to his relief.

The Bodleian copy of the *Annals of Innisfallen* has the following entry :—

“A.D. 1178. Corke was plundered by the grandson of Donnell, who was the grandson of Carthach, and the Green Galls. Corke was besieged by Milo Cogan and Fitz Stephen. A party of their people made an excursion to Aghadoe, where they remained two days and two nights, and then returned again to Cork. After this they went towards Waterford, but the Irish gathered against them at the hill of Lismore, and nearly killed them all.”

Dr. O'Brien, in his *History of the House of O'Briens*, published by Vallancey, in his own name, in the first volume of the *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicus*, thus very correctly paraphrases this passage :—

“A.D. 1178. Donal O'Brien, at the head of the entire Dal Cassian tribe, greatly distressed and reduced all the Eugenians, laid waste their country with fire and sword, and obliged the dispersed Eugenians to seek for shelter in the woods and fastnesses of Ive Eachach, on the south side of the Lee. In this expedition they routed the O'Donovans of Ive Figeinte,

⁴. Cambrensis says that Barry was the first man who was wounded in the Norman war in Ireland. Cambrensis belonged to this family, and accompanied Henry II. to Ireland. He wrote a history of the “English in Ireland,” which Smith calls “vatinical,” in other words “lying.” His falsehoods have been repeatedly disproved.

or Cairbre Aodhbha, in the county of Limerick, and the O'Collins of Ive-Conaill Gabhra, or Lower Connalls, in said county, beyond the mountain of Mangerton, to the western parts of the county of Cork : here these two exiled Eugenian families, being powerfully assisted by the O'Mahonys, made new settlements for themselves in the ancient properties of the O'Donoghues, O'Learies, and O'Driscolls, to which three families the O'Mahonys were always declared enemies, to the borders of Lough Leane, where Auliffe Mor O'Donoghue, surnamed Cuimsinach, had made some settlements before this epoch.

^{1185.} “ Milo de Cogan, and young Fitz Stephen, having occasion to treat with the people of Waterford, went to Lismore, to which place they were invited by one Mac Tirid,⁵ who treacherously murdered them, and five of their

^{Henry II,} servants, upon which the Irish took up arms, joining ^{A.D. 1185.} all their forces under Mac Carty, who still retained the title of king. They besieged Cork, not doubting to expel all the English, and Robert Fitz Stephen, then shut up in that place. Upon this exigency he despatched a message to Raymond *le Gros*, then at Wexford, for assistance ; who directly set sail with a 100 archers and knights, and coasting the country, arrived in the river of Cork with great expedition with this reinforcement. Fitz Stephen made a sally, routed the Irish at the first onset, and after several skirmishes with them, by putting some of their chiefs to death, and banishing others, they reduced the country to their obedience. This year Philip de Barry, with Girald, commonly named Cambrensis, arrived in Ireland with a strong party, about the end of February, not only to assist Fitz Stephen, but also to recover his lands of Olethan, which Ralph, the son of Fitz Stephen, had unjustly detained ; but

^{5.} The annals of Kilronan, Clonmacnoise, and Ulster entered the death of Milo de Cogan, “the destroyer of all Ireland, both of church and state ;” of Raymond *le Gros* and of the two sons of Fitz Stephen. The annals of Kilrone and Clonmacnoise add that Milo was killed by Mac Tire, prince of *Ui Mac Caille* (now the barony of Imokilly, county of Cork), according to Cambrensis, who was the Froude of the twelfth century. Certainly it was always an act of treachery when an Irish prince or chief killed an Englishman who had taken possession of his property, and an act of the highest virtue when an Englishman killed a Celt, whom he had expelled from house and home.

King John granted these three cantreds afterwards to his son, William de Barry, to hold them by the service of ten knight's fees.⁶

"The Munster chiefs revolted again this year, for Mac Carty, king of Cork, or Desmond, and O'Brien, king of Thomond, joined the king of Connaught, and wasted all the English plantations. Friarclin, in his annals, says, 'there happened a great eclipce of the sun this year, after which it continued for some time a bloody colour.'

^{1186.} "This year Dermot Mac Carty, king of Desmond, was slain by Theobald Walter, with a party of the English, as he was holding a conference with other Irish chiefs near Cork.

^{Richard I, A.D. 1196.} "Donald Mac Carty demolished the castle of Imo-killy, and killed many of the English; he also plundered the castle of Kilfeakle. Colgan says there was a church in Muskery called by this name, *i.e.*, Ecclesia deuis, from a tooth of Saint Patrick kept there. This castle probably stood near it, but the place is not now known. Soon after the English assembled their forces, which made up a good army, but by the interposition of some mediators, a peace was concluded, and both armies dispersed.

^{1198.} "This year died Richard de Carew, a man of great power and name in this kingdom, who built several castles in this county.

^{AD. 1199.} "John Despenser was made Provost of Cork, and he is the first magistrate recorded to be in that city.

^{1201.} "The county of Muigh Feinin, (*i.e.*, Fermoy,) was miserably wasted by the discords of two great men, Philip de Wigornia, and William de Brause. The following year the castle of Knockgraffin, and some others that were

6. The Four Masters, under the year 1185, enter the son of the king of England, that is John, the son of Henry II, came to Ireland with a fleet of sixty ships, to assume the government of the kingdom. He erected castles at *Típraid Fachtna* and *Ardfinan*, out of which he plundered Munster. *Hammer's Chronicle*, an English authority, describes the Normans who came with him as "great quaffers, lourdens, proud belly swains, fed with extortion and bribery."

seized by Philip, were, by the king's commands, restored to William.

^{1210.} “Cork was this year, with eleven other counties, made shire ground by King John, who appointed sheriffs and other proper officers to govern them.”

Under the year 1208, the Annals of the Four Masters enter—“John, Bishop of Norwich, was excommunicated by the Pope, together with all Englishmen in Ireland, which excommunication hung over them for the space of two long years.”

The name of this bishop was John de Gray. He was chosen, by King John's recommendation, as Archbishop of Canterbury; but the Holy See refused to confirm his election, and procured the election of Cardinal Stephen Langton, a very eminent prelate. The king wrote an insolent letter to the Pope, and the result was an interdict. In Ireland it only extended to the English in Ireland.

^{Henry III.} ^{A.D. 1216.} “King Henry III. wrote to the Archbishops of Dublin and Cashel to consecrate Geoffrey White Bishop of Cork; and therein gives him the character of a learned, provident, and honest man.

^{1234.} “On the 7th of April there appeared in Cork, and several other places, the resemblance of four suns at once.

^{1247.} “John de Cogan, who was a descendant of Milo, together with Theobald Butler, were this year Lords Justices of Ireland.

^{Henry III.} ^{A.D. 1248.} “The wars of the MacCartys began with the Fitz-geralds, in which 1,250 persons were slain in Desmond.

^{1257.} “This year died Maurice Fitzgerald, Lord Offaley, who was one of the Lords Justices of Ireland, by commission dated September 2nd, 1232. He was buried in the Church of the Friars Minors at Youghal, which monastery he founded in 1232. The king in the year 1216 granted a

charter to this Maurice for the restitution of Maynooth, and all the other lands which his father died seized of.

^{1261.} “Sir Richard de Rupella, or Roch, as Clyn calls him, was made Lord Justice of Ireland, who, being called into England; Sir David de Barry was instituted in his place in 1267. He did excellent service in composing some differences between the Burkes and Geraldines, who were too strong for the former governors. The Mac Cartys took up arms, surprised John FitzGerald, and slew him, with his son Maurice, at Callan, in Desmond, with several knights, and other gentlemen of that family; and so oppressed them, that the FitzGeralds durst not put a plough in the ground for twelve years. Soon after some dissensions arose between the Irish of the territories of Carbery and Muskery, headed by the Mac Carthys, Donovans, Driscolls, Mahonys, and Swineys, so that they weakened and destroyed each other; whereupon the Fitz Geralds began again to recover their power and authority.

^{Edward I., A.D. 1272.} Maurice FitzMaurice FitzGerald was made Lord Justice of Ireland, June 23rd.

^{1304.} “The houses of the Knights Templars were suppressed in this country by an order of King Edward I., directed to Sir John Wogan, Lord Deputy of Ireland; and ten years after, viz., 1314, the Knights Hospitallers were put in possession of their lands.

^{Edward II., A.D. 1308.} This year Maurice Caunton, alias Condon, killed Richard Talon; and the Roches, in a pitched battle, slew him. The same year Sir David Caunton was hanged in Dublin.

^{1310.} “There was so great a scarcity of corn this year in Ireland, that an erane of corn sold for 2s. and upwards.

^{1311.} “This year William Roche was killed in Dublin by an arrow, which, say the annals, an Irish Highlander shot at him.

^{1315.} “The Scots having to the number of 6,000 men invaded Ireland, under the command of Edward Bruce, the Irish of Munster took up arms in order to join them; but by the vigilance of Sir Edmund Butler, then Governor of

Ireland, they were prevented, upon which Bruce went back to Scotland.

^{1316.} “But the following year he returned with a more powerful army, committed great ravages, and caused himself to be crowned king at Dundalk. From the north he marched to Limerick ; about Palm Sunday came to Cashel ; and thence to Nenagh, where he wasted all the Lord Justice’s lands.

^{1317.} “The English assembled an army of 30,000 men at Kilkenny ; and in Easter week, 1317, Sir Roger de Mortimer, who was appointed Lord Justice, landed at Youghal with 38 knights, upon whose arrival Bruce fled into Ulster, but he was pursued by the Lord Justice, who encountering him slew him and most of his men, and presented his head to King Edward II. The Connaught rebels being animated with the success gained by Bruce on his first arrival, entered this province and slew the Lord Stephen of Exeter, Miles de Cogan, and eighty of the Barrys and Lawlers.

^{Edward II., A.D. 1318.} “Alexander Becknor, Archbishop of Dublin and Lord Deputy of Ireland, landed at Youghal.

^{1324.} “There was a great murrain of oxen and kine this year throughout all Ireland.

^{Edward III., A.D. 1329.} “This year James Fitz-Robert Keating, the Lord Philip Hodnet, of the Great Island, and Hugh Condon, were slain in a battle by the Barrys and Roches of this county.”

^{1329-30.} “In January, Maurice Fitz-Thomas, of Desmond, being the most active nobleman in the kingdom, was summoned by Sir John Darcy, Lord Justice, to fight the Irish rebels then in arms, which he did, with near 1,000 of his own men, and had the promise of the king’s pay. He routed the O’Nolans, in the county of Wicklow, as also the O’Morroughs, and other septs, but the revenue of the kingdom being too small to support the war, and very little assistance sent out of England, he, in imitation of the Irish Connaught, brought in the custom of coin and livery, *i.e.*, he and his army took horse meat and man’s meat, and money from the king’s

subjects, without any satisfaction, a practice followed by most of the commanders after his time (Sir Thomas Rokeby excepted), by which means, the freeholders of this and other counties of Munster were forced to return to England, in whose possessions Desmond and his Irish followers seated themselves. Thus, from 1,000 marks yearly, he became worth 10,000 per annum. And in order to support himself he rejected the English laws and government, and in their place assumed the barbarous customs of the Irish, under pretence of a royal liberty, which he claimed in the counties of Cork, Waterford, Limerick, and Kerry. The earls of Ormond and Kildare following his example, not only this province, but also a great part of Leinster, revolted about this time from the English government.

^{1330.} “Upon his refusing to swear fealty to the Crown of England, he and the Earl of Ulster were committed to the custody of the Marshal of Limerick, by order of Roger Outlaw, then Lord Justice, from whom he escaped ; but being retaken soon after by Sir Anthony Lucy, Lord Justice, he was released upon his solemn oath of fidelity to the king ; but his sincerity being soon suspected, he was retaken, and confined for a year and a half in the castle of Dublin ; but was then set at liberty, many of the nobility becoming sureties for his good behaviour.”⁷

Under the year 1215 the Dublin copy of the Annals of Innisfallen record that a great war broke out between Dermot of Dundrouan, the son of Donnell More na Curra Mac Carthy, and his brother Cormac Finn ; that the English were assisting on both sides ; and that during this war the English acquired great possessions, and made great conquests of lands, on which they built castles and strong forts for themselves to defend them against the Irish. The following were the castles erected on this occasion :

7. We need scarcely say that this subject is not even distantly alluded to in Mr. Froude's *English in Ireland*.

The castle of Muinter Bhaire, in Kilverhane parish, erected by Mac Cuddihy.

The castle of Dun na mbarc (Dunamaic) and Ard Tuilighthe, by Carew.

The castles of Dun Cearain (Dunkerron) and Ceapa na Coise (Cappanacusha), near the Kenmare river, in Kerry, by Carew.

The castle of Dunloe, in Kerry, by Maurice, son of Thomas Fitzgerald.

The castle of Killforgla (Killorglin), and the castle of the Mang (Castlemaine), in Kerry, by the same Maurice.

The castles of Maylahiff, of Cala na feirse (Callanafersy), of Cluain Maolain (Cloonmealane), and of Curreens (now Currans), by the son of Maurice Fitzgerald.

The castle of Arlioch, by Roche.

The castles of Dunnagall and Dun na Sead (Baltimore), by Sleviny. The ruins of the former are marked on the ordnance map of the county of Cork, sheet 150, on Ringarogy Island, in the parish of Creagh, in the east division of the barony of West Carbery; and the ruins of the castles of Baltimore, which was anciently called Dún na péaō, are shown on the same sheet at Baltimore village.

The castle of Traigh-bhaile, near the harbour of Cuan Dor (Glandore), was erected by Barrett. This castle was afterwards called Cloghatrad-Vally, and belonged to Donnell na Carton O'Donovan, chief of Clann-Loughlin, who died on the 10th of May, 1580, and to his son, and grandson. It was situated in the townland of Aghatubridmore, in the parish of Kilfaughnabeg, and is now generally called Glandore Castle.

The castles of Timoleague and Dundeady were erected by Nicholas Boy de Barry.⁸

On the death of O'Conor, archbishop of Armagh, three Englishmen claimed the office; Eugene, an Irish ecclesiastic, was, however, validly elected.

But John had no idea of quiet submission. The dispute was referred to the Holy See and decided in favour of Eugene, whereupon the king at once issued letters patent to the suffragan bishops of Armagh,⁹ and forced them to obey their metropolitan. Whatever faults Celtic chieftains were guilty of in the practice of their religion—and they had a fair share to their score—they certainly never defied the Holy See, and it need scarcely be said they took no notice of this insolent mandate. Eugene died at Rome after having attended the Fourth Council of Latern.

It must be said in all justice, however, that the English prelates, with some exceptions, were exemplary, and were devoted to the interests of the Irish church.

8. *Four Masters*, pp. 187-188.

9. John Comin was the first Englishman appointed to an Episcopal See in Ireland. So cruel and rapacious were the Norman settlers that this English archbishop was obliged to interfere with the sternest measures to protect the rights of the Church, and, as a last resource, he publicly excommunicated the Lord Justice. All this is mentioned in English authorities. It is not mentioned in Froude's romance. His sins of omission and commission are far too numerous to notice, and would be passed by with silent indifference, if they were not likely to be taken for gospel by those who have not opportunities of obtaining reliable information.—*Prym*, vol. ii., p. 240. *Ware's Bishop, &c., &c.*

CHAPTER VIII.

THE NORMANS IN IRELAND.

The conduct of the English lords during the reign of Edward III.—Policy of the English in Ireland—The Norman nobles obliged to seek the assistance of the native Irish—Quarrels between the English by blood and the English by birth—The English in Ireland cared more for their own than for English interests—The Anglo-Norman settlers did not like being ejected by new comers, and forgot how they had ejected the Irish—The Desmonds defy the mandates of the Lord Justices—How the Earl of Desmond got into trouble, and how he got out of it—Ireland never defrayed the expense of keeping it—How “the Mac Carties plained the divell,” and Hanmer’s account of the rise of the Desmonds—Sir John Davis’s account of how the English lords lived—The king’s sheriffs were by no means as honest as they might have been—The English king obliged to secure the allegiance of the Desmonds by granting them favours—The earl peremptorily refuses to swear fealty to the English Crown—A Parliament held at Westminster, in which the evils of absenteeism were discovered—Orders given for the Anglo-Norman lords to remain in Ireland—De Lacy makes an example of some Anglo-Norman lords by hanging them—Some pertinent queries sent to the English court—The Earl of Desmond sails from Youghal to England—He is made Viceroy, and hangs some of his relatives to give general satisfaction—The English lords forbidden to make war on each other—The learned earl—Russell’s account of the Geraldines—Thomas Fitzgerald, sixth Earl of Desmond, endows a collegiate church at Youghal—Desmond’s “most tragical death”—The earl’s rash remarks about Elizabeth Gray, and the consequences—How the Irish were “quieted,” and why—Death of Mac Carthy More, the best protector of the poor—Difficulties of tracing the Desmond pedigree—Black Maurice—The Mac Carthys “behave themselves ‘briskly.’”

IN the reign of Edward III. the insolence of the English lords in Ireland had grown so great that a parliament was assembled in Dublin for repressive measures. But the English in Ireland had their own aggrandisement too entirely at heart to pay much attention to royal enactments, and they were too far away from the arm of the law to be subjected to any compulsion. The result was a chronic state of misery and confusion throughout the island, which leaves it a subject of wonder, especially when succeeding events are considered,

that the Irish could ever have settled down into peace or enjoyed prosperity.

All the old evils of division and private interest, as opposed to national good, were increased in proportion to the number of new rulers. Each was for himself, but this involved being against every one else. The Norman's nobles protected themselves *vis et arma* when they could : and by when they could, be it well understood, meant whenever they proved stronger than the native owners of the soil.

The English never conquered Ireland. If they had done so it is possible there might have been peace. But for some centuries a guerilla war was kept up which made peace impossible, and progress in the peaceful arts unattainable.

The Norman nobles who inaugurated this system of predatory warfare, found it impossible to hold their own, or what they considered their own, without the assistance of the native princes. The native princes, from causes already explained, were predisposed to petty feuds. The elements of dissension were at hand. It did not need much skill or finesse on the part of the English adventurers to avail themselves of it.

Matters were not improved when other adventurers followed the first, and not finding it possible to penetrate into the wilds of the west or the fastnesses of the north, were fain to content themselves with the midland counties, the east coast and the south. Each new arrival in seeking a settlement for himself must needs eject some older inhabitant. When there were no Irish to eject the English turned against each other ; and long and loud were the complaints of those who came last,

when they found that those who preceded them had so far made themselves at home in Ireland as to be able to claim the assistance of Irish chiefs.

It does not seem to have occurred to either party that the Irish were anything else except a race to be exterminated,—not then, indeed, because there was any special hatred of them, but simply because they were in the way.

Soon there came to be “the English by blood” and “the English by birth,” two parties who hated each other as cordially as ever Celt has hated Saxon. The English by blood who had been even a few years settled in Ireland could not be got to see the justice or humanity of the summary process of hunting him off the face of the earth when practised on himself. It was so different when he had practised it on others.

I do not suppose—I do not think any rational person in the present day (a certain historian always excepted) has ever supposed—that the English came to Ireland with magnificent ideas of benevolence, and proposing the extermination of the Celt as an act of virtue.

Norman nobles were not destitute of common sense. They wanted Irish land, they considered that might was right, but they did not turn round on their victims with any whining platitudes about benevolence. The Normans had their faults, but with them a sword meant a sword. The Celt was an enemy because he was in the way. It remained for a modern writer to treat him as an enemy, because he was an Irishman. Humbug and cant waited until Cromwell commenced massacring his fellow-creatures for the love of God.

Edward III. sent over Ralph Ufford as Lord Justice. To send over a new Lord Justice was then the great idea for the pacification of Ireland. But it was more than six hours across the channel then. There were no electric wires. The mills of the gods ground slowly, and Lords Justices had a habit of looking a good deal more after their own interests than after the interests of their royal masters.¹

The Desmonds were by far the most important and foremost of the southern septs. They were an Anglo-Norman family, and became in an exceedingly short space of time “more Irish than the Irish.”

It is a curious circumstance, and one which has not been explained, that when English writers depict in glowing words the baseness and treachery of the Irish in not submitting quietly to confiscation, expulsion, and change of religion, they quite forget that many of those whom they thus condemn were not Irish—that the greater number were English.

The De Burgos, the Desmonds, the Barrys, the Carews, were all of direct English descent ; yet these nobles were quite as ready to resist English rule, when it came in the form of ejectment, as the “mere” Irish.

We find Desmond refusing the Lord Justices command to attend Parliament in Dublin in 1345, and appointing another Assembly of his own at Callan, in the county Kilkenny. The result was a petty war, and the capture of two of the earl’s castles—Inisbrysty and the Island Castle—and the hanging of certain of his followers : Sir Eustace Poer, Sir William

1. Smith was by no means partial to his native land or his race, and throughout his History identifies himself with the English. Yet he says that Ufford “was greedy of amassing wealth,” and proved an improper person.—*Smith’s History of Cork*, vol. I, p. 21.

Grant, and Sir John Cotterel. The earl managed to escape himself, until twenty-six noblemen and knights became bail for his appearance on a certain day, but as he did not appear, his recognizers were forfeited.

Next year, 1346, he was summoned to another Parliament, which he also refused to attend ; and thereupon, he and the Earl of Kildare assembled a meeting of their own at Kilkenny, and drew up articles against the Lord Justice, which procured his removal.

" In his place, Sir Walter Bermingham was sent over, who procured the earl liberty to manage his cause in England, where he was kindly received, being allowed 20s. a day to defray his expenses ; and being there very active in his own cause, he obtained satisfaction for the wrongs done him by Sir Ralph Ufford, so that in the year 1352 he was restored to all his estate and jurisdictions.²

Smith says, quoting from a MS. in Trinity College "that this kingdom (Ireland), never defrayed the expense of keeping it."³

The power of the Desmonds increased rapidly.⁴ Maurice

2. Smith's History of Cork, vol. 2, p. 21.

3. The expense of this kingdom to the Crown of England beyond the revenue was, the 29th of Edward III., no less than £22,851. The following year it amounted to £28,801 ; in the 50th year of his reign to £18,081 ; and in the following reign of Richard II. it never defrayed the charge of keeping it.

4. Hanmer gives the following account of the rise of the Desmonds :—The Carties plained the divells in Desmond, where they burried, spoiled, preyed, and slue many an innocent. They became so strong and prevailed so mightily, that for the space (so it is reported) of twelve yeeres the Desmond durst not put a plow in ground in his own country. At length, through the operation of Satan, a love of discord was thrown between the Carties and the O'Driscolls, Odonovaines, Mac Donoch, Mac Mahouna, Mac Swines, and the inhabitants of Muserie, insomuch that, by their cruel dissension, they weakened themselves on all sides, that the Desmond in the end overcame and overtopped all.

Account of the much disputed and perplexing origin of the Desmonds :—“ Thomas, the son of Maurice, surnamed Nappagh, was constituted Lord Justice of Ireland ; and being captain of all Desmond, or south Munster, was so great and powerful a man that he is frequently styled prince and ruler of Munster. He claimed to be the king's sheriff in the counties of Cork, Waterford and Kerry, founding his pretensions on King Edward

Fitzmaurice, Earl of Desmond, was made Lord Justice of Ireland for life, and died in Dublin in 1355. In 1443, James, Earl of Desmond, obtained a patent for the government and custody of the counties of Cork, Waterford, Limerick, and Kerry.

Sir John Davis specially mentions the manner in which these Anglo-Irish lords lived. He says :—

“These absolute palatines made barons and knights who did exercise high justice in all parts within their territories ; erected courts for criminal and civil cases, and for their own revenues, in the same form as the kings courts were established in Dublin ; made their own judges, seneschals, sheriffs, coroners, and escheators, so that the kings writ did not run in those counties, which took up more than two parts of the English colonies, but only in the church lands, lying within the same, which were called the “cross,” wherein the king made a sheriff ; and so in each of these county palatinates there were two sheriffs, one of the liberty, and another of the cross.”⁵

The Desmond family were by no means loyal subjects. The

I.'s grant to his grandfather, John Fitz Thomas, whose heir he was. He married the daughter of John, Lord Barry, and sat as Lord Offaly in a parliament held in Dublin the 18th of October, 1295, (by John Wogan, who then succeeded him in his office) : left two sons—(1) John, who was the eighth Lord Offaly, and was created Earl of Kenmare ; and (2) Maurice, created Earl of Desmond. He died, according to Henry of Marlborough, in 1298. In the same parliament sat also Maurice Fitz Maurice, the second lord of Kerry, and to him King Edward I., in 1297, sent his writ of summons to assist him in an expedition to Scotland, which he obeyed by going thither with his horse and arms, prepared for that service.”

5. It is to be feared the sheriffs could not always have worked harmoniously, and that the “high justice” of these “absolute palatinates” sometimes consisted in the enforcement of their own will and pleasure. By way of complicating matters still further, the native Irish observed their own laws ; and the Brehon Code, with its presumptive claims of some thousand years and more, was their rule of legal right and wrong.

Some of the entries, in a computation of the king's revenue from the county of Kerry, in the 38th and 39th of Henry III., A.D. 1254-5, are very curious. Walter de Brackleyer was then vice-comes, the old name for sheriff, and acknowledged £10 for “pleas and perquisites,” and, moreover, had two marks for the dues of sergeantry in the said county, from Michaelmas term, 39th year ; and 100 shillings for pleas and perquisites of the said county for the whole year 37th.

cause of their advancement in the person of the first earl is not very clear, for Maurice Fitz Gerald does not seem to have done anything to claim especial reward, or the extraordinary power conferred upon him. It is possible, however, that the family had become so powerful as to leave the king but little choice between securing their allegiance by favours, or subduing their power by force. The former course was adopted, whatever may have been the motive, and the result proved that it did not increase the devotion of the family to the English crown.

The very year after the creation of the earl, the Lord Justice summoned him to assist in subduing an insurrection in Wicklow, promising him the “king’s pay.” The earl gave the required aid, and was successful; but the promised bounty was not forthcoming, and this was, doubtless, one of the many occasions on which the king found that Irish revenue had better be applied to Irish purposes. The earl raised the amount by the tax called coign and livery, and the result was a general discontent, particularly amongst the English in Munster and Leinster, who complained loudly of these oppressions.

The earl had obtained the privilege by royal charter of excluding the king’s sheriffs, and other ministers of justice, from the county. During the viceroyalty of Roger Utlagh, and in the minority of Edward III, the earl was required to swear fealty to the English crown—a requirement which he peremptorily refused to obey. The Earl of Ulster also refused to take the oath, and such quarrels arose between the Geraldines and De Burgos, that Utlagh was obliged to place both parties in durance at Limerick. Desmond, however, soon contrived to make his escape.

Sir Anthony de Lacy was made justiciary in the following year, 1331. He was connected through intermarriage with the Desmonds, De Berminghams, and De Burghs; his kinsman, John de Multon, baron of Egremont, having married Alianore De Burgh, a daughter of the Red Earl, and sister-in-law to the Earl of Desmond. He summoned a parliament in Dublin, but the great southern lords refused to attend. De Lacy then prorogued the assembly and convened it at Kilkenny. Here the Earl of Desmond, and his friend Lord William de Birmingham, swore on the Gospels to be "loyal and faithful;" their subsequent career giving evidence of how little sincerity there was in their solemn protestations. Many of their followers purchased the "King's peace" by the payment of heavy fines, and De Lacy declared that, for all time to come, he who might be found guilty of the "death of an Englishman," should suffer for it—a threat easier uttered than executed.

By way of an exhibition of general justice, and, doubtless because of some private information, De Lacy seized the Earl of Desmond soon after at Limerick, and committed him to Dublin Castle. A parliament was held at Westminster in September, 1331, in which the evils of absenteeism were discovered, and those holding offices in Ireland were required to proceed thither forthwith, while the proprietors of large tracts of land were required to take measures for the security of their property. Projects were entertained for a royal visit to Ireland, and those who held property there were summoned to attend the king, but the Scotch wars proved an obstacle to the accomplishment of the expedition. In the meanwhile

De Lacy made examples by hanging some of the English settlers, and amongst others William De Bermingham fell a victim to his zeal for impartiality, and seems to have been generally regretted.

The Earl of Desmond was released from his second imprisonment in 1333, at the reiterated request of the Irish nobility, who made the rash offer of producing him personally at any time within two months after he had been demanded of them by the king's writ. He was obliged, notwithstanding, to place hostages in the hands of the viceroy, and swear before the high altar of Christ Church, Dublin, to attend the next parliament, and to preserve fealty to the King of England.

In 1335 he assisted Edward III. in his Scotch wars, and afterwards paid a visit to the English Court, where he was well received.

In the year 1338 a decree was made to prevent the Anglo Normans resident in Ireland from holding office there, and a tremendous feud arose between the "English by Blood" and the "English by Birth." The real cause of this most unjust and unwise enactment was, that the Anglo Norman settlers had already begun to intermarry with the Celtic chieftains, and, as a natural and necessary consequence, to take part with them in their unceasing efforts against the English crown. The policy was as unwise as it was ungenerous, and, instead of lessening disaffection, added a new element to that which had already existed.

Sir John Moritz, who was acting as deputy for D'Arcy, the viceroy, convened a parliament at Dublin, but the

Anglo-Norman settlers refused to attend it ; and, headed by the Earl of Desmond, held a meeting at Kilkenny. They set to work in a business-like manner, and sent in three queries for the royal consideration, which certainly had the merit of brevity and point. They asked :—

“(1). How a country in a state of war could be governed by a person who was unskilled in military affairs ?

“(2). How a royal official, who entered office poor, could in one year become extremely rich ?

“(3). How it happened that the King of England did not derive larger revenues from Ireland ?”

A protest or petition was also presented to the Crown, in which it was stated that the English settlers in Ireland were reduced to extreme poverty, and the cause was declared to be the extortions and embezzlements of the English ministers appointed to govern Ireland. It was further declared that in many places the English colony had been ruined by the proprietors, who never came thither from England, nor made any expenditure towards their maintenance ; but by setting them out to farm, to extract all the money they could yield.

The petition was well received and favourably answered, and Sir Raoul D’Ufford was sent to Ireland as Viceroy ; but his wife is said to have shown too much haughtiness of demeanour, and to have kept too much state, to please the colony. D’Ufford held, or at least summoned, a parliament in Dublin on the 7th June, 1345 ; but the Earl of Desmond refused to attend it, and appointed another assembly to meet at Callan, in the County Kilkenny. The earl was carrying out his authority in royal style, and adding constantly to his already extensive lands by new purchases. Several lords of

the colony had received knighthood from him. He composed his charters in kingly fashion, and in the plural number, and designated himself Earl of Desmond, Lord of Deyse, and of the Liberties of Kerry.

Some of the earl's followers obeyed the Viceroy's writs, and refused to attend at Callan, whither D'Ufford marched with a powerful force to subdue the refractory noble. He marched through the country as far as Castleisland, which was the earl's great stronghold. The earl's knights, Eustace le Poer and William le Grant, refused to obey the summons; but after a fortnight's siege the castle was taken, and the knights were hanged, with the earl's seneschal, John Cotterel. Desmond, however, still remained at large, and the Viceroy bethought himself of the bond executed twelve years before, in which so many nobles had so imprudently proffered their sureties for the Desmond. The "muinpernoms" were proceeded against, their lands forfeited, and many were completely ruined in consequence. In the meantime, another phase in the history of disorder was effected by the death of D'Ufford, on Palm Sunday, 1346. He was generally disliked, and his proud widow left the country amidst the openly expressed contempt of the populace.

Sir John Moritz was now sent to rule the troublesome colony, and on his arrival in Dublin he liberated the Earl of Kildare; and soon after the Earl of Desmond sailed for England from Youghal with his wife and two sons, and surrendered himself to the king on honourable terms, obtaining an allowance from the treasury of twenty shillings per diem. During his detention he obtained favourable terms for himself, and

the restoration of such of his lands as had been forfeited under D'Ufford's administration.

The earl was released from custody at London in 1349, on the joint bond of his father-in-law, Raoul, Lord Stafford, Thomas de Berkeley, Richard Talbot, and Reginald de Cobham, each of whom personally undertook to produce him within eight days from the time he might be demanded by the king—no slight act of friendship, the fate of former mainprizes being considered. The earl appears to have ingratiated himself with royalty ; for he was taken under the special protection of the king, and it was decided that all questions in connection with him should be referred to the English Council. He was further promoted to the vice-royalty, A.D. 1355, and during his short term of office gave general, if not particular, satisfaction by hanging some of his own relations who had been found guilty of lawless deeds. He died in the castle of Dublin, July, 1356, but his remains were interred at the family burial place in the Dominican Convent of Tralee.

In 1357 Maurice Oge, or the younger, second earl of Desmond, died suddenly at Castlemaine, and was succeeded in the family honours by his younger brother, John, who died at Youghal in 1369. He was succeeded by his half brother, Gerald, better known as the poet and the hero of romance. From all accounts, it is evident that the earl was in advance of his age in learning, if not in science ; and, as an almost necessary consequence, he attained the reputation of being a magician. His knowledge, however, took a practical, as well as a poetical turn, for we find that he held a prominent place in the politics of the day.

His principal residence, doubtless, was at the “sweetest island of Kerry;” but in 1367 he was appointed Viceroy, after Lionel, Duke of Clarence, the only heir to the English Crown who ever governed Ireland personally. The office could scarcely have been a very pleasant one, from the then state of society, when enactments were obliged to be made to prevent the English born in England from calling the English born in Ireland “Irish dogs,” and the English born in Ireland from calling the English of England “English robbers.”

It was furthermore required that English subjects should not war against each other, a custom which would undoubtedly have been more honoured in the breach than in the observance, but which, nevertheless, could not be put down by Act of Parliament; and it was equally forbidden, and the prohibition was equally useless, to bring Irish to their assistance for such purposes.

To the Geraldines these prohibitions were simply a dead letter, for their intermarriages with the Irish would have half naturalized them, even if years of residence in Ireland had not already accomplished what was then considered so undesirable.

Gerald, (or, as the Irish called him, Gearoith) notwithstanding his learning, or perhaps it would be more correct to say on account of it, had formed so high an opinion of Irish education, that he actually obtained a royal licence to have his son fostered and educated with the O'Briens, in Thomond.

It is quite possible, however, that his intelligent mind suggested the probable advantage of the education. But the earl was gathered to his fathers, as even earls will be—however prudent, or however learned ; yet few have so strange a halo

of romance about their last moments. Smith says that "he went out of his camp near the island of Kerry, and was privately murdered, having never been heard of more." But where he obtained his information we have not been able to ascertain. Russell,⁶ a most important authority on all Geraldine questions, says simply, that "being very old, he paid nature its inevitable debt," which certainly does not even remotely suggest that he paid that debt in a compulsory fashion. The "Four Masters" record his demise thus:—

"Garrell, Earl of Desmond, a cheerful and courteous man, who excelled all the English, and many of the Irish, in the knowledge of the Irish language, poetry, and history, and of other learning, died after the victory of penance."

The expression "the victory of penance" is of very frequent occurrence in the "annals," and is always used in reference to persons who had received the rites of the Church on their death-bed according to the Catholic Ritual. In the "Annals of Clonmacnoise" the earl's obituary is also recorded, so as to leave no doubt that the writer believed his death to have taken place in the course of nature:—

6. "The Relation of the Fitzgeralds of Ireland" was compiled by Thomas Russell in 1638. Very little is known of the author, who is supposed to have been an Englishman, as his sympathies were manifestly with that nation. The work was probably written for some noble patron. The author informs us that his father served the *ingens rebellius exemplar*, Garrett, sixteenth Earl of Desmond, so that he had the great advantage of personal knowledge of many of the facts which he records, and personal acquaintance with at least some of those of whom he writes. The Relation has been published in the "Journal of the Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland," from a transcript made at the close of the seventeenth century. The transcript is headed thus:—

"Mr. Thomas Russell's Relation
Of the Fitzgeralds of Ireland,
Written in the county of Clare,
22^o, die Octobris, Anno Dom. 1638."

The volume also contains "The Pedigree of the Geraldines of Desmond, from Oterus of Windsor to Maurice Fitzgerald, who first came to the conquest off [sic] Ireland with Richard, Earl Strongbow, in ye 16th year of the reigne of Henry 20, King of England, and from the sayed Maurice to James Fitzgarrett, the last earl of Desmonde of that name; together with some other members and families that descended from ye said Maurice in Ireland."

"The Lord Garrell, Earle of Desmond, a nobleman of wonderful bountie, worth, cheerfulness in conversation, charitable in his deeds, easy of access, a witty and ingenious composer of Irish poetry, and a learned and profound chronicler, and, in fine, one of the English nobility, that had Irish learning and professors thereof in the greatest reverence of all the English in Ireland, died penitently, after receipt of the sacraments of the holy church, in proper form."

John Fitz Gerald, the fifth Earl of Desmond, was appointed king's sheriff of the crosses of Kerry, April 12th, 1386, and was knighted for his service to the Crown in the Scottish wars. His brother, Maurice Fitz Gerald, was *ipso facto* earl for a few months after their father's decease ; but he died without issue, and "left the earldom to his brother, John Fitz Garrett, as good a pennyworth as he received from his father."

Thomas FitzGerald succeeded his father 1462. He had sided with the "White Rose" party, who were now in the ascendant, and Edward IV. rewarded him with the office of Deputy-Governor of Ireland, under the Duke of Clarence. The Earl of Kildare was, at the same time, appointed Chancellor of Ireland for life.

The Irish writers describe Earl Thomas as valiant and successful in war, a quality especially appreciated by them—as comely in person, scarcely less estimated. He had also a reputation for learning, for hospitality, for humanity, and, above all, was liberal to the clergy, and to antiquarians and bards. He certainly manifested his desire to promote learning, whether possessed of it himself or not, as he erected and endowed a collegiate church at Youghal, with a warden

eight fellows, and eight choristers. An act was also passed during his time of office authorizing the establishment of a university at Drogheda, with similar privileges to those then enjoyed at Oxford for the creation of bachelors, masters, and doctors in all sciences and faculties.

He was opposed by the English settlers in Meath, probably on account of his intimate connection with the native race ; but he obtained an easy victory, with the assistance of O'Donnell, and his uncle, Mac William de Burgh. He had powerful connections, if that could have saved him from his fate, for Joan, the daughter of Earl James, had married Thomas, Earl of Kildare.⁷

A quarrel soon arose between the earl and Sherwood, the Bishop of Meath, nine of the lord deputy's men having been slain at Finglas by the instigation of the latter. The earl and the prelate both went to England to lay their complaints before the king, or, as the Four Masters have it, "to make complaints against one another." The earl triumphed on this occasion, at least ; for we find that he returned to Ireland the same year, " bringing great presents from the king." Russell says :—

" Also he was called most commonly the greate Earl of Desmond, and was favoured by King Edward the Fourth, in whose tyme he lived and flourished, having followed the fortunes of the said king during those long and bloody warres which passed betwixt the two princely houses of Yorke and Lancaster. The earle being ready to take leave of his Majestye, the king tooke him aside, and, by way of friendship

7. The Four Masters have the following entry under the year 1464 :—" O'Donnell, Mac William Burke, and many of the Irish and English, repaired to Dublin to meet Thomas, Earl of Desmond, at that time Chief Justice of Ireland, and entered into a league of fealty and friendship with him."

and secrecy, demanded of him what fault worthy of reprehension the people found in his new begun government, that he himselfe knowing it, the error might be amended. The earl demanded libertye to speak his mind freely ; which being granted, hee told the king : the greatest fault any man would lay to his Majestye was the unequal and too low match hee made when hee married Elizabeth Gray, late wife to Sir John Gray, Knight, slayne at the first battle of St. Alban's, being too unfit a match for his Majestye, shee being his subject ; adding further his best course was to cast her off, and to joyne and linke himselfe to some greate and powerful prince, with whose assistance he might be able to maintain his newly conquered kingdom, and to leave an assured estate thereof to his posterity."

An old proverb says that it is dangerous to interfere between man and wife ; unquestionably it is not less dangerous to interfere between king and queen, as the earl soon found to his cost. According to the chronicler, the king expressed his gratitude for the opinion and the advice, but made the very pertinent reply, "That he was full glad that that fault of his did hurt to noe man in particular, but to himself only ;" but, nevertheless, Desmond's "most tragical death" is admitted to have no remote connection with Desmond's most improvident advice. Even kings will "upon some discontent grow angry" with their wives ; and even queens, "being proud," will reply with bitter speeches. But the royal recriminations belong to a later period.

Under the year 1468 the Four Masters record the arrival of an English Justiciary, and the removal of the Earl of Desmond, thus :—"An English Justiciary arrived in Ireland, and Thomas (Earl of Desmond) was removed, an occurrence which wrought the ruin of Ireland."

There can be little doubt that the earl's rash remarks about Elizabeth Gray were the immediate cause of his ruin. He was highly popular in Ireland—he was manifestly a favourite with the king—and no word was heard against him until A.D. 1467.⁸

The dismay and consternation which was caused by the news of Desmond's execution may well be imagined. The earl's surviving sons were still young, but his clan were most powerful; and the very fact of his death having been caused by an English viceroy was sufficient to obtain the most active sympathy of the native Irish. Gerald, (styled by the Irish, Gearoith) of Desmond, immediately took up arms, and, with a host of followers, spread terror and desolation through Meath and Kildare. The parliament attainted him, and devised the confiscation of his property; but all their acts remained a dead letter, and after the experience of what had so recently occurred, he took care not to trust his person in any English settlement. Russell says that the earl's five sons joined in

8. The Four Masters record his execution thus:—Thomas, Earl of Desmond, the son of James, son of Garrell, who had been Lord Justice of Ireland, the most illustrious of his tribe in Ireland in his time, for his comeliness and statue, for his hospitality and chivalry, his charity and humanity to the poor and the indigent of the Lord, his bounteousness in bestowing jewels and riches on the laity, the clergy, and the poets, and his suppression of theft and immorality, went to Drogheda to meet the English Lord Justice and the other English of Meath. These acted treacherously by him, and without any crime [on his part] they beheaded him; the greater number of men of Ireland were grieved at the news of it. His body was afterwards conveyed to Traigh-Li (Tidalee), and interred in the burial place of his predecessors and ancestors with great honour and veneration."

The Annals of Ross gives the dates of Desmond's execution as 14th July, 1467, and say it took place the second hour after noon. According to Dowling (*Annals Irish Arch. Soc.*, 1849), the earl's father was alive at the time of his execution. He says that Earl Thomas, "usurping upon his father, and going to Tredaly (Drogheda), he gave him his curse, and said he shall have an ill end." From an unpublished statute of 1464 we find that James Doheny, a merchant of Drogheda, went to England and accused the earl of extorting coigne and livery, and of being "of counsel and support to several rebels and traitors."

the revolt ; and O'Daly asserts that they devastated the entire country far and near, even to the gates of Dublin ; that King Edward bitterly deplored the fall of the brave earl, and that he admonished the Desmonds, by letter, not to sully their father's escutcheon with the foul blot of rebellion, protesting that the Earl of Desmond had been put to death without his order or knowledge, and offering pardon for all offences committed since the earl's death. “The sonnes of Desmond, immediately upon receipt of his Majestie's letter, embraced ye motion, accepted the pardon, came in, and were quieted.” They were not “quieted,” however, very long, although “the king did grant unto James Fitz Thomas, the earl's eldest son, the full and entyre libertye of county pallatine in Kierry, bestowed the castle and town of Dungarvan on him and his heyres for ever.”

James Fitz Thomas succeeded his father as Earl of Desmond, but only enjoyed his honours five years, as he was murdered at Rathkeale, in the county Limerick, by his own servants, it is said, at the instigation of his brother John.

According to Russell, this happened in 1480. He was succeeded by his brother Maurice, the tenth earl, who is said to have been “a scourge to the disobedient Irish.”

The country was not very likely to be “quieted” while there were Mac Carthys and Desmonds to keep up the feud. In 1521 James, Earl of Desmond, began to “ravage and lay waste” the barony of Muskery, the territory of Connor Oge Mac Carthy. Yet, in 1516, when the Geraldines went to war with each other, and James laid siege to Loch Gur, he was assisted by the Mac Carthys, and the Four Masters call

them “sustaining tower of the army.” John, another son of the Earl of Desmond, applied for assistance against his brother to the Dalcais; and as he had married into that family, they came to the rescue, and must have been a formidable host, for James raised the siege and retreated.

Mac Carthy More died the same year, and is described as the best protector of the destitute and the needy of all the lords of Leath Mhoda. In the following year “the castle of the lake” (Killarney) was taken from his sons, and they were obliged to take refuge with Mac Maurice.

Great depredations were committed by Mac Maurice in revenge, he laying waste Magh O-y Coinchinn (Magunchy) from the hills westwards.

James Desmond imperilled his property and title, by a secret correspondence with Charles V. of Spain, and was eventually summoned to London when his intrigues were discovered. But the earl had family experience of such invitations, and preferred the wilds of Kerry as a residence, and Kerry kerns as his guardians. The Earl of Kildare, then viceroy, was ordered to arrest him; but the command was more easily issued than fulfilled. The earl was either unwilling or unable to obey the royal mandate; and Cardinal Wolsey, who is credited by the Geraldine writers with a strong prejudice against that family, worked so industriously on the king against the viceroy that he was sent for to defend his conduct. The result was the false rumour of the earl’s death, and the famous but fatal insurrection of Silkin Thomas.

James Fitz Maurice died in 1529, and was succeeded by Thomas Maol, or “The Bald,” uncle of Maurice, and son of

the unfortunate Thomas, who was beheaded at Drogheda. He died at an advanced age, at Rathkeale, in 1534. James, the thirteenth earl, was grandson of Thomas the last earl—a fact which may give the reader some idea of the difficulty a historian must encounter in tracing out the Desmond pedigree, superadding the confusion involved in similarity of name, shortness of tenure, and extreme confusion of those who have written on the subject, and who have in many instances made the most contradictory statements.

James had been educated in England, whither he had been sent as a hostage. On hearing that he was heir to the Desmond title and property, he requested permission of the “King’s Majesty” to take possession of the “lands and territorys, and quietly to settle his affayres.” How little he could have anticipated his fate when he set forth on his journey with a troop of friends and soldiers. He landed at Youghal, August 7, 1535, but as he passed “through the Lord Roch, Viscount of Fermoy, his country,” an ambush was laid for him by his treacherous kinsman, Maurice—known, from this and other crimes, as Maurice the Murderer, or “Maurice *Dubh*” (the black). There can be no doubt that the object of this ambush was solely to murder the young earl. As soon as the bloody deed had been effected, all his followers were allowed to escape unhurt.⁹

Maurice was succeeded by his grand-uncle John, of whom Burgh gives the following account:—

“ 1536. John, fourteenth earl, an aged man, and a religious

9. Smith says that James was killed at Youghal, but his name is given in the *Hibernica Domini Anna* in the list of earls buried at Tralee, and the date 1535. This is most probably correct.

brother of the convent of Tralee, when his son Maurice Dubh killed his grandnephew James, the thirteenth earl, whereupon he succeeded to the title ; but going the way of all flesh, about Christmas Day, 1536, was buried in the same church."

All authorities confirm this statement, and agree in reprobating the conduct of Black Maurice. Russell declares that he was a man "without faith in his promise, and truth in his word, cruel, severe, mercylesse, and very bloody." He ruled the tract of country known as Kerricurrihy, which was given to him by his brother James to keep him at a distance, and to afford occupation for his belligerent propensities by the continual guerilla warfare which the position required ; notwithstanding which he lived to an old age, and was at last slain by his own son-in-law, Teige Mac Carthy. The affair seems to have been little better than a cattle raid, in which Maurice was taken prisoner. His father-in-law left four of his men to guard him, while he pursued the flying Desmond's troops. Thus was Maurice murdered in cold blood. Russell preaches a homily thereupon, the substance of which is, in brief, that it served him right. O'Daly, with more regard for propriety of expression, though evidently of the same way of thinking, says that the guard "only meted out to him the same treatment which he gave to all those whom fortune of war made his prisoners." Maurice left two sons and three daughters.

James Desmond succeeded his father, and proceeded to England to testify his loyalty and secure the inheritance. His first wife, Joan, a daughter of Lord Fermoy, had borne him a son, known as Thomas Ruagh (the red). When his

accession to the earldom became known, he divorced this lady, and set aside his lawful heir. His reason for this arbitrary act of injustice is not known. It certainly tended not a little to the final overthrow of the family, by the dissension that it created.

The new earl was received with great condescension by the English king, who was anxious to keep peace in Ireland until his continental affairs were more settled. Desmond was made Lord High Treasurer of Ireland, which office he held to the end of the reign of Queen Mary ; and in July, 1543, the Lord Deputy, St. Leger, was authorized to make him a grant, by patent, of a house and parcel of land near Dublin, for the keeping of his horses and train when he attended the parliament or council, and for this purpose St. Mary's Abbey was bestowed upon him. In 1550 a great court was held in Limerick, to which O'Carroll repaired, under the safe protection of the earl, the mayor of Limerick, and the English and Irish who were present at that court. He was commissioned to continue the parliament, November 1, 1557, but he died the following year at Askeaton. He was succeeded by Gerald, his eldest son by his second wife. The true heir vainly attempted to assert his rights, but although he had the assistance of the Lord Kerry and others, might triumphed over right, and Earl Gerald sat as Lord of Desmond in a parliament held in Dublin, A.D. 1559.¹

1. The exact amount of the tribute imposed upon Mac Carthy More by the Earl of Desmond has not been ascertained. Dr. O'Donovan quotes the following from the author of *Carbriae Notitia*, who wrote in 1686 :—

"But the family of the Mac Carthys, though it were great and numerous, never recovered their former grandeur; notwithstanding the decay of the Colgans and Fitz Stephens, and their heirs, Carew and Courcy; and that because of a branch of the Fitz Geralds, of English race, which seated themselves in Munster, and particularly in Kerry, and

" This year, 1521, James, Earl of Desmond, began to ravage and lay waste the barony of Muskery, belonging to Cormac Oge Mac Carthy, with fire and sword. The Archbishop of Dublin, William Rokesly, with other commissioners, went from Dublin to Waterford to appease him, but in vain ; for Dermod persisted to burn and destroy Mac Carthy's lands, who was not backward in his turn to revenge the injury, and confederating with Sir Thomas, the earl's uncle, (but implacable enemy), they came to a pitched battle with the earl in September, which proved a bloody engagement, wherein Desmond's soldiers forsaking him, he was obliged to save himself by flight, having lost above a thousand men, and had two of his uncles, John and Gerald, made prisoners. This battle was fought, according to some writers, between Cork and Mallow, near Mourneabbey. Mac Carty Reagh, with the Carbery forces, assisted his kinsman in this battle. The victory, according to the same authors, was chiefly owing to Sir Thomas, the earl's uncle, who charged at the head of the horse, and broke the earl's main body of galloglasses, and adds that the Irish continued to boast of this overthrow given by them to the Earl of Desmond to their time, 'not remembering,' say they, 'how very often they have been worsted by the Geraldines.' "²

being elevated with the title of Earl of Desmond, supported by great alliances, and having enlarged their possessions by marriage, purchases and tyranny, and more especially by the damned exaction of coyn and livery, did all they could to suppress their competitors, and especially the Mac Carthys, being the most powerful and chief of them.

" No history can parallel the bloody, malicious, and tedious contests that have been between these two families, in which—though the Mac Carthys behaved themselves briskly, and slew no less than two lords of the Fitz Geralds in one day, viz., the father and grandfather of Thomas Nappagh, at Callan, in Desmond, anno. 1261—yet at length the more powerful Fitz Geralds had the best of it, and imposed on Carbry a most unjust and slavish tribute called Earl's Beeves [it was, probably, in endeavouring to enforce this tribute that Maurice Dubh was killed], which, though as I conceive not maintainable by law, is yet tamely paid by the Carbrians to this day for want of unity amongst themselves to join in proper methods to get legally discharged of it. However, the Mac Carthys did not dwindle to so low a degree, but that they continued seized of almost six entire baronies, viz. :—Glanarough, Iveragh, and Dunkerro, in Desmond ; and Carbry, Muskry, and Duhallow, in Cork. But the Earl of Desmond grew so powerful that upon his attainder there were forfeited to the Crown 574,628 acres of land."

^{2.} *Smith's History of Cork*, vol. 2, p. 35.

It is not very wonderful that when Charles Mac Carthy, of Castlemore, "obtained a patent of denization," that the proviso was added that he should not enjoy the benefit of it "longer than he persisted in his allegiance."

CHAPTER IX.

HISTORY OF THE DESMONDS.

The Desmonds and the Mac Carthys—The Plague in Munster—Murder of Cormac Mac Carthy—Accession of Edward III.—John de Courcy created Earl of Ulster—De Courcy's famous duel—The Spaniards at Kinsale—Letter to the English court signed by the Bishops of Cork and Cloyne—A letter to the English court requesting that the Anglo-Norman and Irish lords may be bound over “upon pain of life and goods” not to prey on each other—Contemptible and foolish policy of the English government—The Earl of Desmond asks permission for his son to be brought up an Irishman “for the better preserving of peace”—Dissensions were so rife that Campion describes Cork people as living almost in a state of siege—The Irish described as “a pack of wolves”—Smith's anti-Irish proclivities—Foundation of the Monastery of Kilcrea by Mac Carthy Laider, and erection of Blarney Castle—Mac Carthy Mors lords of Desmond—Mac Carthy Reags lords of Carbery—Mac Carthy Donoughs lords of Duhallow, and the Mac Carthys of Muskerry—The Wars of the Roses, and their consequence in Ireland—O'Sullivan Bear hangs an English captain—The Cork Charter and Courts—Smith's account of Warbeck's Insurrection—A new Charter for Youghal—Warbeck's declaration before his execution—How the Irish suffered for their loyalty—Baron Finglas's account of the decay of Ireland—Marrying and fostering with Irish forbidden—Proclamation against it to be made by the Deputy in open market—Ireland a troublesome colony at best—Martin Pelly's letter of complaint to Lord Cromwell—What was thought of the Butlers—a Cork bishop buried in Piedmont—His history.

IN order to give a consecutive history of the Desmonds, we have anticipated. We must now return to an earlier date.

“The Mac Carthys were defeated by the English in 1334, and, according to Clyn (who places this event in the year 1335) Dermot Oge Mac Carthy, King of Cork, was slain.

“The Lord Roche obtained from King Edward III. a ‘reducement’ of the fine of 200 marks, which was laid on his father for not attending the parliament of the 20th of Edward II., to £10.

“The Plague raged this year in Munster. John de Carew, Baron of Carew, was Lord Justice of Ireland; from him Sir George Carew, Earl of Totness, who in 1601 was Lord President of this province, was descended.

1361. "The pestilence raged in this county, and great numbers of people lost their lives."

1370. "Another great plague in this county."

1375. "Cormac, Lord Muskery, was murdered in Cork by the Barrys, and buried in Gill Abbey. From him sprung Daniel, ancestor of the Carthys of Shanakiel."

Richard II. "A fleet of Spaniards defeated at Kingsale."

A.D. 1380. "This year Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, and

1381. Ulster, died at Cork, being Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, on St. Stephen's Day, in the Dominican Abbey; and on the 27th, John Cotton, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, and Lord Chancellor of Ireland, was elected in his room, and sworn in Cork, in the Convent of the Preaching Friars.

1383. "A great pestilence in this country."²

1390. "John de Courcy, Baron of Kingsale and Ringroane, together with his brother, Patrick, were slain in the Island of Inchydony, by Daniel Moel Mac Carty Reagh and the Irish of Carbery. His grandson, Miles de Courcy, Baron of Kingsale, overthrew Florence Mac Carty More, with a great army of his followers, at a battle near Ringroane, and drove them into the Bandon river, where many of them were drowned."

"Edmund Plantagenet, son and heir of Edmund, who was surnamed Langley, the fifth son to King Edward I."

A.D. 1390. "Edward III. was in the 13th of Richard II. created Earl of Rutland and Cork. He was killed at the battle of Agincourt in 1415, and left no issue. He married the King of Castile's daughter."

1399. "King Richard II. granted letters patent to William de Courcy, Baron of Kingsale, to buy a ship to pass and repass whenever he pleased between England and Ireland."

John de Courcy was created Earl of Ulster by King Henry II., but, by the contrivance of Hugh de Lacy, lost the king's favour. Being a prisoner in the tower of London, he was

2. This and the following annals are taken from Smith. We have appended notes to elucidate or add matter which he has omitted.

sent for by King John, who then had a dispute with King Philip about a town in Normandy, which, as was the custom of those times, they intended should be decided by single combat. The Earl of Ulster, when the king's message was delivered to him, answered, "That not for the king but for the honour of his country he was willing to undertake the matter." Hanmer, (whose old English will best describe this combat), gives it in the following words :—

"The day came, the place and lists were appointed, and the scaffolds were set up. The princes, with their nobility on both sides, waited the issue of the battle. The French champion first sallied forth, gave a turn, and rested himself in his tent. De Courcy was sent for, who was trussing of himself up with strong points, and answered the messengers that if any of their company were to go to such a banquet he would make no great haste. He soon after came forth, gave a turn, and went into his tent. When the trumpets sounded the charge the champions issued forth and viewed each other. De Courcy eyed his adversary with a wonderful stern countenance, and passed by. The Frenchman, not liking his grim look and the strong proportion of his person, stalked still along, and when the trumpets sounded to battle a second time De Courcy drew his sword, upon which the Frenchman clapped spurs to his horse, broke through the barrier, and fled into Spain, whereupon they sounded victory. The people threw up their caps and clapped their hands. King Philip desired King John that De Courcy might be called before him to show some proof of his strength. A stake was set in the ground, and a shirt of mail and a helmet placed thereon ; De Courcy drew his sword, looked wonderfully stern upon the princes, and cleft the helmet, shirt of mail, and stake so far that none could pull out the weapon but himself. The princes then asked him why he looked so sour upon them. He said if he had missed this blow he would have cut off both their heads ; but all was taken in good part. King John

gave him great gifts and restored him to his former possessions. After this he sailed for Ireland, and was several times by contrary winds put back to West Chester in his attempt to pass into that kingdom, upon which he altered his course, went into France, and there died. This earl had an estate of 25,000 marks sterling per annum, a vast income in those days. The king, besides restoring him to it, bid him ask for anything in his gift that he had a mind to, and it should be granted. Upon which he answered that he had titles and estates enough, but desired that he and his successors, the heirs male of his family, might have the privilege (after their first obeisance) to be covered in the royal presence of him and his successors, kings of England, which the king granted. This privilege was also granted to Henry Ratcliffe, Earl of Sussex (a family long since extinct), who was general to Queen Mary, of being covered as the grandees of Spain are in the royal presence, by patent dated October 22, 1553.³

The attempt of the Spaniards, referred to by Smith, is related by Thomas Walsingham, and thus translated by Hollinshed :— “While the Earl of Buckingham was passing through the realm of France, the French and Spanish gallies did much mischief upon the coast of England ; but, about the latter end of June, by a fleet of Englishmen from the western countries, part of them were forced to retire, and take harbour in an haven in Ireland, called Kinsale, where, being assailed by the Englishmen and Irishmen, they were vanquished ; so that to the number of 400 were slain, and their chief captains taken, as Gonzales de Vorza, and his brother Martin de Montrigo, Turgo, lord of Morrous, also the lord of Keath, Pieres Martin, of Varmen, and divers others ; five of their ships were taken, and twenty-one English vessels were recovered, and but four of their captains escaped.”

3. *Heylen's Ecclesiastical History*, p. 190.

In the year 1445 the bishops of Cork and Cloyne, with the Dean and Chapter of Cork, signed a testimonial “of the good behaviour” of the Earl of Ormond. This document was also signed by the bishops of Cork and Cloyne, and by Lord Barry Roche, and others.

A letter was addressed to the English court, according to one account, in this reign,—but, according to Usher, in the time of Henry IV.,—in which the writer requests that the English lords and Irish may be bound over “upon pain of life and goods” not to make war upon each other. It had been found by this time that the English lords could not have it all their own way, and that peace was preferable to continual domestic war. The Irish, indeed, “had become stronger than the English,” which accounts further for this ardent desire for peace.⁴

4. The ancient Anglo-Norman nobility at this time are said to be—the Lord Marquis Carew, whose yearly revenue was £2,200 per annum ; the Lord Barnwell, of Berehaven, who had £1,600 per annum ; the Lord Uggan, of the Great Castle, £1,300 per annum ; the lord Batram, of Emforle, his revenue £1,300 ; Lord Courcy, of Kilbritton, his revenue £1,500 sterling ; the Lord Mandeville, of Barnchelly, £1,200 sterling ; the Lord Arundel, of the Strand, £1,500 per annum ; the Lord Baron, of the Guard, £1,100 ; the Lord Slinie, of Baltimore, £800 sterling per annum ; the Lord Roche, of Poole Castle, his revenue, besides havens and creeks, (which the letter takes notice all the other lords also had), £1,000 per annum.

This letter says, that the king had all Barry Oge’s estate by forfeiture, worth £1,800 sterling, and desires that those lords and the Irish may be bound over, upon pain of life and goods, not to make war upon each other, by which the country was brought to destruction ; and the Irish, who were formerly driven to the mountains of Glancrough, were now returned and become stronger than the English—of whom only the lords Roche, Courcy, and Barry then remained—and requests that proper persons may be sent over to command the English, and quiet the country. See letter in Campion, p. 94. Sir Richard Cox (vol. I, p. 162), says this letter was wrote in Henry VI.’s time, anno. 1449. But I have seen a letter from Archbishop Usher to the Lord Courcy, dated at Drogheda, December 12, 1626, (of which I took a copy), wherein the primate says this letter was wrote in Henry IV.’s time, and gives an account of the Lord Courcy, mentioned in several ancient records which he furnished Lord Kingsale with, on an occasion of a dispute between that lord and Sir Dominick Sarsfield, who was created Viscount Kingsale by King Charles I., but was obliged afterwards to change his title for that of Killmallock. The Irish at this time were so powerful in the county Cork that the English paid forty pounds a-year to Mac Carthy, of Muskery, for his protection.

The Anglo-Norman nobles were indeed often anxious to secure Irish protection, and to ally themselves with the Irish.

If the jealous and contemptible policy of the English government had not prevailed, much misery might have been spared. Statesmen then, as in later ages, seem to have forgotten, or did not care to know, that a continual stream of invasion, and dispossession by each new set of invaders of those who had preceded them, was not the way to build up the prosperity of the country, or to attract it to a rule which permitted such injustice.

A Patent Roll of the 8th December, 1388, shows a licence from Richard II. to Gerald, Earl of Desmond, to allow his son to be brought up as an Irishman, and so educated—the object being “the better preserving of peace for the future.”⁵

Dim glimpses of a wiser policy came now and then to the rulers of unhappy Ireland, but they were generally banished all too soon by pride and selfishness.

The writers of the letters mentioned above boasted how they “hunted the Irish like a pack of hungry wolves into the valleys,” but the “wolves” got strong in their mountain fastnesses, and they came down in such force on the English enemy that they say, if help is not sent, “we be all cast away, and farewell Munster for ever.”

5. The king having been credibly informed of the constant good repute which Gerald Fitzmaurice, Earl of Desmond, held and supported, above all others of his part of Ireland, for fidelity to him and his liege subjects in Munster; and on that account, and for the better preserving the peace and the said liege people for the future, being willing to shew his favour, did, at his request, grant him licence to send his son James to Conor O'Brien, of Thomond, an Irishman, to be brought up or educated, and there to remain as long as he should think fit, notwithstanding any statutes made to the contrary.

It is curious and instructive to observe that in 1381, or some years previous to the above demand for Irish fosterage, the Earl of Desmond had been sent “to assuage the malice” of O'Brien, who had endeavoured to make a “general conquest” of Limerick, Cork, and

Campion says Cork was in such a state that the inhabitants were

"Forced to watch their gates continually, to keep them shut at service times, at meals, from sunset to sun arising, nor suffer any stranger to enter them with his weapon, but to leave the same at a lodge appointed. They walked out at seasons for recreation with strength of men furnished ; they matched in wedlock among themselves, so that well nigh the whole city was allied together."⁶

In 1467 the Monastery of *Cill-Caedhe* (Kilcrea), Co. Cork, was founded by Cormac Mac Carthy, surnamed *Laider* (the strong), for Franciscan friars. The Mac Carthys were great patrons of this order. Mac Carthy also erected Blarney Castle. He was buried in Kilcrea in 1495.

The Wars of the Roses divided the English in Ireland almost as much as their relatives across the channel. The Butlers were Plantagenets, the Fitzgeralds were Lancastrians. Happily, however, they did a good deal of their fighting in England, but Smith complains pathetically that "they left their estates to be overrun by the Irish." In other words, the Irish had a chance of getting back the estates which the English had "overrun" to some purpose.

In 1530 the revenue of Ireland could not be got beyond £3,040 per annum : the wonder is that any revenue was got.

Kerry. Earl Desmond evidently thought it best to make a particular conquest of the Celtic prince by placing his son under his protection.

6. It is curious to note how Smith's anti-Irish feelings come out. Under the year 1449 he notes the murder of the Barnewalls at Bearhaven, and how the Lord De Courcy was "driven" out of his castle and lands at Kilbritton by Mac Carthy Reagh. But when he came to speak of the Irish being expelled, he uses the gentlest terms for the expellers ; and when he comes to write of one English brother murdering another, it is simply called a "sad accident."

There were four families or septs of Mac Carthys at this time—the Mac Carthys *Mor*, who were Lords of Desmond, and from them spring the Mac Carthys Reaghs of Carbery the Donough Mac Carthys of Duhallow, and the Muskery Mac Carthys.

In 1539 Lord James Butler marched to Clonmel, where he was met by his brother-in-law, Garret Mac Shane, " who could not speak one word of English." They marched together to Dungarvan, which surrendered to them, and then to Youghal, where he had " a gallon of Gascoigne wine for 4d." Let us hope he found it better than Irish usquebaugh.

From thence he marched to Cork, when Lord Barry made great complaints of Cormac Oge of Muskery, and of Mac Carthy Reagh, who could not by any means be got to see public affairs in a proper light. In fact, Mac Carthy Reagh said " that which he had got by the sword he would keep by the sword."

In 1331 Dermot O'Sullivan (Bear) took the liberty of capturing an English and a Spanish vessel which lay off his coast. The Spanish vessel was sailing near the Durseys, and was seized by the English captain. O'Sullivan (Bear) settled the dispute by hanging the English captain, whom he manifestly considered the aggressor.

Smith's English proclivities made him resent this outrage, but probably if O'Sullivan had not hanged the Englishman, the Englishman would have hanged him.

Cork got its first charter in the reign of Henry II. It runs thus :—

" I have granted, and given, and by this my charter confirm to the citizens of Cork, all the fields held of my city of Cork, and the ground on which the city is now, for my benefit, to increase the strength of the citizens. This is to them and their heirs to hold of me, and my heirs, and to remain in frank burgage by such customs and rent as the burgesses of Bristol, in England, pay yearly for their burgages ; and to secure my

city of Cork, I grant this to the same, my citizens of Cork, all the laws, franchises, and customs, or freights, which are in Bristol, on whatsoever sails. And firmly commanding that aforesaid, my citizens of Cork, and their heirs, and successors, have the aforesaid city of Cork of me, and my successors, as is aforesaid, and have all the laws and franchises, and frank customs of Bristol, and as those were wont to be used and written in my court, and in my hundred of Cork, and in all business."

The charter of Henry III is dated at Westminister, January 2, anno. regni. 26, viz., 1242, and runs thus:—

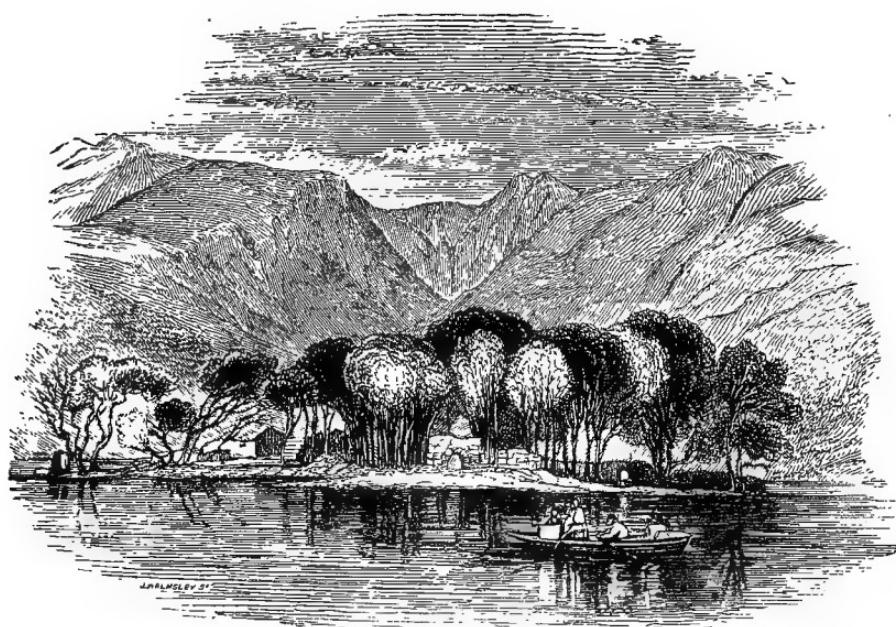
"Henricus Dei Gratia, Rex, Angliæ, Dominus Hiberniæ, Dux Normand, Aquitaniæ, Comes de Anjou, &c., Archbiscopis, Alatibus, Prioribus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Vicecom, etc., salutem, seiatis, etc."

"By this charter the city of Cork is granted to the citizens in fee farm, paying for the same 80 marks to his majesty's exchequer in Dublin, at Easter and Michaelmas, by two equal payments. Also the prisage of wines and cognets; no citizen to be impleaded out of the city, but within their walls, viz., at Guildhall. The citizens to be free of all lastage, passage, pontage, etc., throughout the king's dominions. No citizen to be fined, except by the laws of the hundred, which court is to be held once a week by the provost. The citizens to have all reasonable guilds, as the burgesses of Bristol have, not to be hindered to build houses on the river side, to enjoy all lands and waste grounds without the city, except such lands as were granted by charters from his royal father, king John, which lands the citizens are not to dispose of, but to be subject

to such customs as the lands of other citizens are. All churches, hospitals, and religious houses, (the Priory of St. John excepted) to be under the jurisdiction of the city. And his majesty doth forbid any person to molest the said citizens contrary to the tenor of these his letters patent. Witness these vencrable persons—William, Archbishop of York, primate of England ; William, Bishop of Carlisle ; Peter de Galandia, John de Monem, William de Cantilupo, Galfridius de Spenser, Bertrand de Griault, Roger de Montealto, Robert de Musegrors, Paulino Peince, Alias de Brever, Johannes de Plessetis, Galfidius de L'Angell, etc., alii. Given under the king's hand, at Westminister, the date and year above mentioned.”⁷

7. Smith says in 1610 the judges gave it as their opinion that in Cork, by the charter and act of parliament, the king was to have the great and petty customs of all strangers, but that the citizens were to be discharged of the great customs. All charter's granting customs between the last year of Edward I. and the first of Henry VII. are void by the Act of Exemption, to Henry VII., with a saving of Waterford only. The above charter is confirmed by that of King Edward I., dated June 12, at Northampton, the 19th of his reign, anno. 1291, which abolishes a custom that obliged the maycrs to go to Dublin to be sworn, and allows the mayor to be sworn before the old one, or before the king's judges, if resident in Cork. Exempts the citizens from being obliged to attend on juries out of the city. Grants to the mayors and bailiffs the assize of bread, all weights and measures, with the office of clerk of the market, and all other privileges mentioned in the charter of Henry III. The witnesses to this charter are William, of Canterbury, Primate of all England ; John, Bishop of Ely ; the king's chancellor ; John, Bishop of Norwich ; Richard, Bishop of London ; Adam de Valentia, Count de Pembroke, Humfrid de Bohun, Count de Hereford and Essex, Hugon le Despenser, Seniore Roger de Mortuomari de Wigmore, Bartholomew de Badlesmere, etc. The same charter is literally repeated with that of King Henry III., in a new charter, granted by King Edward II. the 20th of January, 1318, and the 12th of his reign ; adding that no stranger, except the king's servants, shall bear arms in the city. Witness, Roger de Mortimer, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, at Clonmel, the said date. The above charters were again confirmed by a new one of King Edward III., dated at Woodstock, July 15th, the 4th year of his reign, 1330, witnessed by H., Bishop of Lincoln ; the king's chancellor, John de Eltham, Earl of Clonmel ; the king's brother, John de Warren, Earl of Surrey ; Roger de Mortuomari, Earl of March ; Oliver de Ingham, John Maltravers, the seneschal of the king's house, and others. The same king granted to the city another charter the following year, dated at Westminster the 12th of February, reciting his having seen letters patent which Edward, late King of England, his royal father, had granted to this city at the instance of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, which letters patent, etc., he now confirms to the citizens aforesaid. Witnesses the same as before.

King Edward IV. granted a new charter to the city, confirming all the former ones,



Island in Gougane Barra, near source of the Lee, between Bantry and Macroom.

Under the year 1492, Smith says :

" Perkin Warbeck, who assumed the person of Richard, Duke of York, second son of King Edward IV., arrived in Cork from Lisbon. Upon his landing he was kindly received by the citizens, and caressed by John Walters, an eminent merchant of Cork, who was mayor two years after. Perkin from thence wrote letters to the Earls of Kildare and Desmond for their assistance against King Henry, but before he received their answers he had letters from the French king, inviting him into France, to which place he directly set sail, and was there royally entertained, and a peace was concluded between France and England, upon which he retreated into Flanders to his supposed aunt, the Duchess of Burgundy. Three years ^{Henry VII.} after he set sail from Flanders with 600 men, and

^{1495.} arrived on the Kentish coast, where 160 of his followers were made prisoners, and afterwards executed. Thence he sailed into Ireland, and remained for some time in Cork ; but meeting with very little assistance, he passed over into Scotland, where by the king's consent he married a daughter of the Earl of Huntly, and procured the Scots to invade England in his favour ; but a peace being concluded

dated Apud, Castellum Suum, the 1st of December, the 2nd of his reign—viz., anno. 1462. This charter takes notice of eleven parish churches having been in the city and suburbs thereof for one mile round it, for which they paid 80 marks to the crown, as long as the said suburbs remained undestroyed ; and that now the aforesaid churches and suburbs by reason of the wars of Irish enemies and English rebels, were burned and laid waste for the space of fifteen years past, by reason thereof the citizens were become unable to pay his Majesty the said sum, and did seek a pardon for the same from his Majesty's noble father, upon consideration of which he remits the aforesaid fee-farm rent ; and the said king grants the custom called cocquet to the city for the rebuilding of their walls, to hold the same until they could travel a mile round their city in safety.

King Henry VII. confirmed all the former grants with the port of the city, from Rew Rone on the west to Denowdram on the east ; and in regard to the poverty of the city and the ruin and spoil of the same, he grants a release for all rents due before the date of these letters patent, and in lieu thereof accepts of 20lbs. of wax, to be paid every Easter unto his exchequer in Dublin, during the king's pleasure. This charter also restores the city to the king's favour, it being disfranchised for aiding Perkin Warbeck. (Tiste Rege apud Westmouart, 10, Die Augusti, An Regu, 150, A.D. 1500).

King Henry VIII. confirmed all the privileges hitherto granted to this city by letters patent, dated at Westminster, February the 4th, in the first year of his reign, anno. 1509. Also by another charter in the eighth year of his reign, dated at Westminster, December the 10th, which makes the mayor, recorder, and four senior aldermen justices of the peace in the said city and liberties thereof, to be justices of gaol delivery, with

between the two nations, Perkin was forced to quit Scotland, and embarking with his wife and family, he came once more to Cork, where on the 26th of July, 1497, he enlisted 120 soldiers, and by the assistance of the Earl of Desmond procured ships to transport them into Cornwall, to which place he was invited. The citizens of Waterford, being loyal to King Henry, fitted out four galleys and pursued him ; but fortune did not crown their loyal endeavours with the success of taking him. Upon his landing he assumed the title and name of Richard IV., King of England, and, being joined by several thousands, besieged the city of Exeter in form, but was soon obliged to raise the siege, the king's forces being at hand. Finding his army decreasing he privately withdrew to the sanctuary of Beaulieu, in Hampshire, where he surrendered himself, and was sent prisoner to the Tower, from whence he made his escape, but was retaken.

"In July, this year, Maurice, Earl of Desmond, and the Earl of Lincoln besieged Waterford with 2,400 men in favour of Perkin ; but the citizens defended themselves so vigorously that they were repulsed with loss, and on the 3rd of August were obliged to raise the siege. The same year, John Walters, citizen of Cork, was summoned to appear before the parliament

power to commit felons, and to erect a gallows for their execution ; all fines, waifs, strays, goods of felons, etc., to go to the use of the city. The same prince, in the 28th year of his reign, for the honour and munificence of this city, granted to William Coppenger, then mayor, and to his successors, to have a sword, decently sheathed and adorned, carried before them in the said city and liberties thereof ; and granted the custody of the king's castle to him and his successors until the king should signify his pleasure to the contrary ; and that in the meantime no sheriff of the county of Cork shall have anything to do with the said castle or any matter touching the same. And that the mayor, bailiff, and commonality may employ an agent for them in England to provide and buy them forty suits of armour, with liberty to ship them from England to Cork without molestation. (*Tiste Rege apud, Westmon 11, Martii Au Regu, Sui 28, viz., 1587*).

As the privileges of the city were renewed and confirmed by King Edward VI., by a new charter, dated May 9th, ann. reg. 3, 1543, in which, besides the foregoing privileges, the following are added :—No foreigner to buy corn, wool, leather, etc., but of the citizens in the city, nor to sell wine but in his shop, nor merchandise longer than forty days without licence from the mayor. No citizen to be arrested for debt out of the city. The goods of citizens dying intestate not to be claimed by the crown. Power to the citizens to match their children as they shall think proper, and that they shall have reasonable guilds as in Bristol.

for being one of Perkin Warbeck's chief abettors, and was obliged to surrender himself to the custody of the Constable of Dublin, upon pain of felony ; as also Philip Walters, his son, then Dean of Limerick ; and a day was appointed for their trials, with several others mentioned in the statute.

^{1496.} "On the 26th of August, this year, the king granted a pardon to Maurice, Earl of Desmond, for all his offences ; he had also a grant of the customs, etc., of Limerick, and other the king's hereditaments in the ports, city, and towns of Cork, Kinsale, Baltimore, and Youghal, to hold and enjoy the same during his Majesty's pleasure. Also pardons to David, Archbishop of Cashel, and to the bishops of Cork and Waterford, the better to quell the contrivances and designs of Perkins' friends. About the same time the king granted a new charter to the town of Youghal."

In October, 1498, the Earl of Kildare marched to Cork, and placed a strong garrison in the city, because of the disobedience of the citizens in affording assistance to Perkin Warbeck. The same month he caused the principal citizens, and the inhabitants of Kinsale, to take the oath of allegiance to King Henry, and obliged them to enter into bonds and pledges for their future loyalty.

^{1499.} In November, Perkin Warbeck and his friend, John Walters, who was mayor and citizen of Cork, were tried at Westminister, by a jury of twelve men, found guilty of high treason, and hanged at Tyburn. Their heads were afterwards set up on London Bridge. Philip Walters, the son of John, before mentioned, was afterwards pardoned by the king's clemency. But Lord Bacon says that both the mayor and his son were executed with Perkin.

1500, August 1st, the charter of Cork was restored—it being forfeited by the rebellion of the citizens—and a new one

granted to the corporation, with an enlargement of their privileges. They were also received into the favour of King Henry.⁸

The Irish certainly had an unfortunate habit of “caressing” exactly the wrong person. They have been accused of being a disloyal nation, but their actions prove the very opposite. They were deceived by Perkin Warbeck, as even some of the wisest men had been, and their high sense of justice made them true to Charles when his own people turned against him, while their generosity condoned his faults. They were faithful to the equally faithless, and, if possible, more imbecile James; while William of Orange was received with open arms in a country on which he had no possible claim.

A curious and interesting document has been found in the Carew MS., which throws considerable light on the state of

8. The following declaration, according to Campion, was made by Perkin Warbeck before his execution :—

“ I being born in Flanders, in the town of Tournay, put myself in service with a Breton, called Pregant Meno, who brought me with him into Ireland; and when we there arrived, in the town of Cork, they of the town, because I was arrayed with some clothes of silk of my said master, threaped upon me, that I should be the Duke of Clarence—his son, that was before some time at Dublin; and, forasmuch as I denied it, there was brought unto me the holy evangelists, and the cross, by the mayor of the town, called John Lavallin; and there I took my oath that I was not the said duke's son, nor none of his blood.

“ After this, there came unto me an Englishman, whose name was Stephen Poyton, with one John Walter, and swore to me that they knew well I was King Richard's bastard son; to whom I answered, with like oaths, that I was not. Then they advised me not to be afraid, but that I should take it upon me boldly; and if I would so do, they would assist me with all their power against the king of England, and not only they, but they were assured that the Earls of Desmond and Kildare should do the same; for they passed not what part they took, so they might be avenged on the king of England; and so against my will, they made me to learn English, and taught me what I should do and say. After this they called me Richard, Duke of York, second son to King Edward IV., because King Richard's bastard son was in the hands of the king of England. Upon this they entered upon the false quarrel, and within a short time after the French king sent ambassadors into England, viz., Lyst Lucas and Stephen Frayne, and so I went into France, thence into Flanders, thence into Ireland, from thence into Scotland, from whence I passed into England, thence back into Ireland, and so into England again.”

Ireland at this period. It is entitled “Reports of Ireland,” and it is headed “The decay of Ireland, written by Patrick Finglas, one of the Barons of the Exchequer in Ireland,” in the seventh year of Henry VIII.

It commences with a preamble, in which it is stated that there were five kings in Ireland “before the conquest.”

It states, what certainly was not true “that most of these parties were conquered by King Henry II.” Yet, in a few lines further on, the causes are given why Ireland was not conquered. All the daughters of the Earl Marshal were married to lords in England, “and the lords, husbands to the ladies,” though they liked Irish property very much indeed to spend, they liked to spend it in England; and they “sent small defence for their lands in Ireland, though they received the profits;” and, moreover, “some of them never saw Ireland,” so their lands began to decay. “The nation is ruled by the parliament held at Kilkennye by the Duke of Clarence;” and as every one had, or has, a panacea for Ireland, he says that if the regulations made then and there had been kept, “Ireland had been in obedience to this day.”

But whose fault was it that these same regulations were not kept? Certainly it was not the fault of the Irish, but of the very Anglo-Irish lords who so easily agreed to the ducal behests when the duke was present, and so cleverly evaded the same when the duke was absent.⁹

9. One regulation was that none of the king’s subjects of the English nation should make any alliance by alterage, fostering, or otherwise with any of the Irish nation.

As an example of how this was kept, he says:—“Soon after the duke’s departure the chief lords of Munster and Leinster, being then of great wealth and name, as James Fitz Thomas, Earl of Kildare; James Butler, Earl of Ormond; and Maurice Fitz Thomas, Earl of Desmond; having division between themselves, began to make alterage and

In the reign of Henry VIII. a fourth attempt was made to regulate national affairs in Ireland with almost equal success. The statute runs thus :—

“ MARRYING AND FOSTERING WITH IRISHMEN.—‘The Act of Marrying with Irishmen, 28 Henry VIII.’ By marriage, alterage, and fostering of the king’s subjects of Ireland with his Irish rebels, great lack of obedience has arisen, and divers enormities have ensued, especially during the last two hundred years ; for, in spite of divers good statutes and Acts of Parliament, the king’s subjects ‘did often and many times as well marry as foster with the said Irish rebels denizens by letters patent, whereas those rebels so made denizens did not use themselves as the king’s subjects, ‘within this land shall marry or foster themselves, their children or kinsfolk, within the fourth degree, or any of them, to or with any Irish person or persons of Irish blood which be not the king’s true subjects, ne use themselves accordingly, though any such person or persons be made denizen to his homage and fealty before the King’s Chancellor, or Keeper of the Great Seal for the time being to the King’s Highness, swearing the oath comprised in the Act of Succession for the fulfilling and accomplishment of the effect, tenor, and purport of (the same), and also shall be bound by recognizance before the King’s Chancellor, or Keeper of his Grace’s Great Seal of this his land for the time being, in such sums of money as to the said Chancellor or Keeper of the Great Seal shall be thought meet and convenient, that he from the time that he is made denizen shall be faithful, true, and obedient to the King’s Highness, his heirs and successors.’

alliance with Irishmen, to strengthen themselves against others, by reason whereof they disdained to be punished by the king’s deputies, ‘and to prove experience for the same, there was, by concord of the Irishmen, a battle between the Earls of Ormond and Desmond, in which all the good men of the town of Kilkenny were slain, and the Earl of Desmond prevailed. Since that time neither the Geraldines of Munster nor of Leinster, nor the Butlers, have duly obeyed the king’s laws, but continually allied themselves with Irishmen, using coyne and livery, so that all the freeholders and English inhabitants in the countries of the Earls of Desmond, Ormond, and Kildare are clearly expulsed, and Irishmen inhabit their stead ; and ‘there is at this day obedient to the king’s laws only the little English pale betwixt Dublin and Trim and Dundalk, which passeth not thirty miles compass.’”

Any of the King's subjects who shall so marry or foster at the time of the said marriage or fostering "shall have a true and unfeigned intent and meaning that the party so made denizen" will be faithful to the King. If any person so made denizen do transgress his fealty, proclamation thereof shall be made by the Deputy in the shire or open market next adjoining to such offender, and such of the king's subjects as shall have fostered or married with him shall utterly avoid any wilful familiarity or company with him, unless it be to reconcile him to the King, or to obtain restitution of goods taken from any of the King's subjects. If any of his Highness's subjects do offend in the premises, every such offence shall be deemed high treason, and the offender shall suffer death and forfeiture of lands and goods. Any of the King's subjects thus marrying or fostering, who shall support any such denizens in rebellion, shall be attainted of high treason."

But what was the use of all this, when if men were to marry at all they had no choice between going over to England to select wives, or allying themselves with the unfortunate Irish.

Altogether Ireland was a troublesome country, and exercised the minds of the Tudor statesmen, and the swords of the Tudor soldiers, to no inconsiderable extent. The Keeffes, and the Tooles, the Carties, and the Ryans, and Connors, and in fact all the Irish septs, with the Butlers, and the Desmonds, and the Barrys, and the Powers, and the old English settlers could not be got to see their duty.

It was considered "dangerous to depopulate the realm of England"—even to get rid of the troublesome Irish and Anglo-Normans, so that they were obliged to allow the lands to be inhabited by some sort of Irishry; "but they were to

I. Patrick Finglasse (Baron) on the Reformation of Ireland. *State Papers*, 1515 and 1514.

be kept under the law :" in other words, to be made work for the maintenance of their masters.

No wonder then that Martin Pellys wrote to Lord Cromwell in 1537 :

"The subtle compassing of the Irishmen, as well within the English pale as without, doth almost pass the capacity of any man, without it be your lordship, or other like that hath been used to have communication with them ; or by writing from them that be continuers and dwellers among them. They daily consult together how they may find means that 'no English gentleman nor other' shall have rule or authority in Ireland, but only Irishmen. They are sorry that Englishmen know so much of the country as they do, as the bearer can inform you, from experience which he had here in the Duke of Norfolk's time. If your lordship do give command to the Deputy, the Treasurer, the Prior of Cellmaynam, and the Master of the Rolls 'to avoid covetousness,' then the king and you will hear of such things done as will please you, which cannot be done so long as the Irishmen know as much of the king's council as the Englishmen who are the king's council. 'The Butlers be of a high courage, and liveth here like princes.' Many fear they will be loth to live in subjection, if any other means may be found, either by fair words, subtle wit, or for money ; 'for all the country prayeth daily to God that the Butlers especially may never be their head rulers,' nor any that are native born in this land. They also pray for the prosperity of your lordship, for they say you moved the king 'to go so graciously through with this country as his grace hath done,' whereby they are brought out of misery. 'I have seen some countries more than England, yet I never, nor no other man that ever I have communed with, but saith for all things, it is the goodliest land that ever they have seen, not only for pleasure and pastime of a prince, but as well for profit to his grace, profit (sic.) and for the whole realm of England,' I would your lordship were in this land but three months ; you would make the noblest journey that ever was made.

The king can lose no more than is lost, unless he lose all. If the king and you cause the country between Dublin and Waterford to be inhabited, then the king might say Ireland was clearly won, and after that he would be at little cost, and receive great profits, with men and money at his pleasure."

In the meantime the "mere Irish" were being honoured in other lands, where they are known even in the present day.

In the town of Ivrea, in Piedmont, a bishop of Cork and Cloyne is buried, of whom Ware writes thus :—

"Thady M'Carthy (succ. 1490). Upon the resignation of William, Thady M'Carthy, by some called Mechar, succeeded the same year by a provision from Pope Innocent VIII., as may be seen from the collectanea of Francis Harold."

The way in which this Cork saint came to be more specially known is curious and interesting.

On the 23rd June, 1847, the Most Rev. Dr. Murray, Archbishop of Dublin, received at Maynooth a letter covering a bill of Exchange for £40 (1,000 francs), sent for the relief of the famine-stricken poor of Ireland, by order of the Bishop of Ivrea. The town of Ivrea (anciently Exporenia) is the capital of the Piedmontese province of the same name, which extends from the Po to the Alps. The province contains a population of over one hundred thousand, of whom about eight thousand reside in the town, where is also the Bishop's See.

The letter enclosed a separate paper in Latin, of which the following is a summary :—

On the 24th of October, 1492, died at Ivrea, in St. Anthony's Hospice for Pilgrims, Blessed Thaddeus, an Irish bishop, whose body was deposited under the high altar of the cathedral, in a shrine over the relics of the holy patron, St.

Eusebius. At the time of death a brilliant light was seen round his bed, and at the same moment to the Bishop of Ivrea there appeared a man of venerable mien, clothed in pontifical robes. Several other miracles were also wrought through his intercession. The papers found with him showed he was an Irish bishop, and these as well as other documents proving his great sanctity, religiously kept in the episcopal archives, were destroyed by fire in the seventeenth century.²

The Abbe Marglohan says in a note (tom. iii., p. 680) strangely omitted by his translator, "that if regard he had to primogeniture and seniority of descent, the Mac Carthy family is the first in Ireland." Long before the founders of the oldest royal families in Europe—before Rodolph acquired the empire of Germany, or a Bourbon ascended the throne of France—the saintly Cormac Mac Carthy, the disciple, the friend and

2. In an old parchment, written in Gothic letters, still preserved in the archives of the cathedral church, are these lines :—

'Neath marble tombs, in this virgin's shrine,
The bones of many a saint in peace recline :
Here martyred
Thaddeus there, from Erin's shore he came,
A bishop, of M'Carthy's royal name ;
At whose behest were wondrous cures oft made,
Still Latium Genoa invoke his aid.
Dying, he mourned that not on Irish soil,
Where sped his youth, should close his earthly toil.
Nor Cloyne nor Kerry, but Ivrea owns
(For God so willed) the saintly bishop's bones.
'Tis meet that they in marble shrine encased
Should be within the great cathedral placed,
Like Christ, whose tomb was for another made,
He in Eusebius' cenotaph is laid.
Soon sacred prodigies his power attest,
And all the earth proclaims him pious blest.
O ye who hither come our saint assail
With prayers and votive gifts, nor traveller fail
To greet with reverence the holy dead.
Since Christ was born a thousand years had fled,
Four hundred then and ninety-two besides
Had passed away when St. Thaddeus died.

patron of St. Malachy, ruled over Munster, and the title of king was at least continued in name in his posterity down to the reign of Elizabeth. "Few pedigrees, if any," says Sir B. Burke, "in the British empire can be traced to a more remote or exalted source than that of the Celtic house of Mac Carthy. . . . They command a prominent, perhaps the most prominent, place in European genealogy."

The notice of Ware is the only notice extant of this bishop, so far as is known at present; but a writer in the *Ecclesiastical Record* throws some doubt on the wording of the family's surname, given as *Machar* in the archives of Ivrea. This, it is suggested, might be Maher or Meagher; but the question is one which would require more space than we can give here to elucidate.

CHAPTER X.

REIGN OF HENRY VIII.

Some account of the state of Irish affairs and of English politics—Character of Henry VIII. and his minister, Wolsey—The last Catholic Earl of Kildare—Cormac Oge Mac Carthy and Mac Carthy Reagh—The old policy brought up of causing dissensions—Attempts at establishing the royal supremacy in spiritual matters in Ireland—The success of this attempt—Character of the Protestant bishops—Dr. Brown of Dublin—His contemptible fear of his royal master—What the royal supremacy meant—The royal process of conversion extremely simple—A “martial circuit” of Ireland to enforce spiritual doctrine—The owners of Irish property preferred living in England, and the result—The English lords who married Irish ladies—The Catholic bishops of Ross—Letters from the Papal Archives—Description of the city of Ross from contemporary documents—Dr. O’Herlihy—His life and persecutions—Cork bishops who voted at the General Council of Trent—The Bishop of Cork confined and examined in the Tower of London—Sir John Perrott requests Elizabeth to write “sharp letters” to the Irish Protestant bishops—Spenser’s account of them—Martyrdom of the priests at Youghal—Dr. Lyon—His persecutions and evil life—An account of the succession of bishops in Cork and Cloyne.

BEFORE we enter on special details of the Ecclesiastical events of the reign of Henry VIII., and the civil wars of Elizabeth, it may be well to take a comprehensive glance at the state of parties and politics in England.

I believe that Irish History has not been fairly represented by a considerable number of writers, who are pleased to attribute all the sufferings and wrongs endured by the people of that country to religious grounds.

Ireland was in a chronic state of discontent and rebellion, in the eras of military violence and legal iniquity, which existed some centuries before the era of religious persecution; but, unquestionably, all the evils of the former period were enhanced and intensified, when the power which had so long

oppressed and plundered, sought to add to bodily suffering the still keener anguish of mental torture.

In the era of military violence, a man was driven from his ancestral home by force of arms : in the era of legal iniquity he was treated as a rebel if he complained : but in the era of religious persecution, his free will, the noblest gift of God to man—the gift which God Himself will not shackle—was demanded from him ; and if he dared act according to the dictates of his conscience, a cruel death or a cruel confiscation was his portion. And this was done in the name of liberty of conscience ! While England was Catholic, it showed no mercy to Catholic Ireland. I doubt much, if Ireland had become Protestant to a man, when England had become Protestant as a nation, that she would have shown more consideration for the Celtic race. But the additional cruelties with which the Irish were visited, for refusing to discard their faith at the bidding of a profligate king, are simply matters of history.

Henry succeeded his father in the year 1509. The Earl of Kildare was continued in his office as deputy ; but the king's minister, Wolsey, virtually ruled the nation, until the youthful monarch had attained his majority ; and he appears to have devoted himself with considerable zeal to Irish affairs. He attempted to attach some of the Irish chieftains to the English interest, and seems in some degree to have succeeded. Hugh O'Donnell, lord of Tir-Connell, was hospitably entertained at Windsor, as he passed through England on his pilgrimage to Rome. It is said that O'Donnell subsequently prevented James IV. of Scotland from undertaking his intended expedition to Ireland ; and, in 1521, we find him described by

the then Lord Deputy as the best disposed of all the Irish chieftains “to fall into English order.”

Gerald, the ninth and last Catholic Earl of Kildare, succeeded his father as Lord Deputy in 1513. But the hereditary foes of his family were soon actively employed in working his ruin ; and even his sister, who had married into that family, proved not the least formidable of his enemies. He was summoned to London ; but either the charges against him could not be proved, or it was deemed expedient to defer them, for we find him attending Henry for four years, and forming one of his retinue at the Field of the Cloth of Gold. Kildare was permitted to return to Dublin again in 1523, but he was tracked by Wolsey’s implacable hatred to his doom.³ In 1533 he was confined in the Tower for the third time. The charges against him were warmly urged by his enemies. Two of his sisters were married to native chieftains ; and he was accused of playing fast and loose with the English as a baron of the Pale—with the Irish as a warm ally.⁴ Two English nobles had been appointed to assist him, or rather to act the spy upon his movements, at different times. One of these, Sir Thomas Skeffington, became his most dangerous enemy.

In 1515 an elaborate report on the state of Ireland was prepared by the royal command. It gives a tolerably clear idea of the military and political condition of the country. According to this account, the only counties really subject to

3. See *The Earls of Kildare*, vol. i. p. 106, for Wolsey’s reasons for not removing him from the Viceroyalty, notwithstanding his dislike.

4. He was charged with having written a letter to O’Carroll of Ely, in which he advised him to keep peace with the Pale until a Deputy should come over, and then to make war on the English. The object of this advice is not very clear.

English rule were Louth, Meath, Dublin, Kildare, and Wexford. Even the residents near the boundaries of these districts were obliged to pay "black mail" to the neighbouring Irish chieftains. The king's writs were not executed beyond the bounds described ; and within thirty miles of Dublin the Brehon law was in full force. This document, which is printed in the first volume of the "State Papers" relating to Ireland, contains a list of the "petty rulers of sixty different states or "regions," some of which "are as big as a shire—some more, some less." The writer then gives various opinions as to the plans which might be adopted for improving the state of Ireland, which he appears to have taken principally from a curious old book, called *Salus Populi*.⁵ Both writers were of opinion that war to the knife was the only remedy for Ireland's grievances. It was at least clear that if dead men could tell no tales, neither could dead men rebel against oppression ; and the writer of the report concludes, "that if the king were as wise as Solomon the Sage, he shall never subdue the wild Irish to his obedience without dread of the sword." Even this he admits may fail ; for he adds, "so long as they may resist and save their lives, they will never obey the king." He then quotes the *Salus Populi*, to show the advantages which England might derive if the Irish united with her in her wars on foreign countries, and observes, "that if this land were put once in order, as aforesaid, it would be none other but a very paradise, delicious of all pleasure, in respect and regard of any other land in this world ;

5. There is a copy of this book in MS. in the British Museum. The name of the author is not known.

inasmuch as there never was stranger nor alien person great or small, that would leave it willingly, notwithstanding the said misorder, if he had the means to dwell therein honestly."

It cannot now be ascertained whether Kildare had incited the Irish chieftains to rebellion or not. In 1520, during one of his periods of detention in London, the Earl of Surrey was sent over as deputy with a large force. It would appear as if a general rising were contemplated at that time, and it was then the earl wrote the letter,⁶ already mentioned, to O'Carroll. The new viceroy was entirely ignorant of the state of Ireland, and imagined he had nothing to do but conquer. Several successful engagements confirmed him in this pleasing delusion ; but he soon discovered his mistake, and assured the king that it was hopeless to contend with an enemy, who were defeated one day, and rose up with renewed energy the next. As a last resource he suggested the policy of conciliation, which Henry appears to have adopted, as he empowered him to confer the honour of knighthood on any of the Irish chieftains to whom he considered it desirable to offer the compliment, and he sent a collar of gold to O'Neill. About the same time Surrey wrote to inform Wolsey, that Cormac Oge Mac Carthy and Mac Carthy Reagh were "two wise men, and more conformable to order than some English were ;" but he was still careful to keep up the old policy of fomenting discord among the native princes, for he wrote to

6. The deposition accusing Kildare is printed in the "State Papers," part iii. p. 45. The following is an extract from the translation which it gives of his letter to O'Carroll. The original was written in Irish :—"Desiring you to kepe good peas to English men tyll an English deputie come there ; and when any English deputie shall come thydder, doo your beste to make warre upon Englishmen there, except suche as bee towardes mee, whom you know well your silf."

the king that “it would be dangerous to have them both agreed and joined together, as the longer they continue in war the better it should be for your Grace’s poor subjects here.”

Henry’s attempts at establishing his spiritual supremacy in Ireland were not very successful. He commenced by appointing a *ci devant* Augustinian Friar to the See of Dublin, and he had him consecrated by Cranmer.

But though “his mind was happily free from the thraldom of Popery” before his appointment, his future career was by no means as agreeable as he had anticipated.”

He wrote piteous letters to his patron, Cromwell, Henry’s Prime Minister, and principal adviser in ecclesiastical affairs. Everything was going wrong, although he says :—“I had endeavoured, almost to the danger and hazard of my temporal life, to procure the nobility and gentry of this nation to due obedience in owning of his Highness their supreme head, as well spiritual as temporal ; and do find much oppugning therein, especially by my brother Armagh, who had been the main oppugner, and so had withdrawn most of his suffragans and clergy within his see and diocese. He made a speech to them, laying a curse on the people who-soever should own his Highness’s supremacy, saying, that isle —as it is in their Irish chronicles, *insula sacra*—belongs to none but the Bishop of Rome, and that it was the Bishop of Rome that gave it to the king’s ancestors.”⁷ Dr. Browne

7. So says Mant, a Protestant writer, in his *History of the Church of Ireland*, vol. I., p. III.

8. See the *Phoenix*, a collection of valuable papers, published in London, 1707 ; and the *Har’cian Miscellany*, &c.

then proceeds to inform his correspondent that the Irish clergy had sent two messengers to Rome. He states "that the common people of this isle are more zealous in their blindness, than the saints and martyrs were in truth ;" and he advises that a parliament should at once be summoned, "to pass the supremacy by Act ; for they do not much matter his Highness' commission, which your lordship sent us over."

In good truth, royal commissions, whether religious or otherwise, were not "ever much mattered" in Ireland ; and the mass of the people, whether Irish, or Irish of English descent, could not be got to see much difference between forcible ejection from their property, whenever a new owner appeared with a royal warrant to seize it, or being forcibly compelled to accept the religion which happened for the time being to suit the royal fancy.

But Henry was as determined to be head of the church as English adventurers were determined to possess Irish land, and both adopted partly much the same means to accomplish the end. The process of obtaining your land was just so far difficult as the original owner proved powerful.

The royal process of conversion to the royal opinions had at least the merits of simplicity. There is an old rhyme—one of those old rhymes which are often more effectual in moving the hearts of the multitude than the most eloquent sermons, and truer exponents of popular feeling than Acts of Parliament—which describes the fate of Forrest, the Franciscan friar, confessor of the king's only lawful wife, and the consequences of his temerity in denying the king's supremacy :—

"Forrest, the fryar,
 That obstinate lyar,
 That wilfully will be dead ;
 Incontinently
 The Gospel doth deny,
 The king to be supreme head."

There is a grand and simple irony in this not easily surpassed. Some very evident proofs had been given in England that to deny the king's spiritual supremacy was "wilfully to be dead," although neither the king nor the parliament had vouchsafed to inform their victims in what part of the Gospel the keys of the kingdom of heaven had been given to a temporal prince. Still, as I have observed, the royal process was extremely simple—if you believed, you were saved; if you doubted, you died.

Something had to be done, and done promptly, if the king's writs in religion were to run as effectively as the king's writs in the shires. So a parliament was summoned in 1536; but, as a remote preparation, the Lord Deputy made a "martial circuit" of Ireland, hoping thereby to overawe the native septs, and compel their submission to the royal will and pleasure. "This preparation being made," *i.e.*, the "martial circuit"—I am quoting from Sir John Davies—"he first propounded and passed in Parliament these Lawes, which made the great alteration in the State Ecclesiastical, namely, the Act which declared King Henry VIII. to be Supreme Head of the Church of Ireland; the Act prohibiting Appeals to the Church of Rome; the Act for first fruities and twentieth part to be paid to the King; and, lastly, the Act that did utterly abolish the usurped Authoritie of the Pope.

Next, for the increase of the King's Revenew, by one Act he suppressed sundry Abbayes and Religious Houses, and by another Act resumed the Lands of the Absentees."

Yet for all this, Dr. Brown writes to Cromwell two years after (1538);—"Since my coming over here [to Dublin] I have been unable to induce any, either secular or religious, to preach the Word of God, or the King's just title as Supreme Head over the Church."⁹

They "would not open their lips in any pulpit for the manifestation of the same,"¹ though they could utter their own opinions "full earnestly."

But Brown knew his master, and that his master was not accustomed to take excuses for the non-fulfilment of his royal will. He had made Brown Archbishop of Dublin, and Brown was bound to make the people obey his teaching. He sent his own servants "to cancel the Pope's name out of the Canon of the Mass," but for all that men were "ready and prompt" to admit the Pope of Rome's letters, and "steady and flinty" against the king's power.

With such a monarch as Henry VIII., who had very prompt and unpleasant ways of avenging himself on those who did not please him, it is no wonder that Dr. Brown became uneasy. He, therefore, writes to the king on the 27th September, 1527.

He commences by informing his most excellent Highness that he had received his most gracious letter on the 7th September, and that "it made him tremble in body for fear of incurring his Majesty's displeasure," which was doubtless the most truthful statement in his epistle. He mentions all

9. *Carew Papers*, vol. 1, p. 135.

1. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 135.

his zeal and efforts against Popery, which, he adds, "is a thing not little rooted among the inhabitants here." He assures the king of his activity in securing the twentieth part and first-fruits for the royal use (what had been given to God was now given to Cæsar), and states what, indeed, could not be denied, that he was the 'first spiritual man who moved' for this to be done. He concludes with the fearful profanity of "desiring of God, that the ground should open and swallow him up the hour or minute that he should declare the Gospel of Christ after any sort than he had done heretofore, in rebuking the Papistical power, *or in any other point concerning the advancement of his Grace's affairs.*"

But Dr. Brown's troubles were by no means limited. Staples, who was put into the See of Meath, wrote to St. Leger complaining bitterly that Brown had made "Mr. Treasurer and the Master of the Rolls his friends," and that he boasted "how he ruled all the clergy under the king." Moreover, a strange complaint follows—but we must remember that the Mass was not yet abolished by Act of Parliament, as the jurisdiction of the church had been: Staples more than hints that Brown was not orthodox to the creed of the English king, for the "common voice" said that he "abhored the Mass."²

This was a crime then, for Henry had not advanced so far, and he would not allow his subjects to go further than himself.

Ware's works were too long taken as reliable authority on Irish ecclesiastical affairs. No doubt he was accurate as far as

^{2.} *Carew Papers*, vol i. p. 141.—He further adds that the "common voice" (*i.e.*, general opinion of the Irishry) was that the king's supremacy was maintained only by power, and not maintained by learning. Staples seem to have forgotten that the Tudor princes did consider it necessary to argue with their subject.

his sources of imformation went, but new scources of information are opened up now on most subjects. Writing of the Diocese of Ross, he says :—

“One Thady was bishop of Ross on the 29th of January, 1488, and died a little after ; but I have not found where he was consecrated. One Odo succeeded in 1489, and sat only five years ; he died in 1494.”³

But this Thady, or Thaddeus, was never bishop of Ross. Odo was bishop of the See on the accession of Pope Innocent in 1484.

A letter of this Pontiff addressed to Odo, bishop of Ross, on the 21st of July, 1488, has happily been preserved, and it presents to us the following particulars connected with the See. No sooner had the See of Ross become vacant, by the demise of its bishop about 1480, than Odo was elected its chief pastor, and his election was duly confirmed at Rome. A certain person, however, named Thaddeus Mac Carryg, had aspired to the dignity of successor of St. Fachnan, and as he enjoyed high influence with the civil authorities he easily obtained possession of the temporalities of the See. Several monitory letters were addressed to him from Rome, exhorting him to desist from such an iniquitous course ; but as these were of no avail, sentence of excommunication was fulminated against him by Pope Sixtus, and promulgated in a synod of the southern bishops, held in Cashel in 1484 ; it was repeated by Innocent VIII. in 1488. Thus, then, the individual who is described by Ware as Bishop of Ross was merely an usurper of the temporalities of the See, whilst the true bishop, Odo, continued to govern the diocese till his death in 1494.

His successor was Dr. Edmund Courcy, who was translated

from the See of Clogher to Ross by Brief of 26th September, 1494. He was a Franciscan, and for twenty-four years ruled over the diocese. The obituary book of the Franciscans of Timoleague, when recording his death on 10th March, 1518, describes him as a special benefactor of their convent, both during his episcopate and at his death. He enriched it with a library, and built for its convenience an additional dormitory and an infirmary. He also built its steeple, and decorated the church with many precious ornaments. This Franciscan church continued for nearly one hundred years a special devotional resort of the people, until its fathers were dispersed, and the convent reduced to a heap of ruins in the reign of Elizabeth.

Before giving his sanction to the newly-elected bishop, Pope Leo ordered a consistorial investigation to be made, as was usual with the Sees of all Catholic countries, and fortunately the minute of this inquiry is still preserved in the Vatican Archives. The following interesting particulars are taken from this source :—

“ The city of Ross was situated in the province of Cashel, in the middle of a vast plain which stretched along the sea-shore. It consisted of about two hundred houses, and was encompassed with a wall. The country around was fertile, yielding an abundance of corn and fruit. In the centre of the town was the cathedral church, dedicated under the invocation of St. Fachnan, an Irish saint confessor, whose feast is celebrated on the vigil of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The walls of the church were of cut stone, and it had two entrances—one lateral, the other in front; and in both you descended by three steps to the level of the church. Its floor was unpaved, and its roof was of wood, covered with slates. The interior of the church presented the form of a

cross, and in size corresponded with the church of St. Maria del Popolo in Rome. Its central nave was separated by stone pillars from the aisles. Its choir was of wood, and at the head of the choir was placed the high altar. Its sacristy was well supplied with vestments and other sacred ornaments. It had a mitre and crucifixes; its chalices were of solid silver, some of them being gilt, and its crozier was also of silver. In the cemetery outside the church there was a belfry built in the form of a tower, in which there was one large bell. As for the dignitaries of the church, there was a dean with a yearly income of 12 marks, an archdeacon with 20 marks, and a chancellor with 8 marks. There were also twelve canons, each having a revenue of 4 marks, and four vicars with a similar income. All these assist daily in choir, and celebrate low mass. On the festival day a solemn mass is sung. The canons reside here and there through the diocese, which is twenty miles in extent. The bishop's residence is about half a mile from the city, and is pleasantly situated on the sea-shore. The episcopal revenue consists of corn, tithes, and pasturage, and amounts annually to 60 marks. There are also twenty-four benefices in the bishop's collation.”⁴

Before the close of 1517 Dr. O'Herlihy was duly proclaimed in consistory Bishop of Ross. He governed the See, however, for a little more than one year, and had for his successor a Spaniard named Bonaventura, of whom it is recorded that he founded a monastery in the small island of Dursey, which lies at the head of the peninsula between Bantry and Kenmare.⁵ This monastery, and its adjoining church of St. Michael, shared the fate of most of the Catholic institutions during the persecution of Elizabeth, and in 1602 was levelled to the ground.

Of the immediately succeeding bishops we know little more

4. *Theiner Ib.*, pp. 528-9.

5. *O'Sullivan Hist. Cath.*, p. 238.

than the mere names. Herrera tells us that an Augustinian friar, by name Herphardus, was promoted to an Irish See in the Consistory of 21st February, 1530. By an error of the Consistorial copyist, that See is styled Sodoreusis in Hibernia. Elsius, and some modern writers, supposed the true reading to be Ossoriensis, but this arbitrary substitution is irreconcible with the history of the See of Ossory ; and it seems much more probable that the true reading of the Consistorial record would be Sedes Rossensis in Hibernia.

The next bishop, Dermit M'Domnuil, styled in the Consistorial Acts Dermitius Mecarius, was appointed about 1514, and died in 1553. He was succeeded by Maurice O'Fihely, (or Phelim) a Franciscan friar and professor of theology. The following is the Consistorial entry :—

“ Die 22nd Januarii, 1554, Providit Sanctitas Sua Ecclesiæ Rossensi in Hibernia, vacanti per obitum, Dermitii Macarii de persona D. Mauriti O'Fihely ord. F. F. Min. et theologiæ professoris.”

Early in 1559 this bishop too passed to his eternal reward, and his successor's appointment is thus registered in the same Consistorial Acts :—

“ Die 15 Martir 1559, referente Reverendissimo Dno Cardinale Pachoco fuit provisum, Ecclesiæ Rossensi in Hibernia, per obitum von mem., Mauriti O'Phihil (O'Fehely) pastoris solatio destitutæ de presbyteri Hibernia.”

Dr. O'Hea ruled the Diocese of Ross for less than two years, and in the Consistory of 17th December, 1561, Dr. Thomas O'Herlihy was appointed to the vacant See.

A year before his death Dr. Courcy resigned the administration of his See, and petitioned the then reigning Pontiff,

Leo X., to appoint as his successor John O'Murrily, Abbot of the Cistercian Monastery of Fonte Vivo. The deed by which he thus resigned the See of Ross was drawn up in the presence of three witnesses, one of whom was the Lady Eleanor, daughter of the Earl of Kildare, and it assigns as the motive of his resignation that he had already gained his eightieth year, and that his increasing infirmities rendered it impossible for him to give due attention to the wants of the diocese. King Henry VIII., wrote to his Holiness, praying him to accede to the wishes of the aged bishop, and to appoint to the See of Ross the above named Cistercian abbot, who is described as adorned with every virtue, and especially remarkable for modesty, mildness, and learning.

Dr. O'Herlihy was a native of the parish of Kilmacabna, and, as his name attests, belonged to an ancient Irish family. He assisted at the Council of Trent with the Bishop of Raphoe and Achonry, and then returned to his flock.⁶ O'Sullivan Bere says "his labours were incredible in preaching against heresy, administering the sacraments, and ordaining young Levites for the service of the sanctuary," a duty which at that period required the exercise of no ordinary discretion.

But the hand of persecution was already active in marking down its victims, and the Bishop of Ross was obliged to hide in some of the islands on the coast.

He was discovered in the spring of 1571, and delivered up to Sir John Perrott, who sent him to the Tower of London.⁷ Here, says a contemporary authority :

6. The votes of these three bishops are recorded on various subjects. Their opinion was considered of great importance in regard to Irish affairs of ecclesiastical discipline.

Wadding speaks very highly of this bishop in his notes on the annals of Kilcrea. He describes him as a man of most holy life.

" Being brought before the court, he defended his spiritual allegiance to Rome with great ability and learning, and solved with ease the arguments which were proposed to him. This, however, did not procure for him any relaxation in his confinement ; and hence, when brought a second time into court, he maintained a strict silence. On being repeatedly interrogated as to the cause of this silence, he at length replied :— ' If justice were to be the criterion of my cause I should no longer be in chains, having already established my innocence, and cleared myself of every imputation of crime ; but as you are resolved to be guided, not by the dictates of equity and justice, but by your own preconceived opinions, I thought it useless to plead, knowing that it would be of no avail.' "⁸

He was then reconducted to prison, and subjected to the most rigorous treatment.

" Weighed down with chains, he was compelled to endure hunger and thirst, together with utter darkness in the fetid dungeon ; vermin swarmed over his whole frame, and the emboldened mice gnawed away the very shoes off his feet. It was only after three years and seven months that some of the southern princes, whom the English government was anxious to reconcile, purchased his release."

He died, according to Ware, in 1579, according to Saunders, in 1580.

The last record of his suffering life mentions him as ministering to the soldiers in the Desmond war.⁹

7. Though Sir John Perrott was active in persecuting the Catholic clergy, he certainly was not very successful in the choice of those whom he put in their place—a fact of which he was painfully aware. In 1574 he writes to the queen :—" First of all that her Majesty should write sharp letters to the archbishops and bishops of that province, to deal more carefully in their several charges than hitherto they have done, in setting forth God's word in their several dioceses."

One of the early Protestant Bishops of Ross and Cloyne was deposed for public immorality. See *Harris, Ware*, and official record in *Gilbert's History of Dublin*, vol. i. p. 114. Dr. Loftus, the Elizabethian Archbishop of Armagh, mentions that " bishops had been sent to occupy all the best posts in the land, of whose unability and untowardness, if it might do good, he would say more," and he further declared that the people were " much fleeced and nothing at all fed " by the new clergy.—*Shirley's Orig. Let.* p. 256-258.

8. *Lives of the Archbishops of Dublin*, by the Rev. Dr. Moran, p. 169.

9. *O'Sullivan Bear*, p. 111.

The state of the Protestant Church at this period was entirely most lamentable, but it can easily be accounted for. The Catholic clergy could not be induced either by bribery or the severest punishment to conform to the new religion, and there was a difficulty in finding persons to occupy their places. This we have on English authority of the most undeniable kind. Spenser says :—

“ They [the Protestant bishops] have their clergy in such awe and subjection under them that they dare not complain of them, so as they may do to them as they please ; for they knowing their own unworthiness and incapacity, and that they therefore are still removable at their bishop’s will, yield what pleaseth him, and he taketh what he liketh ; yea, and some of them whose dioceses are in remote parts, somewhat out of the world’s eye, do not at all bestow the benefices, which are in their own donation, upon any, but keep them in their own hands ; and let their own servants and horse boys to take up the tithes and fruits of them, with which some of them purchase great lands and build fair castles upon the same ; of which abuse, if any question be moved, they have a very seemly colour and excuse, that they have no worthy ministers to bestow them upon.”¹

And another writer says :—

“ As for their inferior clergy, I will give you a brief catalogue made by that famous Dr. Stapleton, who lived in those times :—‘ And wherein I pray you, saith he, resteth a great part of your new clergy but in butchers, cooks, catchpoles, coblers, dyers, and dawbers, fellows carrying their mark in the hand, fishermen, ruffians, saddlers, shermen, and shepherds, tanners, tilers, tinkers. etc. This rabble route of mean and infamous persons did cast so foul an aspersion upon our Protestant clergy, that even to this day the most ordinary citizens think their family disgraced when any of their nearest kindred become ministers.’ ”²

1. *View of Ireland*, p. 104.

2. Dr. Talbot, Archbishop of Dublin, in his *Politician Catechism*, chap. v.

The temporalities of this See had been seized by Elizabeth in 1570, while Dr. O'Herlihy was bishop, but that mattered little to one whose only object was souls. In 1576 Sir Philip Sydney tried to obtain the appointment for a person named Cornelius, but without success. In 1582 Lyons was appointed, and he subsequently obtained the diocese of Cork and Cloyne. His antecedents, and his history, is thus graphically described by a recent writer :—³

“ On Friday 12th August, 1580, about four o'clock in the morning, Lord Arthur Grey de Wilton, arrived at Howth ; and on Wednesday, the 7th of September, was, by virtue of Queen Elizabeth's Letters Patent, which were solemnly read by Nicholas White, Master of the Rolls, sworn Lord Deputy in St. Patrick's Church, before the Lord Justice Pelham, the peers and counsellors of the state. Grey was a ruthless Puritan, and the Queen sent him to Ireland ‘ to dissolve the spell of Rome ;’ or in plain phase, to compel the Irish to accept the doctrines of the so-called Reformation. Pelham had not succeeded in effecting this ; and it occurred to her Majesty that Grey's swordsmen might achieve what his predecessor's ranting preachers were not able to realise. In Grey's suit were three remarkable men—Spenser, the poet, his Excellency's Secretary ; Sir Walter Raleigh, statesman, soldier, navigator, poet, and philosopher ; and William Lyon, a native of Chester, who, in 1573, was made Vicar of Naas, and, four years afterwards, obtained dispensation ‘ to hold the same, with any other benefice, for life, and leave to live in England, and transport the profits of his vicarage into that kingdom.’ A special favourite of the Queen was this Lyon : for, one month before Grey landed, her Majesty advanced him to the Vicarage of Bodenstown, in the county of Kildare ; and when the new deputy was sworn, caused him to be appointed chaplain to his Excellency.

"After two years spent in vain attempts 'to dissolve the spell of Rome,' Grey was recalled to make way for the Lord Justices, Loftus and Wallop, who were sworn in September, 1582.

"In that year died one Sheyn, or Sheehan, whom Queen Elizabeth made bishop of Cork in 1572. Little has been ascertained of this schismatic's antecedents, and for that little we are indebted to a poem, composed in 1577, by Eugene O'Duffy, a celebrated Franciscan, who was intimately acquainted with the flagitious lives of the so-styled bishops of Cashel, Cork, and Limerick. Sheyn, it would appear, was a low-bred, ruffianly fellow, lewd and ribald, whose obscene blasphemies had secured him the countenance of the Deputy, Sir W. Fitzwilliams. Invested with all the power the state could place at his disposal, Sheyn, during the ten years he held the important place of Queen's bishop, inflicted every manner of outrage on the Catholics of Cork, amercing them for absenting themselves from the novel liturgy; and taking a barbarous delight in destroying objects of art, which, for centuries, had been endeared to popular devotion. One of his greatest feats was the burning of the image of St. Dominic in Cork ; and so far as iconoclasm was concerned, he proved himself the most ruthless member of that impious triumvirate which, in his day, persecuted the Catholics of Munster.

"Meanwhile, Lyon was not overlooked by his friend and patron, Lord Grey. The services of such a man could not be forgotten, and the year 1582 saw him installed Protestant bishop of Ross. In the following year he obtained the Sees of Cork and Cloyne from the Queen, who, in 1586, annexed the two Sees to that of Ross in his person. In 1595 he was named member of a commission appointed 'to find out ways and means to people Munster with English Inhabitants,' after the 'Irish Papists' of that province had been almost exterminated by sword, fire, and famine."

Two letters of this bishop, which have been lately discovered, give so graphic an account of the state of Cork in this century, that we give some extracts from them.

The first letter is addressed to Lord Hunsdon, and is dated Cork, July 6th, 1596. He commences with apologies for writing, and then proceeds to business. He describes the "unhappy state" of this untoward country. The people, he says,

"Are led by false teachers, that draw them away from their obedience to her Majesty's goodly lawes, and proceeding to that palpable and damnable blyndnesse to obey her Majesty's capital enemy that Antichrist of Rome, swearing the people to the Pope, and that they shall not come to divine service, taking XII^d of everyone so sworne (this is true, and divers have confessed that they would gladly come to service, but that they are sworn to the contrary), and VI^d for every masse they heare after the oath so taken. And yf any will have his child baptizied in the church, they shall hardly get gossips (as they call them), as the lawe apointeth, but one poor man, that is, the clerck, his wife, and a poor minister, these are comon gossips. In the city of Corck, all is done in private houses, by massing priests. About March last, was XII. months were committed by Sir Thomas Norreys,⁴ myself, and others, seven or eight recusants of the city of Cork, which would not by any persuasion conform themselves, upon whose comitment their wives preferred a petition to Sir Thomas, by whom I was made acquainted therewith. The contents of it in part was this, that it was her Majesty's pleasure that none of her subjects in Ireland should be dealt withal for any matters of Religion, and that it was so knowne to some of the best in the kingdom. This was in their petition which Sir Thomas Norreys hath, and heereupon they stand very stubborne and are the more obstinate. Whether it be so I referre to your honor. My answer to them was that her Majesty had made lawes for her subjects in Ireland, to observe one uniforme order in divine service and administration of sacraments (which is grounded

⁴. President of Munster; he was slain by Thomas Burke, at Kilteely, Co. Limerick, July, 1599.

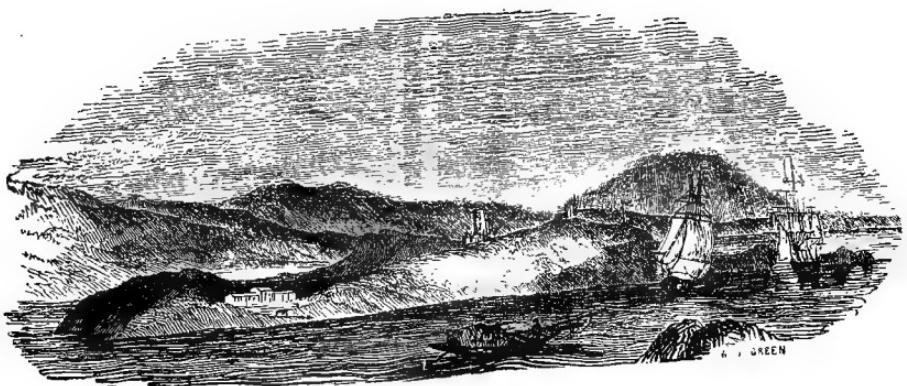
on the word of God), requiring their obedience therein, and punishing them if they did not perform the same, but any lawes or prohibition to the contrary, I knowe none from her Majesty; therefore I would observe that which I know, and not take notice of them of the contrary."

He had in truth some troublesome people to deal with, for even the "young merchants of Cork went to Mass with daggers and pistols ready prepared." Moreover there were "five justices of peace that sat on the bench of sessions" and never took the oath to her Majesty, "nor will they."

The cause of all these evils was that there was not an active persecution of men who only wished to serve God according to their conscience and the Faith of the fathers. He says:—

"The cause of all these evills before rehearsed, is the want of dew execution of those godly lawes which are established, whereby (not obeying for conscience sake), they are emboldened forwards in their ungodliness, disloyaltie, disobedience, and rebellion, and out of this cause springeth the boldnesse of the people. The Pope's Legate, friars, priests, and seminaries, of whom this countrey is full, as also the city of Corck; whereas there be X seminary and seducing priests resident within the city, maintayned and kept dayly by the aldermen and merchants of the city, to say masse, baptize, minister the sacraments, and other their popish and hereticall ceremonies in their private houses, and when I am out of the town they walk openly and comonly in the street, accompanied with the aldermen and officers of the city, and conveyed forth of the towne, when they goe to say their masses in the countrey abroad, neyther want they anything. I have their names, and who maintaineth them, and how farre I have dealt herein, to the discharge of my dewty, in my function to Godward, and my obedience to her Majesty, may appear by a letter written by me unto my honor. good Lord, the Lord Deputy.⁵ And therefore my honor, good Lord, I

5. Sir W. Russell, Lord Deputy, June 1594 to 1598.



Harbour of Crookhaven.

desire that your honor may further this my lamentable complaint to her Majesty, and that most honor, state there, that redress may be had of these things, for the preservation of her Majesty, and the comonwealth of this poore countrey, and safeguard of those few professors of the trueth, which are here resident in this land. Under reformation, I speak it with all humility, as one that earnestly desireth the good of the church, and the peace of this kingdom, that some order may be taken that these seducers, as priests, friers, jesuits, and seminaries, and their maintainers, may be restrayned, and some sharpe punishment devised for them, according to your honor's grave and wise discretion, that those that are in Corck, Waterford, Limerick, Clonmell, Cashell, Federt, Kilmalock, Youghill, and Kinsale, and other townes may be reformed (whereon the reformation of the whole countrey dependeth); for the example of the cities and townes marre the countrey, their trade being beyond the seas, from whence they bring little good, and in the countrey they may be streightley looked unto, and also that none come over from beyond the seas, as they daylie doe, I mean those wicked priests which are the sowers of rebellion in this kingdom, and will doe mischief if it be not looked into in tyme." "Good, my lord," he continues, "to discharge my duty, and that part which I owe to my sovereign lady the Queen's Majesty, for the great graces and favours she hath bestowed upon me. The best name that they give unto the divine service appointed by her Majesty, in the Church of England or Ireland, is the Divell's service, and the professors thereof, Divells, and when they meet out of the profession, they will cross themselves after the Popish manner, and any that company with us, or receive any living of me or the like, being apoynted by her Majesty, they excommunicate him or them, and will not suffer them to come in their company. My good Lord, I have caused churches to be re-edified, and provided books for every church through my diocese as Bibles, New Testaments, Communion Books, both English and Latin, and the Injunctions, but none will come to the church at all, not so much as

the countrey churlls ; they follow their seducers, the priests and their superiors, none remayneth that the churches may be frequented with a Christian congregation, which is the thing that I desire, all which I leave to your honor to be considered of, beseeching the Almighty to stirre up your honor by his holy spirit, to have a care heereof to further God's cause and the reformation of this miserable comonwealth to the glory of God, the benefit of his church, the honour of her Majesty, the good estate of this kingdom, and the suppressing of the ennemy, of the same of the which I am sure your honour hath a special care. Also I must not forget the perverse recusants that come out of England hether, and especially to these parts, and most part to Waterford, the sink of all filthy superstition, and idolatry, with contempt of her Majesty's godly lawes and proceedings.

"In Waterford, the Mayor and Sheriffs of the citie come not to church, neyther will they take the oath of supremacy, and in this citie of Corck the bayliffs refuse the oath, neyther come they to the church, and I questioning with one of the last year's baylifs named Richard Rawley, for whom I sent to know the cause why he would not come to the church, nor obey any of her Majesty's ecclesiastical lawes, he made me answer that he was sworn to the league, that he should never come to the church nor obey any of her Majesty's ecclesiastical lawes touching the same."

In this letter was enclosed another letter addressed to Sir William Russell, then Lord Deputy of Ireland, in which he complains how her Majesty's "stile and title" were torn out of the grammars by the ruffianly boys of Cork :

"The youth will not come to the church no more than the older sorte, for example whereof I comanded the schoolmaster, which teacheth in the towne where I dwell, to bring his scholars to church or else he should not teach them ; upon this the most part of his scholars went away and left the school. And now lately within this quarter of this yeare

(according myne usuall custom) I made search myself in schools for books, and what books were taught there, whether according her Majesty's lawes, and searching I found to my great grief her Majesty's stile and title torne out of all the grammars to the number of 74 in one school ; the leaf in the grammar quite torne out which conteyneth in it : ' Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queen of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Fayth, etc.,' and in the end of the leaf, ' God save the Queen ; ' whereupon I caused search to be made in all schools in my diocese, and found them all torn out, although they came new from the merchants' shops. I sent for two of the schoolmasters and examined them upon that point, if they acknowledged her Majesty's title as is above said. The one said her ancestors were so, but he denied her to be so ; the other likewise denied, whereupon I comitted them to prison, and there they remain. And what good shall be looked for in this comon wealth where the youth are taught by such school-masters ?"

What good indeed ? But it did not occur either to the bishop or those to whom he wrote that a very loyal affection could not be expected from those who were treated like wild beasts, and who were not only refused the right of worshipping God according to their conscience, but were bitterly and cruelly persecuted when they chose to obey God rather than man. To such a rule they might be compelled to submit by force, but they could not certainly submit from affection.

There was indeed "a great contempt of her Majesty's ecclesiastical lawes ;" but this was simply because the nation, in common with the whole of Christendom, denied her Majesty's power to frame any such laws.

The corporation now comes under the bishop's censure, for "There is a general revolt in all cities and towns in the country, and I am credibly informed they have sworn in many

cities and towns to stand in defence of their Romish religion and all this cometh to pass by their seducers, Jesuits, and seminaries, hedge-priests, and Rome-runners, which (under correction) are to be looked unto, otherwise what will ensue ?

" The citizens and corporations grow wealthy, proud, stubborn, obstinate, disobedient, and rebellious. They have furniture, good store in every citie and corporate towne. One example and instance I will give of their undutifulness towards her Majesty and her Grace's progenitors, who have in most bountiful sort bestowed upon the cities and corporate townes large charters with most liberal gifts, and yet tied them to observe certain good orders for their well government ; but how those good points are kept I refer it to their government, and in that if her Majesty direct any comission for the advancing of her revenue, redressing of disorders, reforming of the common wealth, and to look into their disordered government, then they will bring forth a point of their charter against her to defeat her hignesse in her right. But they will never bring forth their charter any way to farther her service but by compulsion. This is one sure token of their undutifulness towards her Majesty. In the late rebellion, and in all stirs, the cities and townes maintain and releave the traitors with vittles, as wine, aquavitæ, and bread, and with powder, shot, swords, targets, sculles, and other munitions. After the traitors were received to grace they confessed the same. They will also allege a point of their charter for this. In full and open shew of their spurning of her Majesty and other godly proceedings in cities and corporate towns, there are no children baptized in the churches, but in private houses ; no communicating in the churches ; no resort to divine service, nor sermons, neither of men, women, nor children : the like obstinacy was not seene, nor rebelling minds since her Majesty's reign, as hath bene these two yeaeres past, and they go in defensible sort to their idolatrous service. What will come of these things if it be not looked unto, and these rebellious minds tamed ? This I know to be true, the most part of my own knowledge, and some part by credible information given to

me. Those seditious enemies, the priests, have their houses for rent in the city of Corck and other cities and townes where they say their masses and walk in the streets, and are conver-sant with the best in the citie, but when they are sought for they are conveyed away. Also where there are store-houses for the safe-keeping of her Majesty's munition, it is not meet (under correction) that Irish Papists should have the keeping of the same, as in the cities of Munster they have. It is not convenient that those who hate her Highness' lawes and religion should keep her defence. Under God what may come of this I refer to your godly judgment. As their charters are always ready against her Majesty, and that they challenge all fines and amercements imposed upon them, to the great hindrance of the revenue, specially in Waterford, Limerick, Corck, and the town of Kinsale ; it were meet that they should be com-pelled to shew their charters, whether they have observed them according to their grants or forfeited the same, that thereby it might be bridled and their obstinacy brought into subjection to her Majesty's lawes. And this is most true. Reform cities and towns, and reform all the countries round about them, both in religion and civility. It is confirmed by experience, for the cities and townes are lanterns unto the countries wherein they are ; if the citizens and townesmen be good they give a light to the country, if they be bad the country learn of the townesmen their naughtynesses. Bridle the cities and townes, then the country will obey."

And then he suggests a remedy—the usual one of relentless persecution—in which, unhappily, he was but too ready to take an unusually active part. He suggests that

" All archbishops, and bishop-ordinaries, and officials under them may be commanded and compelled, upon a payne, to make diligent inquiry who hath absented themselves from Divine Service, as it is now established upon Sondays and holidays, and to certify their names to the Lord Deputy, that the fine sett down in the statute, made in the second year of her Majesty's reign, which is XIIId. (every Sonday and holiday

for their absence), may by direction be taken up and employed to such godly uses as it ought to be, as repairing of churches, relief of the poor, to holy poor soldiers, or to the maintenance of the college, or other godly uses, which will amount to a great sume, and especially in cities and townes, for there are many that never came to church sithence her Majesty's reign; better it were bestowed to some godly use than that such wicked perverse people should pass unpunished. And for as much as by statute, it is to be taken up by churchwardens; the most part of the parishes have no churchwardens at all, of purpose because they will not levy the fine; and those that have churchwardens will not do it, though they have been commanded, therefore both the negligence and contempt is to be punished, and the defect supplied by her Majesty's direction."

And further on he adds :—

" These citizens being so stubborn, and absenting themselves from church, I would to God it might please her Majesty to set a governor and garrison in every city and towne; and that the enemies of God's truth, the papists and recusants of every city and towne, might maintain them of their charges till they do reform themselves; for they maintain both bishops and priests beyond the seas, and they have legates here, and receivers that collect for them, and send it them, as I am credibly informed, and I do partly believe it; for there is never a bishoprick in Ireland but it hath two bishops, one from her Majesty, and another from the Pope."⁶

The successor of Dr. O'Herlihy is thus mentioned in 1583 by the English agent in Italy :—" In April there came from

6. Local tradition says that on Lyon's return from England, where he went to do homage to the queen as his ecclesiastical superior, he was deserted by his clergy, who secreted all the plate connected with the cathedral and monastery, as also the bells and chalices, all solid silver, which were then valued at £7,000. The commissioners subsequently hanged all the aged friars that remained, on the pretence that they knew where the above-named property was concealed, and to this day it never has been found. Tradition says it was all buried in the strand, which contains two or three hundred acres of waste, covered by every tide, having three feet of sand in most places, and underneath a considerable depth of turf mould.

Rome to Naples, an Irishman, whom the Pope created Bishop of Ross, in Ireland.”⁷ He is also mentioned by the Bishop of Killaloe, Dr. Cornelius O’Mulrian, in a letter addressed from Lisbon to Rome on the 29th October, 1584 :— “Episcopus Limericensis et Episcopus Rossensis postquam venerant Romam in curia Regis Hispaniarum digunt.” (*Ex Archi. Vatic.*) No further particulars connected with this Bishop of Ross have come down to us. He had for his successor the renowned Owen M’Egan ; who, with the title and authority of Vicar-Apostolic of this See, was sent to this country by Pope Clement VIII. in 1601. A bull of the same Pontiff, granting some minor benefices to the same Owen M’Egan in 1595, is preserved in the *Hibernia Pacata*, page 670. In it he is described as a priest of the diocese of Cork, Bachelor in Theology, Master of Arts, and “most commendable for his learning, moral conduct, and manifold virtues.” Toward the close of the century he undertook a journey to Spain to procure aid for Florence McCarthy and the other confederate princes of the south ; and he himself on arriving in Ireland as vicar-apostolic in 1601 shared all the privations and dangers of the Catholic camp. At length, as Wadding informs us, he was mortally wounded while attending the dying soldiers, and in the 5th January, 1602-3, passed to his eternal reward.

As early as the year 1326, Pope John XXII. gave his sanction to the contemplated union of the Dioceses of Cork and Cloyne. The Pontifical letter conveying this sanction bears date the 2nd of August, tenth year of his pontificate.

7. Letters of Francis Touker to Lord Burley, 22nd July, 1583.

The motive alleged by King Edward III. when soliciting this union, was the poverty of both sees. Cork is described as having a revenue of only sixty pounds per annum, and it is added that both sees “ adeo in facultatibus et redditibus suis tenues et exiles sunt, quod earum pracsules singulariter singuli ex eis nequeunt juxta episcopalis status decentiam commode sustentari.” Nevertheless, this contemplated union was not carried into effect, and for more than one hundred years we find a distinct and regular succession of bishops in each see. It was only in 1430, when both sees happened to be vacant at the same time, that Jordan, chancellor of Limerick, was appointed by Pope Martin V., first bishop of the united dioceses of Cork and Cloyne.

Thirty years later intelligence was conveyed to Pope Pius II. that this bishop, weighed down by the burden of eighty years, was no longer able to exercise his episcopal functions, the more so as he was subject to frequent infirmities, and suffering from an excessive weakness of sight. Hence, on 27th of May, 1461, we find William Roche (*alias De Rupe*) appointed auxiliary bishop of Dr. Jordan, with right of succession to the united sees. In the brief of appointment he is styled “Archdeacon of Cloyne, of noble lineage, distinguished by his zeal, prudence, and learning :” “ aliarumque virtutum donis quibus eum Altissimus insignivit” (*Monument. Vatic.*, page 430.) This prelate, however, was not pleasing to the aged bishop, whilst he was specially distasteful to the English monarch : and to restore peace to the see, Rome found it necessary, in the following year, to relieve Dr. Roche of the duties of auxiliary bishop.

On the 31st January, 1462-3, Gerald Fitzgerald was appointed by the Sovereign Pontiff bishop of the united sees, vacant by the resignation of the aged bishop Jordan. Many efforts were subsequently made to set aside this appointment; however, it was irrevocably recognised by Rome. The chief difficulty arose from the former coadjutor, Dr. Roche, who, finding the see now vacant by the resignation of Bishop Jordan, claimed it as belonging to him by that "right of succession" which had originally been accorded to him. It was only in December, 1471, that this controversy was finally closed, when a letter was addressed by Pope Paul II. to the Archbishop of Cashel, commanding him to put Gerald Fitzgerald in full possession of all the temporalities of the united sees. Peace being thus restored, Dr. Fitzgerald remained in undisturbed possession till his death in 1479. William Roche, by his submission to the former decisions of the Holy See, merited to be appointed his successor; thus all rival claims were happily adjusted, and Dr. Roche for eleven years continued to administer this see. When at length he resigned the arduous charge, Thady Mecher, or Maher, was appointed the next bishop in 1490. Most of the temporalities of the see, however, were seized on by the Fitzmaurices and other southern chieftains; so much so that Pope Innocent VIII. was obliged to issue a brief on the 18th of July, 1492, commanding these parties under the usual penalties to desist from their iniquitous usurpation.

The temporalities of Cork and Cloyne were in great part gifts and grants from the various branches of the Geraldine family, and hence it was that these southern chieftains were now

unwilling to see them pass into the hands of a stranger. The death of Bishop Thady put an end to the controversy. He himself had been in Rome when the decree of Pope Innocent was made; and on his journey homeward he was seized with a mortal distemper, which, in a few days, hurried him to his grave in the month of October, 1492, in the town of Eporedia, now Ivrea, in Piedmont, where his mortal remains were deposited in the chapel of St. Eusebius. As great miracles were performed by his intercession, he is venerated at Ivrea as Blessed.

His successor's name was Gerald, but he was implicated in the rebellion of Perkin Warbeck, for which he received a pardon from the crown in 1496. He resigned his bishopric in 1499, and John Fitz Edmund was next appointed to these sees, by brief of 26th June the same year. During twenty-one eventful years he continued to administer the united dioceses, and on his death we find the following letter addressed from Dublin by the Earl of Surrey, lord deputy, to Cardinal Wolsey, who was at this time at the zenith of his power in the court of King Henry :—

"Pleaseth your Grace to understand that the Bishop of Cork is dead; and great suit is made to me to write for men of this country. Some say it is worth two hundred marks per annum, some say more. My poor advice would be that it should be bestowed on some Englishman. The Bishop of Leighlin, your servant, having both, methinks he might do good service here. I beseech your Grace let none of this country have it, nor none other but such as will dwell thereon, and such as are able to speak and ruffle when need shall be."⁸

This letter is dated Dublin, 27th August, 1520, and what-

8. *State Papers*, vol. 2, page 34.

ever may have been the cause, another recommendation was transmitted in the following month by the same lord deputy in favour of Walter Wellesley. Both these recommendations, however, were without success, and we meet with a Bishop *Patrick*, whose name sufficiently indicates the land of his birth, holding these sees in the year 1521. His episcopate was short: as Cotton remarks “he probably sat only for a year or two.” In the State Papers Cork is again described as vacant on 25th of April, 1522: and before the close of that year John Bennett was appointed by the Holy See, successor of Saint Finbarr. He chose for his place of residence the collegiate establishment of Youghal, which had originally been founded by his family, and at his death he too endowed it with a great part of his own paternal property.⁹

Dr. Bennett died in the year 153⁵, and at his death enriched the chantry of St. Mary’s with some ancestral lands in Youghal and its neighbourhood. Henry VIII. appointed Dominick Tirrey to the vacant see, but the reigning Pontiff refused to recognise this nomination, and chose a Franciscan named Lewis MacNamara as successor to Dr. Bennett. The brief of his appointment to Cork and Cloyne is dated 24th September, 1540. This prelate, however, soon after his consecration was summoned to a better world, and on the 5th November, the same year, another brief was expedited appointing John Hoyeden, (which name is probably a corruption for *O'h-Eidhin*, i.e. *O'Heyne*) a canon of Elphin, bishop of the united dioceses. From the consistorial acts we learn that he was impeded by the crown nominee from taking possession of the temporalities

9. O'Donovan's *Book of Rights*, p. 109.

of his see, and hence on the 25th February, 1545, he received the administration of his native diocese.

It was probably impossible for Dr. O'Heyne to obtain possession of the temporalities of his see till the accession of Queen Mary. Even then he must have held them only for a little while, as the royal letter granting these temporalities to Roger Skiddy is dated 18th of September, 1557.¹

The next bishop appointed to the united sees of Cork and Cloyne was Roger Skiddy, who for some time had held the dignity of Dean of Limerick. Queen Mary's letter ordering the restitution of the temporalities to him is dated the 18th of September, 1557, and it adds that her Majesty "had addressed letters commendatory to his Holiness the Pope a good while since in his favour, and it was hoped he should shortly receive his Bull and expedition from his Holiness." Letters patent granting the temporalities to him were issued on 2nd November the same year,² and it is probable that the Bulls from the Holy See were expedited during the interval; for, in an original memorandum preserved in the State Paper Office, London, the remark is made that "the Queen's letters were sent to the Bishop of Rome, and the Bulls were returned thence for the bishoprick of Cork."³ Nevertheless, this bishop

1. A curious record of the period gives us an accurate idea of the possessions of the religious houses in the vicinity of Cork: it is a pardon granted to William Bourman for alienating the property of the house of the Friars Preachers, situated in the suburbs of Cork, and the property thus alienated is described as "the site, circuit, and precinct of the monastery, the church, belfry, closes (perhaps this is for *clausura*), halls and dormitories, castles, messuages, lands, buildings, gardens, mills, and other hereditaments thereunto belonging, an orchard, three gardens, a water-mill, a parcel of meadows containing half a stang, a fishing pool, a salmon weir, three acres called the half *scaghbeg*, ten acres in Rathminy, and twenty acres in Galliveyston."—*Morrin*, i., 374.

2. *Brady, Records*, iii., 46.

3. *Sirrley*, p. 115.

was not consecrated, neither did he receive possession of the temporalities during the life-time of Queen Mary, although her death did not take place till the 17th of November, 1558. For some time after the accession of Queen Elizabeth, no mention was made of the See of Cork and Cloyne, till on 31st of July, 1562, her Majesty wrote to the Earl of Sussex and the Lord Chancellor, "directing the admission of Roger Skiddy to the bishopricks of Cork and Cloyne, to which he had been previously elected;" accordingly, on the 29th of October, 1562, this dignitary was admitted to possession of the temporalities, and a mandate was issued for his consecration, bearing the same date. In his writ of restitution to the temporalities was inserted a retrospective clause, that he should have possession of them from the time of his first advancement by Queen Mary. Whether Dr. Skiddy was actually consecrated or not, no record has been preserved to us, and his consecration in virtue of such a royal mandate would be wholly uncanonical and schismatical. No doubt, however, seems to be entertained of his orthodoxy and devotedness to the Catholic faith : and in 1597, unwilling to lend his name to the religious novelties which the government of the day wished to propagate in the kingdom, he resigned the bishoprick and retired to Youghal.

Nicholas Landes was appointed bishop of this see in consistory of 27th of February, 156⁸,⁴

4. The consistorial entry is curious, as it omits all mention of Dr. Skiddy, and describes the see as vacant by the death of Dr. John O'Heyne.

"Die 27^o Februarii, 1568 : referente Revmo, Cardinali Alciato S. Sanctitas providit Ecclesiae Corcagiensi et Cloinensi invicem unitis, per obitum bonae memoriae Jounnis Jadican, ultimi Episcopi vacanti, de persona Rev. D. Nicolai Landes, Hiberni et litteris Episcoporum Catholicorum ejusdem Provinciae atque etiam testimonio Reverendi Patris Wolf S. I. commendati cum retentione rectoriae cum cura donec possessionem Episcopatus adeptus fuerit."

corruption for some other original name. Such errors in names are very frequent in the consistorial entries of Irish bishops : still, two distinct copies of the consistorial acts, the *Corsinian* and the *Vallicellian*, retain the present name without variation ; and, what is still more important, the Brief appointing his successor, Dr. Tanner, in 1574, describes the see as then vacant *per obitum Nicolai Landes*. Moreover, the name *Landey* was no novelty in the ecclesiastical records of Ireland in the sixteenth century, an Abbot *Landey* having held the monastery of St. Mary's, Dublin, during Henry VIII.'s reign, as we learn from the first volume of *Morrin's Records*.

Dr. Edmund Tanner was next appointed to Cork and Cloyne, by brief of 5th November, 1574.⁵

Dr. Tanner was consecrated bishop in Rome, and remained there during the winter months. On the 10th of April, 1575, special faculties were granted to him, and he was, moreover,

A suggestion has been made that the name *Landes* is a

5. The brief describes Dr. Tanner as “in Theologia Magistrum, de legitimo matrimonio procreatum, in quinquagesimo aetatis anno et presbyteratus ordine constitutum, qui fidem Catholicam juxta articulos dudum a Sede Apostolica emnatos professus fuit, cuique de vitae munditia, honestate morum, spiritualium providentia et temporalium circumspectione, aliisque multiplicum virtutum donis fide digna testimonia perhibentur.” Subsequently, addressing the clergy and faithful of the united sees, the brief continues :

“Dilectis filiis capitulis et vassallis dictarum Ecclesiarum et populo Corkagen. et Clonen. civitatum et Diocesum, per Apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus capitula tibi tamquam patri et pastori animarum suarum humiliter intendentis exhibeant tibi, obedientiam et reverentiam debitas et devotas : ac clerus te pro nostra et sedis Apostolicae reverentia benigne recipientes et honorifice pertractantes, tua salubria monita et mandata suscipiant humiliter et efficaciter adimplere procurent : populus vero te tamquam patrem et pastorem animarum suarum devote suscipientes et debita honorificentia prosequentes, tuis monitis et mandatis salubribus humiliter intendant. Itaque tu in eis devotionis filios, et ipsi in te per consequens patrem benevolum invenisse gaudeatis.”

This is the first occasion on which the following clause was inserted in the Bull of appointment to the Irish Sees :—

“Volumus autem, ut occasio et materia, tibi auferatur vagandi, quod extra Corkagen. et Clonen. civitates illarumque Dioceses etiam de licentia Episcoporum locorum ordinariorum Pontificalia officia exercere nequeas, decernentes irritum et inane quidquid secus per te actum et gestum fuerit” (*Ex Secret. Brovium Romae*).

empowered to exercise them not only in his own united Dioceses of Cork and Cloyne, but also "throughout the whole province of Dublin," of which he was a native (*universae provinciae Dublinensis ex qua exoriundus*), as well as throughout the whole province of Munster, so long as the various archbishops and bishops were obliged by the fury of the persecution to be absent from their respective sees (Ex. Sec. *Brev.*). About the middle of May the same year, he set out for Cork.⁶

The Vatican list of 1579 represents the see "Corchagiensis et Clonensis" as still presided over by a canonically appointed bishop : and another list of the clergy who were then engaged in the exercise of their sacred ministry in Ireland presents first of all the name "Reverendissimus Edmundus Epus. Corchagiensis, pulsus tamen Episcopatu." In this last named list we also find commemorated : "Thomas Moreanus Decanus Corchagiensis :" and again, P. Carolus Lens et P. Robertus Rishfordus, ambo Societatis Jesu, qui in variis locis docent litteras sub cura et mandato Reverendissimi Corchagiensis." Soon after, however, on the 4th of June, 1579, Dr. Tanner was summoned to receive the reward of his zeal and labours.

His successor was *Dermitius Graith*, who was proposed for

6. The following commendatory letter, dated 12th of May, 1575, was given to him by Gregory XIII. :—

"Universis et singulis Episcopis atque aliis Praelatis ad quos hae nostrae litterae per-
venerint, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

"Ut Nos commendatissimos habemus viros eos quos pietate atque integritate praestare intelligimus, sic cupimus, eos nostris in Christo fratibus ac filiis esse summopere commens datos, huncque animum cum omnibus pietate et. virtute praeditis tum vero venerabilue fratribus Episcopis ut ordine ipso sic charitate Nobis conjunctissimis Nos debere cognoscimus. In his est venerabilis frater Edmundus Episcopus Corcagiensis qui a Nobis discedit ut in patriam revertatur. Erit igitur Nobis gratissimum, si eum in hac peregrinatione quam commendatissimum habebitis, vestroque ubi opus esse intelligentis favore complectemini : Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die 12 Maii 1575,
Pontiff. Nostri an. tertio." (*Theiner Annals*, ii. 133).

the first time in the consistory of 7th October, 1580, and whose election was definitely confirmed on the 11th of the same month. The following is the consistorial entry :

“ Die 110 Octobris, 1580, Cardinalis Ursinus praenunciavit Ecclesias Cokagien. et Cloinen. invicem unitas in Provincia cuidam principi Catholico subjecta, pro Hyberno scholari Collegii Germanici.”

In the list of the Irish clergy above referred to, under the heading “qui sunt extra Hiberniam,” is mentioned *Darmisius Craticus*, who is described as studying in Rome, and in his thirtieth year. He is subsequently again mentioned among those who might be destined for the Irish mission, and it is there added that he was a native of Munster, and though he was skilled in both the English and Irish languages, he was more conversant with the Irish : “ melius loquitur Hibernice.”

Dr. Creagh, as Peter Lombard informs us, was at one time the only bishop in the province of Munster. Soon after his arrival in Ireland, the agents of Elizabeth mainly directed their efforts towards his apprehension, and so chagrined were they at his escape that they even accused Sir John Perrot of having secretly favoured him and thus baffled their designs. In a memorial presented to government in 1592, “ Doctor Creagh, Bishop of Cloyne and Cork,” appears first on the list of those who in Munster were enemies of the Elizabethan rule, having lived “ in the country these eleven or twelve years past, without pardon or protection, consecrating churches, making priests,” etc. ; and it is further added that “ he did more evil,” that is, he was more zealous in propagating the faith, even “ *than Dr. Sanders in his time.*” Another State

Paper, being a letter from the Lord Deputy to Lord Burleigh, in England, dated 17th, May, 1593, gives the following particulars :—

“ We have laboured with all possible endeavours with the Earl of Tirone, as well by private conference as by our sending letters, for the apprehension of the titular bishops remaining in these parts ; yet can we by no means prevail, though it is very well known to us that the earl might have done great and acceptable service therein, on account of the friendship between him, O'Donell, and Maguire—Maguire being cousin-germain, and all together at his service, and, as report goeth, either hath or is to marry the earl's daughter. And as in this I made bold, I humbly pray your lordship's pardon, to state what little success hath followed of the great shams of service made by the Archbishop of Cashel and Richard Power, rather in regard for their own benefit and to serve their own turns, than for any performance of actions at all. Upon the Archbishop's coming over they pretended a plot, both for the getting of great sums of money for her Majesty and for the apprehension of Dr. Creaghe, to the second of which we rather first harkened, but in the end nothing was done more than to spend so much time, and an open show, as it were, made to the world how that traitor was sought and laid for, whereby the other traitorous titular bishops might take warning to be the more wary upon their keeping.”

The accusation which is here made against the unfortunate Miler Mac Grath, Protestant Archbishop of Cashel, had probably more foundation than the Lord Deputy imagined ; and whilst more noise was made for the arrest of Bishop Dermotius, intelligence of all such schemes was communicated to him by Miler himself. One letter of Mac Grath to his “loving wife Any” is preserved in the S. P. O., dated from Greenwich, the 26th of June, 1592, in which he writes : “ I have already resolved you in my mind touching my cousin

Darby Creagh, and I desire you now to cause his friends to send him out of the whole country if they can, or if not to send [to him] my orders, for that there is such search to be made for him that unless he be wise he shall be taken."

On the 31st of October, 1595, a brief was addressed to "Dermitio Episcopo Corcagiensi," commissioning him to grant some ecclesiastical livings to Owen Mac Egan, who a few years later became Vicar Apostolic of Ross. In 1599 Dr. Creagh was visited by the Franciscan Father Mooney, who in his History of the Order, commemorating this visit, describes the bishop as "vir valde prudens et in rebus agendis versatus." This must have been a period of harrowing anxiety for the bishop. His diocese was laid waste by fire and sword, the Irish chieftains driven to arms by the iniquitous policy of the agents of Elizabeth, having made the southern districts of Ireland the theatre of their struggle. Dr. Creagh shared the perils of their camp, ministering to them the comforts of religion.⁸

It was on the 30th March that year, that O'Neill and the other Irish princes addressed a letter in common to the Sovereign Pontiff, unfolding to him the miseries which desolated Ireland, attesting their resolute desire to combat for the

8. One of his hair-breadth escapes is thus described in the *Hibernia Pacata*, p. 190 :—

"The Earl of Thomond, Sir George Thornton, and Captain Roger Harvey, with their companies, following the direction of their guide, were conducted to Lisbarry, a parcel of Drunfinnin woods. No sooner were they entered into the fastness, than presently the sentinels, who were placed in the outskirts of the wood, raised the cry which it would seem roused the Earl of Desmond and *Dermod Mac Craghe, the Pope's Bishop of Cork*, who were lodged there in a poor ragged cabin. Desmond fled away barefoot, having no leisure to pull on his shoes, and was not discovered ; but Mac Craghe was met by some of the soldiers clothed in a simple mantle, and with torn trousers like an aged churl, and they neglecting so poor a creature, not able to carry a weapon, suffered him to pass unregarded."

This happened in the month of November, 1600.

Catholic faith, and to promote the interests of the Church, and petitioning that the vacant Sees of the province of Munster might be filled by those who were recommended by the Bishop of Cork and Cloyne. They add that the only bishop then in the southern province was “Reverendissimus Corcagiensis et Cloanensis qui senio et labore jam paene est confectus;” and as a special motive why the Holy See should not delay to make these appointments to the vacant dioceses, they write : “ Hoc eo confidentius petimus quia qui electi conservati et ad nos dimissi fuerunt a vestra sacrosancta Sede, ad vacuas his in partibus sedes occupandas, a nobis pro viribus, in iisdem Dei gratiâ defenduntur, ut gregibus sibi commissis tuto invigilare queant.”⁹

The next notice that we find of the aged bishop is in the appointment of Luke Archer to administer the See of Leighlin during the absence of its bishop, Ribera, on whose death, in 1604, the same Luke Archer was constituted Vicar-Apostolic of that See. From the words used by Harty when registering this appointment, we may conclude that Dr. Creagh, as his predecessor, had received special faculties from Rome not only for his own diocese, but also for the province of Leinster. “Dermitius Chräh (he writes), Corcagiensis et Clonensis tunc Episcopus apostolica auctoritate qui fulserat.”

As regards the precise period of Dr. Creagh’s death, no record has come down to us. Mooney, the Franciscan annalist, merely attests that “he lived for some time subsequent to 1599.” Dr. Matthews, who was consecrated bishop of Clogher in 1609, reckons him amongst the bishops who survived Elizabeth, and

^{9.} Original Letter in *Hib. Picata*, p. 311.

lived for some years “aliquibus annis” under James I. This would lead us to conclude that his life was prolonged till the year 1605. O’Sullivan Beare, writing in 1618, leaves us in a like uncertainty, as he refers his death in general terms to the first year of the seventeenth century, after an episcopate of more than twenty years.

The first Protestant bishop of this diocese was Richard Dixon, a chaplain of the Lord Deputy Sydney, of whom Elizabeth wrote :—

“ We are well pleased that Richard Dixon, being by you very well recommended for his learning and other qualities, shall have the bishoprick of Cork and Cloyne.”

But Dixon was no greater credit to his royal mistress than Lyons. If historical truth did not oblige us to state facts as they are, we would willingly throw a veil of charity over these matters, especially since some of the late Protestant bishops of this see have been as distinguished for their fair and honourable dealings towards their Catholic countrymen as for their learning and intellectual qualifications.

The conduct of this first Protestant prelate was such that he was sentenced by royal commission to perform public penance on the 7th March, 1571, in the Cathedral of Christ’s Church, Dublin, “ which penance he went through in hypocrisy and pretence of amendment.”¹

The Lord Deputy Chichester was so annoyed at the constancy with which the Irish held to their faith under this cruel relentless persecution, that he declared “the air was

¹ In Tuckey’s *Cork Remembrancer* it is erroneously said that he was deprived for professing the Catholic religion. How untrue this was can be proved by the State Papers and other documents, which give full details of the scandals of which he was guilty. Smith makes the same mistake.

tainted with Popery.”² In 1590 Dr. Loftus, the Chancellor of Ireland, said there was a “general disposition to Popery in the people, even from their cradle,” and the Protestant Archbishop of Cashel, Miler Magrath, complained that he was beset and overwhelmed with Papists, though “very few of them escaped the whip of his censuring discoveries.”

We find that more than one Cork priest was a martyr for his faith even to death, while many hundreds lead lives of practical martyrdom, and were only saved by the devotion and vigilance of the flocks.

One of the most eminent of these martyrs was Daniel O’Melan, a priest of the diocese of Cloyne. His execution was one of peculiar cruelty. He was seized and conducted by military guards to Youghal, where he was flung from the summit of Trinity Tower ; but as this barbarous deed did not terminate his life, he was taken to a mill and tied to a water wheel, from whence in a few moments he went to his eternal reward.

Brother Dominick Collins was also martyred in Youghal. He had served for many years in the French and Spanish army before he entered the Society of Jesus as a lay brother. On the 3rd of October, 1602, he was taken from Cork to Youghal for execution, “and the whole City of Cork followed him with tears.” O’Sullivan Bear says :—

“He was first assailed by the reasonings of the Protestant ministers, and then great rewards and ecclesiastical dignities

2. I know not how this attachment to the Catholic Church is so deeply rooted in the hearts of the Irish, unless it be that the very soil is infected and the air tainted with Popery, for they obstinately prefer it to all things else, to allegiance to their king, to respect for his ministers, to the care of their own posterity, and to all their hope and prospects.

were offered to him should he embrace the tenets of Anglicanism. On his rejecting these things with disdain, he was dragged at a horse's tail to the place of execution, and whilst he was still hanging from the gibbet, the soldiers transfix'd his breast with their weapons."

The events which occurred immediately after the death of Elizabeth are the best evidence how entirely Catholic were the hearts of the people. There was universal joy, not merely because an oppressor had been removed, but because it was hoped that the nation might once more have freedom to worship God. This was specially manifested in the south, which had been especially oppressed. Waterford, of which Dr. Lyons had complained more than once, was first in its demonstration of joy. The churches were opened ; the services of the church were once more openly celebrated ; Dr. Miagh re-dedicated the Cathedrals of Cork and Cloyne, and the mass, as sung and said by Finbar and Colman, was sung and said once more.

But these rejoicings were of short duration. The English monarchs were always ready to promise everything to the Irish when they needed their assistance, and were equally prompt to perjure themselves when they really needed their help no longer. When James found himself safe on the English throne he drank eternal damnation to all Papists,³ and advanced, as far as in him lay, their temporal ruin. He had a parliamentary proclamation, issued in Dublin on the 28th September, 1605, which runs thus :—

"It hath seemed proper to us to proclaim, and we hereby make known to our subjects in Ireland, that no toleration

3. *Oliver's Collections*, p 120.

shall ever be granted by us. This we do for the purpose of cutting off all hope that any other religion shall be allowed, save that which is consonant to the laws and statutes of this realm."

Though it is somewhat anticipated, we may add some particulars from the MS. of Dive Downes⁴ as to the religious state of Cork at the close of the seventeenth century. He says :—

" In the parish of Adnageehy, David Terry, papist, gives the seventh part of his milk to the poor. In Abbeystrowry the rector or vicar usually demands, besides his burying fees, when the man of the family or widow dies worth £5, the sum of 13s. 4d., as a mortuary. If the man dies worth less than £5 they demand his second best suit of clothes, or 6s. 8d. in lieu thereof. In Dromdaleague parish Felix McCarthy is priest; he was here before the late troubles. A Protestant schoolmaster complains that Papists teach public school in this parish. In Caharagh parish 'tis thought that there are forty Papists for one Protestant; William Guricheen, a very old man, is priest there. In Cannaway parish; no church, no Protestant; there is the ruins of a house in the church-yard; there is a vault whole; the priest built an altar in it about a year ago, when some person of note was buried: Denis Sweeney is priest of this parish and Macromp."

Of Durrus, he writes :—

" St. Faughnan is the patron saint of this parish. Not far from Bantry, by the sea side, are the ruins of an abbey which belonged to the Franciscans. I don't hear that there are any other religious houses besides this in the barony of Beere and Bantry; Humphrey Sullivan is Popish priest of this parish, and of Kileroghan; he has been here about twelve years. All the inhabitants are Papists. No papists are allowed to live within the walls of Bandon. The Earl of Cork, in his leases,

4. He was Protestant bishop of Cork in 1699, and wrote a very interesting account of his diocese, which has been published by the Rev. Dr. Maurice Braly in his *Records of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross*,

has obliged all the tenants not to admit Papists. In the parish of Skull there are about four Protestant families, and about four hundred Papist families; Daniel Carthy is Popish priest of the eastern part of this parish; he has been here ever since before the late troubles. No glebe in this parish, no registry-book, nor Bible, nor common prayer book. In Kilmoe there are the ruins of a chapel at the west end of the town dedicated to St. Mullagh. The church of Kilmoe is dedicated to St. Briana, *alias* Brandon, whose festival is observed in this parish. There are about nine Protestant families, and two hundred Papists; Teige Coghlen is Popish priest of Kilmoe, and of the western part, or Skull; he has been here about eight years. A young Irishman, a Papist, teaches school about the middle of the parish. In all O'Sullivan's country they observe as a holiday 'St. Rooane's Day.' At Kinneigh a high round tower stands on the south-west corner of the church-yard. 'Tis supposed this church was formerly a cathedral. A stone is on the south-west corner of the church of Kinneigh, counted very sacred, which the Irish solemnly swear upon. The church is accounted by the Irish very sacred. There is a tradition that formerly, in this churchyard, there was a well that had great medicinal virtues, and that the concourse of people being very chargeable to the inhabitants they stopped it up. In Murragh, Daniel Hurly, a quiet man, is Popish priest of this and three or four contiguous parishes; there are more Protestants than Papists; there was a registry lately bought, and a Bible, and two Common Prayer books. In Desertsurgis there are one hundred and fifty families of Protestants; no Popish schoolmaster in this parish; a Bible and Common Prayer book lately bought; Denis Mahony is Popish priest of this parish."

A Frenchman, M. de la Beullaye, who travelled in Ireland in 1644, and published an account of his tour at Paris in 1653, writes that—"In one of the suburbs of Cork there is an old tower, ten or twelve feet in circumference, and more than one hundred feet high, which they firmly hold to have been built

by St. Barre." And speaking of the ruins of Gill-Abbey, he says they are situated at the distance of one mile from Cork, "opposite the well called by the English 'Sunday Spring,' to the south side of the sea. Here is a cave which extends far under the ground, where they say St. Patrick resorted often for prayer."

The County of Cork Grand Jury Presentments at the close of the 17th century detail some facts of the deepest interest. In 1687 they present—"That the Protestant clergy, under colour of law, exact from the Roman Catholick subjects several sums of christening, purification, burying, and book money, and sue them in their spiritual courts, and commit them to prison, so dispeopling the country, etc. That therefore your lordship would favourably represent the same to the government, or otherwise make such order that may hinder these inconveniences ; and the rather because the like duties are not demanded in any other Christian country by the clergy, nor from any other but the Roman Catholics." In 1694 they present—an address to the judge, complaining of the Popish clergy that come from beyond the sea, and praying for the suppression of Popish schools. In 1696 they state—"That John Mulcoroy, a Popish priest, and others, are out on their keeping, and cannot be taken by warrant. We, therefore, pray they may be ordered to surrender themselves by a certain day, or that they may be proclaimed rebels and traitors to the government." In the following year they complain—"That Cornelius Crowley, alias Maddery, of Skibbereen, and Owen Mac Owen Sullivan, of Kilcaskin parish, and others, all Irish Papists, have taught school and continue

to do so, contrary to the Act." In April, 1698, they present — "That P. Morrough, Titular Vicar-General, and Dr. John Slyne, Titular Bishop [of Cork], remain in this kingdom contrary to the late Act." On 13th of August, 1701, they also complain that—"John Connelly, formerly Vicar of Roscarbery, still remains in this kingdom, contrary to the Act." And on 27th July, 1702, they again present—"That John Slyne, Titular Bishop of Cork, remains still in this kingdom, exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction, contrary to the late Act."

CHAPTER XI.

ELIZABETHEAN ERA.

The Desmonds and their feuds—Death of James Fitzmaurice—Black Maurice—Lord Fermoy—Desmond made lord high treasurer, and courted by the crown—Earl Thomond's “ trusty friend,” Maurice Duv, makes an excursion into Muskery, and is beheaded by the Mac Carthys—The battle of Affane—Dispute about the prizage of wines at Youghal and Kinsale—The two earls shake hands through a hole in a door—Complaints of Desmond's exactions in the Co. Cork —“ A discourse of the power of the Irish menne”—The miserable state of the country described in a letter to Cromwell—Good cheer in Cork—The writer asks for a “ piece of ordnance to win an Irish castle ” from the rightful owner—The castle “never was an Englishman's”—The Irish expected to be devotedly loyal to those who turned them out of land and home—The king cannot get his taxes because the people are afraid to till the ground, so tenant-right is asked for, but not granted—Further oppression of the Irish in Sir Philip Sydney's parliament—The History of the English in Ireland according to Froude, and the History of the English in Ireland according to Fact—He suggests the utter extirpation of the Irish—He admits that they were hunted like “ jackalls ”—He accuses the priests of being “ apostles of insurrection ”—Why the priests joined in the Desmond and other risings—Landing of the Spaniards at Kinsale—The treachery of San José—Massacre by command of Lord Grey—The last of the Desmonds—Murder of the earl.

THE Desmonds were certainly an unquiet family. They might have ruled Munster; and Munster being well ruled, they might have ruled Ireland, had not their domestic dissensions prevented anything like combined action.

James Fitzmaurice died in 1529, and was succeeded by Thomas Maol, or The Bald, uncle of Maurice, and son of the unfortunate Thomas who was beheaded at Drogheda. He died at an advanced age at Rathkeale, in 1534.

James, the thirteenth earl, was grandson of Thomas, the last earl—a fact which may give the reader some idea of the difficulty a historian must encounter in tracing out the

Desmond pedigree, superadding the confusion involved in similarity of name, shortness of tenure, and extreme confusion of those who have written on the subject, and who have in many instances made the most contradictory statements.

James had been educated in England, whither he had been sent as a hostage. On hearing that he was heir to the Desmond title and property, he requested permission of the "king's majesty" to take possession of the "lands and territoryes, and quietly to settle his affayres." How little he could have anticipated his fate, when he set forth on his journey with a troop of friends and soldiers. He landed at Youghal, August 7, 1535; but as he passed "through the Lord Roch, Viscount of Fermoy, his country," an ambush was laid for him by his treacherous kinsman, Maurice—known, from this and other crimes, as Maurice the Murderer, or Maurice *Dubh* (the black). There can be no doubt that the object of this ambush was solely to murder the young earl. As soon as the bloody deed had been effected, all his followers were allowed to escape unhurt. Smith says that James was killed at Youghal, but his name is given in the *Hibernica Dominicana*, in the list of earls buried at Tralee, and the date 1535. This is, most probably, correct. Burgh is known to be generally accurate, and would be likely to be especially so in Kerry matters. Furthermore, Maurice was succeeded by his granduncle, John, of whom Burgh gives the following account :—

" 1536, John, fourteenth earl, an aged man, and a religious brother of the Convent of Tralee, when his son, Maurice *Dubh*, killed his grandnephew, James, the thirteenth earl, whereupon,

he succeeded to the title; but going the way of all flesh, about Christmas Day, 1536, was buried in the same church."

All authorities confirm this statement, and in reprobating the conduct of Black Maurice. Russell declares that he was a man "without faith in his promise and truth in his word, cruel severe, mercylesse, and very bloody." He ruled the tract of country known as Kerrieurihy, which was given to him by his brother James to keep him at a distance, and to afford occupation for his belligerent propensities by the continual guerilla warfare which the position required. Notwithstanding which, he lived to an old age, and was at last slain by his own son-in-law, Teige MacCarthy. The occasion seems to have been little better than a cattle raid, in which Maurice was taken prisoner. His father-in-law left four of his men to guard him, while he pursued the flying Desmond troops. Thus was Maurice murdered in cold blood. Russell preaches a homily thereupon, the substance of which is, in brief, that it served him right. O'Daly, with more regard for propriety of expression, though evidently of the same way of thinking, says that the guard "only meted out to him the same treatment which he gave to all those whom the fortune of war made his prisoners." Maurice left two sons and three daughters.

James Desmond succeeded his father, and proceeded to England to testify his loyalty and secure the inheritance. His first wife, Joan, a daughter of Lord Fermoy, had borne him a son, known as Thomas Ruagh (the Red). When his accession to the earldom became known he divorced this lady, and set aside his lawful heir. His reason for this arbitrary act of injustice is not known. It certainly tended not a little

to the final overthrow of the family, by the dissension that it created.⁵

The new earl was received with great condescension by the English king, who was anxious to keep peace in Ireland until his continental affairs were more settled. Desmond was made lord high treasurer of Ireland, which office he held to the end of the reign of Queen Mary ; and in July, 1543, the lord deputy, St. Leger, was authorized to make him a grant, by patent, of a house and parcel of land near Dublin, for the keeping of his horses and train when he attended the parliament or council, and for this purpose St Mary's Abbey was bestowed upon him. In 1550 a great court was held in Limerick, to which O'Carroll repaired under the safe protection of the earl, the mayor of Limerick, and the English and Irish who were present at that court. He was commissioned to continue the parliament, November 1, 1557, but he died the following year at Askeaton. He was succeeded by Gerald, his eldest son by his second wife. The true heir vainly attempted to assert his rights ; but although he had the assistance of the Lord Kerry and others, might triumphed over right, and Earl Gerald sat as lord of Desmond in a parliament held in Dublin, A.D. 1559.

The "Four Masters" give a very favourable account of the rule of this earl. Notwithstanding his act of injustice towards his own son, he is said to have been just to others, and they declare :—

5. Russell says, "it was commonly alleadged that shee was not the earle's lawful wife," but this was manifestly an excuse. O'Daly says that it was asserted "she was not lawfully married to the earl, but I know not on what grounds." A writer in the *Kerry Magazine* disbelieves this tale. Archdeacon Rowan says, "Scruples were then the order of the day, and Henry VIII. having divorced his wife on the plea of near affinity, James VI Desmond followed the royal example."

"The loss of this good man was woeful to his country, for there was no watch castle, or close doors, from Dun-caoin in Kerry to the green-bordered meeting of the three waters, on the confines of the province of Eochaiddh, the son of Luchta, and Leinster."⁶

It is no matter of surprise, when such contradictory opinions are given in ancient records as to the lives of public men, that contradictory opinions should be expressed by those who write of them at the present day.

Gerald, the sixteenth earl of Desmond, was at first opposed by Thomas, his half brother, who was joined by Thomas, lord of Kerry ; John Fitz Gerald, the White Knight ; Thomas Fitz Gerald, the Knight of the Valley ; and others. But Gerald continued his possession, and was present at a parliament held

6. Dun-caoin, *i.e.*, the beautiful *dun*, or fort, now Dunquin, near Ventry. The meeting of the waters alluded to above is opposite Duck Pond, near Waterford. From the boundaries given above it is evident that the Earls of Desmond claimed jurisdiction over all Munster, except that part of it which belonged to the Earls of Thomond and Ormond. The exact amount of the tribute imposed upon Mac Carthy More by the Earl of Desmond has not been ascertained. Dr. O'Donovan quotes the following, from the author of *Carbriae Notitia*, who wrote in 1686 :—

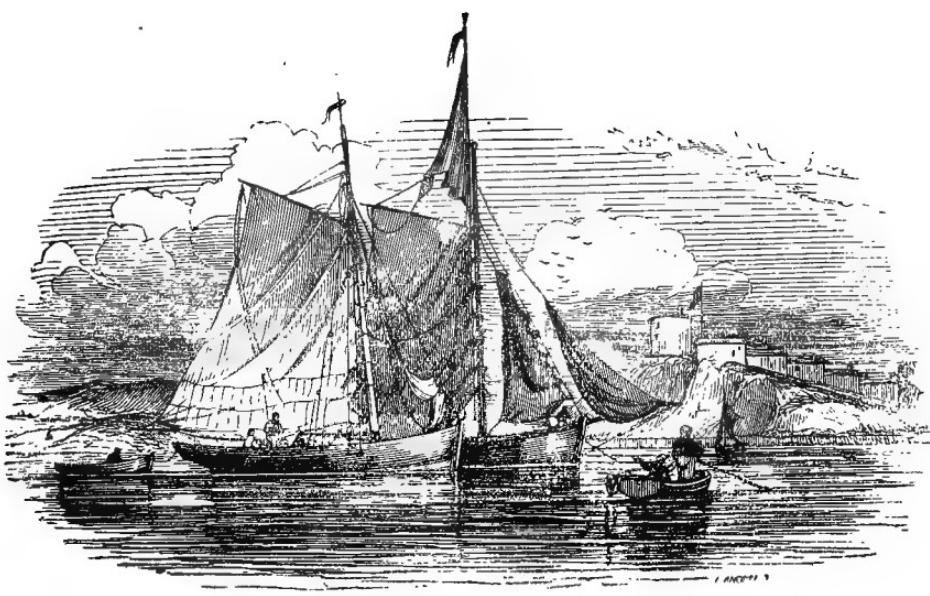
"But the family of the Mac Carthys, though it were great and numerous, never recovered their former grandeur, notwithstanding the decay of the Cogans and Fitz Stephens, and their heirs, Carew and Conry, and that because of a branch of the Fitz Geralds of English race which seated themselves in Munster, and particularly in Kerry, and being elevated with the title of Earle of Desmond, supported by great alliances, and having enlarged their possessions by marriage, purchases, and tyranny, and more especially by the damned exaction of coyn and livery, did all they could to suppress their competitors, and especially the Mac Carthys, being the most powerful and chief of them."

"No history can parallel the bloody, malicious, and tedious contests that have been between these two families, in which, though the Mac Carthys behaved themselves briskly, and slew no less than two lords of the Fitz Geralds in one day, viz., the father and grandfather of Thomas Nappagh, at Callan, in Desmond, anno 1261, yet at length the more powerful Fitz Gerald's had the best of it, and imposed on Carbry a most unjust and slavish tribute called 'Earl's Beeves' [it was probably in endeavouring to enforce this tribute that Maurice *Dubh* was killed, see *ante*, p. 221], which, though as I conceive not maintainable by law, is yet tamely paid by the Carbrians to this day for want of unity amongst themselves to join in proper methods to get legally discharged of it. However, the Mac Carthys did not dwindle to so low a degree but that they continued seized of almost six entire baronies, viz., Glanarought, Iveragh, and Dunkerron, in Desmond ; and Carbry, Muskry, and Duhallow, in Cork. But the Earl of Desmond grew so powerfull, that upon his attainder there were forfeited to the Crown 57,623 acres of land."

at Dublin, 12th January, 1559-60. He also assisted Tiege O'Brien against the Earl of Thomond. The earl "took Tiege's complaint to heart." For the brave Tiege informed him that he should be left without home or kinsmen, unless he obtained speedy assistance. The earl, thereupon, assembled his "gallant troops and mustered his tribes ; he did not, however, wait to make a proper muster, but proceeded at once with boldness and intrepidity across the waters of the limpidly rolling Shannon."

The Earl of Thomond considered prudence a necessary qualification of valour, and when he heard how large a party were marching down upon him he set out to seek the assistance of his "trusty friend," the Earl of Clanrickard, leaving his camp empty. The application was successful, for the Earl of Thomond is said to have been "the better of his solicitations." Moreover, his friend behaved very courteously, and "did not wait to be asked a second time," a statement which no one at all familiar with Irish history can doubt, for whatever faults the Celt or Anglo-Norman may have had, they certainly were never deficient in willingness to encounter their enemies.

It is not at all surprising to find a record under the year 1560 of a "declaration of battle and promise of conflict between the Earl of Desmond (Garrett [Gerald] the son of James, son of John) and the Earl of Ormond (Thomas, the son of James, son of John)." It is to be presumed that they appeased their quarrel, for, in 1561, the "five earls of Ireland" joined the army of the lord justice, to march into Tyrone against O'Neil. The five earls were Garrett, Earl of Kildare ;



Haulbowline.



Conor, Earl of Thomond ; Rickard, Earl of Clanrickard ; Thomas, Earl of Ormond ; Garrett, Earl of Desmond.

In the year 1565, the death of Maurice *Dubh* is thus recorded by the Four Masters :—

“ Maurice Duv, the son of John, son of the Earl of Desmond, went upon a predatory excursion into Muskerry. The sons of Tiege, son of Connor Oge, son of Tiege Mac Carihy, namely, Dermot and Cormac, overtook him, and beheaded him, though the profit of sparing him would have been better than the victory gained by his death. He who was then slain was the firm steel of the Geraldines in the field of danger, the plunderer of his enemies, and the destroyer of his opponents.”

The famous battle of Affane was fought in 1564, in which the Earl of Ormond was victorious, and Desmond, when taunted as he was carried off the field, wounded and a prisoner, made his historically famous speech. “ Where,” cried the soldiers who bore him, “ where is now the great lord of Desmond ?” With grim humour he replied, “ In his proper place—on the necks of the Butlers.” The veracity of this speech as been questioned apparently only because of its extreme cleverness. It does not require very much knowledge of the world, or very brilliant powers of observation, to know that more witty and pointed speeches are made every day in common conversation than are ever recorded in books. It was just such a speech as the haughty Earl of Desmond would have been likely to utter, and we, at least, see no reason to doubt that he did use these very words.

The two earls were ordered to England to account for their conduct, and examined before the privy council. As their case could not be understood in that country, or probably anywhere else, so contradictory was their testimony, the matter

was referred to the Irish privy council—a commission under the broad seal of England being sent over to take their examinations; they entering into their own recognizances of twenty thousand pound. The Queen was supposed to have a strong bias in favour of the Ormond interest, and Sir Henry Sidney having the fear of his queen very strongly before his eyes, demanded that other commissioners should be joined with him.

The great point of dispute between the earls appear to have been the prizage of wines at Youghal and Kinsale, and the limits of their respective boundaries. These were, as usual in such cases, a host of minor grievances, both general and particular. The Earl of Ormond excuses himself for his share in the battle of Affane, by stating

“That the cause why he assembled that company with him was for the deffence of the contrey of Tipperarie, being advertised from the west that the lord of Desmond had a greate hoste in redyness theare. The assemblie was at Knockloughte, a hill three myles distant from Clonmel, and beeing there, a servant of Sir Maurice Fitzgerald’s came into his lord, giving him advertisemente that his men had gathered together the cattle of his contrey, about Drode Ruannaghe, and besought his lord to fetch them away and to salf-keepe them for him in his lord’s contrey”⁷

He then accused the earl of having “given the first charge,” and says he “toke him in his owne deffence, and lead him away as prysoner for the queen’s matie.”⁷

The result was an exterior reconciliation of the belligerent lords, but its real nature may be surmised from the fact that

^{7.} Earl of Ormond’s answer, Public Record Office, State Papers, Ireland, Eliz., vol. vii., No. 34. Smith’s account is not quite correct: we do not know where he obtained it.

they shook hands through a small hole cut in the door of the chapter house of St. Patrick's Church, Dublin, each fearing to be poniarded by the other, if they approached without this protection.

In the early part of the year 1567, Sir Henry Sidney made a progress through Munster and Connaught, and reprimanded Desmond for his continual animosity to Ormond; whereupon the earl is said to have "flown into a rage." His passion, however, was soon either cooled or concealed, when Sidney reminded him of the heavy personal recognizances which he had entered into to keep the peace, and hinted that the queen would be likely to claim the £20,000 if the feud continued. By way of further prevention, the viceroy took him with him in his progress.

Mac Carthy More had been created Earl of Clancar two years before, and it is said that Desmond influenced him very much against the English government. Serious complaints were also made at this time of Desmond's exactions, particularly in the county Cork. The Four Masters, under the year 1567, say:—

"The Earl of Desmond was taken prisoner at Kilmallock by the lord justice, who conveyed him from thence to Limerick, and from thence to Galway, to Athlone, and afterwards to Dublin. This capture was made a short time after the festival of St. Patrick. And his kinsman, John, the son of James, went to the English to visit the earl the ensuing Allhallowtide, and he was immediately taken prisoner. Both were afterwards sent to England."

The fact was, that the earl's followers had assembled at Kilmallock in force, probably with a view of intimidating the viceroy. Desmond tried to explain away this hosting, and

offered, it is said, “on his knees,” to disperse them. Sidney, thereupon, told him he might do as he pleased—that he would fight them if they attempted to molest his troops, but that Desmond should pay the forfeit with his life. He then made Desmond prisoner avowedly, although the earl and his followers probably knew well enough that he was a prisoner already in point of fact.

Thomas (Roe), whose claims had been unjustly set aside by his father, now came forward and attempted to obtain the earldom, during the short imprisonment of the actual holder of the property. He is said to have been encouraged by the Earl of Ormond, the bitter opponent of the family, probably on the *divide et impera* principle.

Sir John Desmond was appointed to govern Kerry during the absence of the earl, who made his submission on the 12th July, 1568, and laid his estates at the queen’s feet. His brother John, although he governed Kerry with great prudence, was, perhaps, for this very reason, an object of dislike to the Earl of Ormond, who contrived to have him imprisoned also. He was, however, enlarged at this time, and accompanied the earl to Ireland. The power of the Desmonds at this period may be estimated from a document in the Lansdowne MSS., British Museum, entitled,

“A DISCOURSE OF THE POWER OF THE IRISH MENNE.

“Item. Mac Cartie More is called prince and lord of that porcion, and will bring of his name and kind xl. horsemenne, two battayles [battalions], and two thousand kerne.

“Item. O’Sullivan is lord of Bere and Bantry, and will be xvi. horsemenne, cc. kerne, and useth long gallies.

“Item. Mag Guyn [Mac Finneen] is lord of Glonough, and will be cc. kerne.

"Item. O'Donoghue More is lord of Logh Lene, and will be xvi. horsemenne and cc. kerne.

"O'Donoghue Glanlish [Glenflesk] will be vi. horsemenne and cc. kerne.

"MacGilgoddy is lord of his country, and will be lxx. kerne.

"Item. O'Conoher-Kerrie will be xxiiii. horsemenne, lxxvi. kerne.

"Item. There is in that Mounster the Erle of Desmonde and his kinsmen, lords, and his servants, and hath of lands under his domination xxvi. miles, and will be iiiii. horsemenne, viii. battayles of galloglas, a battayle of crossbowe and gunners, and 3,000 kerne, and his countrie being so large and so environed with Irishmenne, and for the most part ever at war with his kinsmenne, so that he giveth no aid or assistance to the deputie, which power is farre greater, as by the marriage with MacCartie More all that porcion is under him."

Some extracts from the Carew Papers will show from contemporary authority the miserable state of the country, the perpetual feuds, the incessant plotting and counter-plotting which became a necessity when two parties were continually on the *qui vive* to outwit each other.

On the 6th October, 1535, Stephen ap Harry, who is addressing Lord Cromwell, says:—

"My Lord James's pleasure was that I should prepare to go with him to commune with a young gentleman (who) challenges to be the Earl of Desmond, Cormak Oge, and many others, and to see O'Breyn's country: but my Lord Deputy would not let us have one of the battering pieces with us. From Dungarvyin we went to Youghall, where we had very good cheer, and where they sold a gallon of Gascon wine for 4d. sterling. The second night we encamped by a castle called Cahermon, and there my Lord James mustered his host. He had with him 202 horsemen, and 312 galoglas, and 204

kerns, besides followers. I had 78 spearmen, 24 longbowes, and five hand guns ; every man well horsed.

“ Next day, upon a hill half a mile this side Cork, my Lord James commanded me and all his captains to put the men into array. ‘ Upon a hill, half a mile or more, Cormac Oge was with his host, and so down came Cormak Oge into the valley with certain . . . and my Lord James with a certain . . . with him, as then was appointed ; and so they met together and fell to parelyng ; after which my Lord James went into the town with all his host, and the mayor and his brethren received them. On the morrow Cormak Oge came to my Lord James, and brought with him the young gentleman who challenges to be Earl of Desmond. This young man speaks very good English, and ‘ keepeth his hair and cap after the English fashion upon his head.’ He said he had never offended the king ; that his lands ‘ came by the king’s gift, and that he was a true Englishman born and would be content with all his heart if Sir John A. Desmonde, his oncle, would come and submit himself unto the king and his council and to open his title, as he would do, then he would be content to come into England ;’ and even if his uncle will not come he is content to go into England. Moreover, there came into my Lord James one called my Lord Barrow, who can speak very good English, and is of not more than 17 or 18 years. He ‘ is a great inheritor, and if he had right and laid very sore to Cormak Oge was this, that he would be sworn to do the king’s true service and to put in his pledges to abide the judgment’ of the deputy and council between him and any man. Macarte Ryagh came in upon a safe conduct, and his answer was ‘ that what he hath won with his sword he will hold it with his sword.’ My Lord James would fain have been in hand with his country, but could not meddle with any man until he had brought in the Desmondes and Cormak Oge to have bond of them according to their promise.

“ We removed from Cork to a place called Malaghe, and there camped by a river side. On the morrow we went to

Kilmalok and next day to Limeryk, and (as the saying was), with a great host, and had hurled down the woods in the way, as we should have into his country, and had forsaken two of his castles hard by Limericke ; and heard that we were so nigh, he went into the mountains from us, for fear of ordnance ; and when he heard tell that we had no ordnance, then he restored his men into his castles again with such ordnance as he had of his own ; and without ordnance to beat the one pile we could not enter well into his country. Therefore my Lord James thought best to recoil back again, and to bring the Descemontes and Cormak Oge with his company to a stay, or that he would [pass] any further.. And so in Limerick we had very good cheer, but not nothing like the cheer that we had in Cork. And so we departed an eight mile off to a place of religion, the which is after the order of Grenwyche, and my Lord of Kildare was the founder of it, for he hath castle and lands even there fast by ; and there met with my Lord James his brother-in-law, which is O'Brien's son, and his saying is this to 'my Lord James :—'I have married your sister ; and for because that I have married your sister, I have forsaken my father, mine uncle, and all my friends and my country to come to you to help to do the king's service. I have been sore wounded, and have no reward nor anything to live upon. What would ye have me do ? If that it would please the king's grace to take me into his service, and that you will come into the country, and bring with you a piece of ordnance to win a castle, the which castle is named Carygoguylyn, and his grace to give me that, the which never was none Englishman's this 200 year ; and I will desire the king no help nor aid of no man but this English captain, with his hundred and odd of Englishmen, to go with me upon my father and mine uncle, the which are the king's enemies, and upon the Irishmen that never Englishmen were amongst ; and if that I do hurt or harm, or that there be any mistrust, I will put in pledges, as good as ye shall require, that I shall hurt no Englishman, but upon the wild Irishmen that are the king's enemies ; and for such lands

as I shall conquer it shall be at the king's pleasure to set Englishmen in it, to be holden of the king as his pleasure shall be ; and I do refuse all such Irish fashions, and to order myself after the English laws and all that I can make or conquer. Of this I desire an answer."

This is as good a specimen as we could have of the state of the times, and of how there was no idea of exercising right, or justice, or common charity towards the "wild Irishmen." The moment an Englishman desired a "castle" or lands belonging to them, he proceeded at once to gratify his covetousness, and yet the Irish were expected to be devotedly loyal to English rule. As well might the hunted beast upon the mountains love and venerate the huntsman, or the Indian of the prairie become devoted to the power which for him exists only to oppress.

Sometimes, indeed, compassion is expressed for the unhappy Irish, but this is only because when they have been plundered by the native lords, and nothing is left for the new comers.⁸

On the 20th April, 1537, the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland wrote to Henry VIII. announcing the fearful desolation of the country. They say that the first Thomas Fitzgerald wasted and devastated the country, and then "after the arrival of your army for the expugnation of the same rebels, your Deputy and army burnt, robbed, and destroyed, whereby the tenants were exiled." The wonder is that there were any tenants left to be "expugnated."

One thing was certain, if the land was not cultivated the king could not get his revenues. This the council had just sense enough to discern, and further they were able to under-

8. See instructions sent to the English Council in *Carew Papers*, A.D. 1533.

stand that no man would cultivate land when he was certain that he should not reap the fruit of his labour, so they cry out for tenant right ;⁹ but as tenant right was then, as it has been of late years, considered landlord wrong, appeal was of very little avail, and probably these very men would have been the first to seize and appropriate the crops or goods of any of the men for whom they were pleading, not for justice sake, but for the royal interest. Certainly while men were in daily fear of execution as rebels, there was little likelihood of their being occupied in tillage.

In the year 1568 Sir Philip Sydney held a parliament, in which the Irish were further oppressed by a subsidy of 13s. 4d. for occupied plow land, to be paid to the Queen.

During the absence of St. Leger his wife was obliged to retire for protection to Cork, as the Irish not unnaturally resisted the terrible exactions he had inflicted on them, and took advantage of his absence to revenge themselves. Lady St. Leger was relieved by Sidney, who went from Cork to Kerrycurrihy, and took Carrigaline castle, then belonging to James Fitzmaurice. From thence he marched to Kilmallock,

9. They say :—"There will be few wastes after this year, if your Grace ensue our devices in two points.

"One is, no man in this country will manure and inhabit your ne any other man's lands especially to any fruitful purpose, unless he may have security of countenance therein, so as when he hath edified the same he shall not be expelled from it. Another cause there is, which hath been the chief cause of the continuance of these wastes, and shall be the occasion of more wastes if it be not remedied immediately. The inhabitants of the county of Kildare, and other wheres where the most of your Grace's lands be, were most principal offenders in this rebellion; whereby they be in such fear (especially now since the execution of the Geraldines) as they dare not trust to abide in the country, but wandering about, so as the possessors endeavour not themselves to inhabit and manure their own lands, fearing more the loss of their lives than the decay of their goods and their lands; and therefore out of hand it were good they had their pardons, as we have divers times moved ere now for, the which they would gladly fine; which, if it were done, many of your waste lands would be taken to farm at this May."

but as Lord James, notwithstanding his English descent, could not be got to see the justice of such proceeding, he forced a march, reached Kilmallock before the deputy, and burned it to the ground.

A recent writer on Irish history says,¹ that “all this”—he includes in one vast sweep of his pen, all the confiscations, evictions, burnings, and plunderings of Sir Philip Sidney, of St. Leger, of Perrott, and of others, who came to rule Ireland according to English ideas—that “all this could have been prevented” if a further series of acts of injustice could have been perpetrated on the unhappy Irish. If, in fact, they had been dummy toys, who could have been swept off the face of the earth with a glance of the eye; or half-witted idiots, who could not discern between justice and injustice, and so would have submitted in silence to wrong.

“If,” he says, “the church lands had been everywhere resolutely taken possession of and distributed among English families who would have undertaken to defend them, and had four thousand soldiers been dispersed in strong position through the four provinces, with wages regularly paid, the savage spirit of resistance, which ultimately became so formidable, would never have been able to grow, and the frightful catalogue of crimes which provoked, and in some degree excused, that resistance, would never have been committed.”

How would this writer have liked it if an Irish or French army of invasion had practised this thing in England? Yet

1. The History of the English in Ireland, according to Fact, and the History of the English in Ireland, according to Froude, do not by any means coincide. He writes with the calm gravity of a man who so believes in himself that he fancies everyone else will believe in him. “Elizabeth,” he tells us “would have been glad to let Ireland alone.” Certainly she would if the Anglo-Norman lords and Irish chieftains had only submitted quietly—as, according to Mr. Froude, they should have done—to see their castles burned down, or hand over their lands without a word to new adventurers.

a few lines further on he states what was unhappily true, that the English soldiers came to regard the “ Irish peasant as unpossessed (*sic.*) of the rights of human beings, and shot and strangled them like foxes and jackals.”²

Smith says that “Sir John Perrott reduced all the Irish in this province to the English habit,” which statement is as true as the succeeding one, that Richard Dixon was deprived of the see for Popery. In 1571 Queen Elizabeth gave a silver collar of SS. to Maurice Roche, mayor of Cork, for his loyalty, A.D.

1575.

^{A.D.} ^{1575.} “Sir Philip Sidney, Lord Deputy of Ireland, came to Waterford, where the Earl of Desmond waited on him, and passing through Dungarvan, they arrived at Cork, and staid there six weeks, during which time the citizens supplied the army with diet, lodging, and firing, for half their pay. The earls of Thomond and Clancare attended the lord deputy, who kept his Christmas in Cork; after which he held sessions of gaol delivery, when Condon, and a younger son of the Lord Roche, were condemned, but afterwards pardoned, and twenty-three malefactors were executed. During the deputy’s stay he had informations of the disloyalty of Fitz Gerald, seneschal of Imokilly; and received an account of several depredations of his upon the Queen’s loyal subjects. Upon which his lordship attended with two hundred of the citizens and his own forces, marched to Ballymartyr, and took that castle, Fitz Gerald narrowly escaping through a hole, in the dead of night. There were several things of value found in the castle, with a

2. *The English in Ireland*, vol. I., p. 57.—He further states that “the priests made themselves apostles of insurrection.” Were the priests then to join with those who treated their people like “jackalls,” and not only deprived them of the right to exercise their religion, but even of the right to live? And then he has some childish sentimentality about “the life of a Protestant minister not being worth a day’s purchase.” The historian may have his prejudices, but he should tell truth. Mr. Froude has nothing to say of the cruelties inflicted on Catholic priests. If he could have found even one instance of a Protestant minister losing his life for his religion in Ireland he certainly would have noticed it.

great quantity of provisions and victuals, but the spoil was given to the soldiers. The deputy having left a garrison of twenty men in the place, under the command of Jasper Horsey; he returned to Cork. He afterwards made a progress through the province of Munster, and returned a second time to that city, holding sessions in Limerick and other places. His lordship, in a letter to the council of English, says, that Sir Cormac Mac Teigh Carty, of Muskery, for his loyalty and civil deportment, was the rarest man that was ever born among the Irishry. This Sir Cormac is also mentioned by Camden, as a celebrated person in his time in Muskery.

“Sir William Drury was appointed lord president of ¹⁵⁷⁸ Munster, and two years after was elected lord justice of Ireland. This same Sir William Drury being lord justice of Ireland, came into this province, attended by Sir Edward Fitton, and others of the privy council. On the 20th of November they wrote to Queen Elizabeth to show the necessity of continuing a lord president in Munster ; for, on the report of this office being suspended, the Irish lords began to commit violences, particularly Lord Roche, who kept a freeholder in irons, who was possessed of an estate of eight plowlands, until he gave all up, except one half plowland ; and when that was complied with, he extorted as much upon that half plowland, as he did upon any other in his country ; and with the Lord Barry plundered such tenants and vassals of their corn, as dared to contradict them, without any colour of right or legal process. Nor were the great men free from the extortions and suppressions of their superiors ; for Fitz Gerald, seneschal of Imokilly, had all his corn forcibly taken away by the Earl of Desmond, though he was at that time one of the most considerable private gentlemen in Munster. The earls of Clancare and Desmond had also a contest about the bounds of their respective territories, viz., whether Mac Carty’s lands were within the bounds of the palatine of Kerry or not, which dispute they were about to decide by force, and for that intent drew their respective followers into the field, but the presence of Sir William Drury prevented the effusion of blood, and put a stop to this contest.”

In the year 1576 the Earl of Desmond was appointed one of the council of Sir William Drury, who was then governor of Munster. Thus were the Desmonds alternately suppressed and courted by the English government. The object of the deputy was to crush the power of the Geraldines, even while he appeared to uphold it, by holding assizes in Tralee, which was in the earl's palatinate of Kerry.

In the year 1575, according to the Four Masters, and a year later according to other authorities, James Fitz Maurice set out with his wife and children to France to plead the cause of the Irish Catholics. The whole narrative is an unwearied chivalrous defence of a cause which, from a temporal point of view, was certainly hopeless.

In France his requests were politely refused, for Henry III wished to continue on good terms with Elizabeth. Philip II. of Spain referred him to the Pope. In Rome he met with more encouragement ; and at the solicitation of the Franciscan bishop of Killaloe, Cornelius O'Mullrain, Dr. Allen, and Dr. Saunders, he obtained a Bull, encouraging the Irish to fight for the recovery of religious freedom, and for the liberation of their country. An expedition was fitted out at the expense of the Holy See, and maintained eventually by Philip of Spain. At the earnest request of Fitz Maurice, an English adventurer, named Stukeley, was appointed admiral. The military command was bestowed on Hercules Pisano, a soldier of some experience.

Stukeley was reported to be an illegitimate son of Henry VIII. He was a wild and lawless adventurer, and entirely unfitted for such a command. At Lisbon he forsook his

squadron, and joined the expedition which Sebastian, the romantic king of Portugal, was preparing to send to Morocco. Fitz Maurice had travelled through France to Spain, from whence he proceeded to Ireland, with a few troops. He had three small vessels besides his own, and on his way he captured two English ships. He was accompanied by Dr. Saunders, as legate, the Bishop of Killaloe, and Dr. Allen. They were entirely ignorant of Stukeley's desertion until their arrival in Ireland. The squadron reached Dingle on the 17th of July, 1579. Eventually they landed at Smerwick Harbour, and threw themselves into the Fort del Ore, which they fortified as best they could. If the Earl of Desmond had joined his brother at once, the expedition might have ended differently ; but he stood aloof, fearing to involve himself in a struggle, the issue of which could scarcely be doubtful.

The fact was that the earl was not very earnest about the Catholic interest, while James was devoted to it heart and soul.

James Desmond sailed from a port called Ferol, in the kingdom of Galicia, on the 17th of June, 1579. He had three shallops with him besides his own vessel. On the way he captured two vessels, one English and the other French, which were set on fire ; and on the 16th of July he arrived at Dingle. On the 25th he was joined by two galleys, which carried a hundred fighting men, but they were captured a few days after by the English.³

The Earl of Desmond wrote at once to the president of

3. The account given above is taken from a detailed narrative of the whole affair which was written for the Roman court. Also, from the letters of Dr. Saunders to the Nuncio. The originals are given in Dr. Moran's *History of the Catholic Archbishops of Dublin*.

Munster to announce the landing of his cousin. It is difficult, and indeed impossible, to ascertain what his own views were, so carefully did he temporize through the whole affair. His letter to the president is too manifestly a piece of policy to afford much light:—

“Earl Desmond’s Letter on the Landing of Sir James at Dingall, A.D. 1597.

“ MY VERY GOOD LORD,—Since the writing of my last, I received news that Sir James Fitz Gerald (Morrish) landed upon Saturday last at the Dingall, and burned the town, and spoiled all my tenants there, and doth spare none of her majestie’s subjects. I, taking the advice of my lord Archbishop of Cashel and Mr. Apsley, they advised me to ride forward with all my forces, and, with God’s help to expell the traytor and his adherents; and now, being bent thither, having in my companie the said archbishop and Mr. Apsley, I hope, with the mightie hand of God, to make an end of this service on hand. Wishing your lordship to hasten hither with your forces, lest that more ayde should come to the rebel.

“ I have written to all the gentlemen and lords within the province to meet me with their forces at Kerry to further the service of her majestie, to the furtherance whereof, as I often told your lordship, I will not spare to venture myself and alle myn, and thus humbly taking leave at Whytestown, the xx July, 1579

“ Your honor’s lordship to command,

“ GERAT DESMOND.”⁴

Desmond kept his promise of marching against his relative, for we find it stated in a “ Relation,” from which we have

4. The Archbishop mentioned above was Miler Magrath, who became a Protestant and was translated to the see of Clogher by Elizabeth, in 1570, and was made by her archbishop of Cashel. He repented before his death, and was reconciled to the Catholic Church by Dr. Kearney, the Catholic Archbishop of Cashel.

Mr. Apsley was one of the leading men of the province of Munster at this period. His co-heiress was married to Sir Thomas Browne, ancestor of the earls of Kenmare, and brought the Hospital estates into that family.

already given an extract, that he had marched to attack him on the 29th of July. A few lines further on, however, it is stated that "the Earl of Desmond was neither our friend nor our enemy, and we freely traversed his country." This was probably the true state of the case. The earl appears to have contented himself with making preparations, and even when he did approach their camp his actions certainly were not warlike, whatever his declarations had been.

The Spanish troops were, however, very much encouraged by the arrival of Sir John and Sir James Desmond, who gave themselves up with entire self-devotion to the Catholic cause. Sir James was a half-brother of the earl's, and was distinguished from his cousin as Sir James Sussex⁵ Fitz Gerald. This accession of strength induced the leaders of the expedition to despatch Matthew de Oviedo,⁶ on the 3rd of July, to Spain, that he might solicit further assistance and report progress.

James Desmond then set out on his ill-fated expedition, accompanied by Dr. Saunders, and the command devolved upon Sir John and James Sussex.

In the meantime Henry Danvers, Davells, or Davuse, as he is variously denominated, was now sent by the president against the Geraldines, and had arrived in Tralee.

According to O'Sullivan Beare, James refused to accept the services of John Desmond until he had committed himself irreparably by some overt act against the English which would

5. He obtained this distinctive appellation from his godfather, the celebrated Earl of Sussex, who stood sponsor for him in 1541, and gave him a chain of gold.

6. Oviedo was a Spanish friar, of the order of St. Francis, who studied at the famous college of Salamanca, with Irish students, and there learned the state of that country.

bind him to the Irish cause. Sir John was not unwilling to accept the condition. James had proceeded to the south, advanced to "the Dingall," inspected the Fort del Ore, and then returned to the Earl of Desmond to report the state of affairs. The earl, however, carried out his non-intervention policy with undeniable consistency. He informed Danvers that his shot was more fit for wild fowl than for such a serious undertaking, and that though his gallowglasses were good men to encounter gallowglasses, they were not fit to meet trained soldiers. Clearly, whether they were fit or not, they certainly were not willing.

Danvers and his party arrived at Tralee late on the summer's evening. They took a last look at sun and sea and sky, though they little knew it. Mr. Justice Meade and Mr. Charters, provost-marshal of Munster, were with Danvers, and they made for the old castle without a thought, save that there they could find rest and shelter for the night. Its grim walls were a welcome sight after the day's toil, and they flung themselves on such rude couches as the necessities of the time could give, and slept.

In the meantime the foe was approaching, and at midnight Sir John Desmond thundered at the castle gates, and demanded admittance. The warders, not suspecting any evil design, let him in with his followers. A few rapid steps up a winding stairs, and he had entered the apartment where his victims slept. An instant more and they were startled from their sleep by the flashing of torches and the clash of swords. Danvers and Desmond had been friends at one time, and, according to the traditional account of the murder, he

exclaimed : " My son, what is the matter ? " " No more of son, no more of father," was the answer ; " make thyself ready, for die thou shalt." A moment more and the three men were slain. The same tradition avers that they were cast down the " Murdering Hole."

The whole narrative reads like a romance ; it is not so—it is a chapter in history.

Desmond had committed himself with a vengeance. But his cousin was deeply distressed that he should have committed a murder when he was expected to do some deed of valour. Contemporary writers have severely condemned him for his crime. It certainly was not the act of a knight *sans peur et sans reproche* ; but the impartial historian will remember that it was a time when every man's hand was against his fellow, when deeds of treachery were but too common, and when it was considered lawful, if not advisable, to get rid of enemies in the most expeditious, if not the most open manner.

A letter of Sir Philip Sidney to Sir F. Walsingham affords more than a clue to the disaffection of John Desmond, and shows why he may have considered any Englishman his enemy, and, as such, a fitting object for summary vengeance. It will be remembered that Sir John was appointed by Sidney to govern Kerry during his brother's imprisonment. He certainly executed his charge with entire fidelity to the English interest, and without prejudice to the Irish. But the miserable dissensions of the Anglo-Norman settlers, and their jealousy of each other, which was the fatal source of two-thirds of the wars and misery of centuries, changed Desmond from a loyal subject to a bitter enemy of English rule. Sidney was con-

stantly reproached with partiality to him, which partiality consisted merely in an acknowledgment of Sir John's fidelity to his trust. The Ormonds, always bitter enemies of the Desmonds, had the royal ear, and Sidney was continually reproached with "his endurance of the insolence of Desmond."

He was thus compelled, to save himself from the charge of imaginary complicity with an imaginary criminal, to arrest Sir John. This is no mere historical conjecture of my own; Sidney has left his opinion on record. In the letter to Walsingham mentioned above, he says :—

" Within a few daies after I was charged for not redressing the damages done to Ormonde, and his followers, by Sir John of Desmond, whom I left seneschal and captaine of his brother's countrie, his brother still remaining with me in captivitie, and then it was openlie spoken, that the Butlers could have no justice against Sir John of Desmond, either by Sidney or St. Ledger, whom I had left chief in commission to mynister justice in Munster, and, unwitting to me, the Earl of Desmond and Sir John, his brother, were sent for; which Sir John being come to Dublin for conference with the lords justices, was, together with his brother the earl, sent prisoners and committed to the Tower of London, where they remained, I think, seven years after ; and truly, Mr. Secretarie, this kind of dealing with Sir John of Desmond was the origin of James Fitzmaurice's rebellion, and, consequently, of all the royle and mischief in Munster, which I can prove hath cost the crowne of England and that countrie one hundred thousand pounds."

There were other causes, certainly, for James Desmond's revolt; and a principal cause was that he and the Irish in general were denied the free exercise of their religion, and those rights of conscience of which God alone should be the judge; but there is no doubt that Sidney took a clear and

dispassionate view of the whole case ; and there have been other risings in Ireland, both before and since, which have cost the English people as much and more, and which might have been prevented by the ordinary impartial administration of justice.

James Desmond had indeed a troubled life. The Ormond influence worked against him even in his own family. The Earl of Desmond had married Dame Eleanor Butler, a member of that powerful house, and when James asked his brother for a grant of land in return for his services during his imprisonment, this lady added the feminine weapon of tears to her feminine arts of persuasion, and effectually prevented him from obtaining his reasonable request. Russell writes indignantly on the subject, and his evidently bitter feelings on the subject make one suspect that he had some unpleasant experience of the other sex :—

“ See what mischiefe spring from ye malice of a woman. For Dame Elleynor Butler, Countesse of Desmond, and the mother of one only sonne, opposed herself against this James Fitzmaurice, and with reasons, persuasions, teares, and imploreings, persuaded the earle, her husband, not to dismember his patrimony, but rather for to leave it whole and entire to his only sonne James FitzGarrett, who was then a young child.

“ It often falls out that weomen in their requests prevaile with men, and even as the soft wave of the sea cleaneth and pierceth the hard rock, not by force, but by continuall falling thereon, soe the Earle of Desmond being incessantly advised by his wife or lady, or rather (as I believe it) not well established in his wits, without any consideration or respect had of his said cosen’s greate merritts, and former services done for him, or the expectation of future services, utterly rejected his

suite, gives him nothing, soe as it ended in an absolute denyall."⁷

James was also unfortunate in his private life. His two sons, Maurice and Gerald, were left with Cardinal Granville, to be educated, at Madrid. According to O'Daly's account, they were youths of singular promise, and were well received at the court of Philip of Spain. A nephew of the cardinal, Thomas Granville, became so attached to them, that when Maurice, the eldest, died, he remained with Gerald, and accompanied him to Ireland in 1588, when they both perished together by shipwreck.

After the death of James, Sir John Desmond took the command. The lord justice, Sir W. Drury, marched against him, and desired the Earl of Desmond, and other Munster chiefs, to join him at Kilmallock. The Four Masters say that he obeyed the summons, and "endeavoured to impress on their minds that he himself had no part in bringing over James, or in any of the crimes committed by his relatives;" and that he delivered up to the lord justice "his only son and heir, as a hostage, to insure his loyalty and fidelity to the crown of England. A promise was therefore given to the earl that his territory should not be plundered in future; but, although this promise was given, it was not kept, for his people and cattle were destroyed, and his corn and edifices burned."

7. The same countess, as will be seen further on, was certainly a strong-minded woman; and, we suspect, ruled the earl in more matters than the question of James Fitzgerald's request for land. The Ormonds of that day and the Desmonds were most curiously inter-married, a circumstance which does not seem to have contributed to family affection. The relationship was this:—Ormond's mother was Joan Fitzgerald, only child of James, eleventh Earl of Desmond. She died A.D. 1534, having been married three times, and the last time to her second cousin, Earl Gerald. So that Ormond was actually both stepson and third cousin to the Earl of Desmond, whom he hunted down so relentlessly. The earl's second wife was the Dame Eleanor above mentioned, and she was a Butler also.

Drury was certainly suspicious, and with cause. He wrote thus to Walsingham, September 14th, 1579 :—

“ Doctor Saunders is still with the rebels. He persuades the earle that it was the providence of God for his fame to take aware James Fitz Maurish, and that the earl will be more able to advance the Catholic faith.”

On September 14th, he wrote :—

“ The Earl of Desmond and his brother camp within a mile of each other ; meet together in secret resorte, as some thinke, of the principals, and noe enmitie between their people. Some of the castels whereof the earl offered soldiers to reside for this service are since rased. There is general determination to rase the town of Dingell, lest Ormond should possess it, and make their staple there. I do alle I can to prevent it, and to surprise the town by sea.”

Sir John Desmond had encamped at Slieve Louher, and at *Gort-na-Tiobrad*, now Springfield, in the county of Limerick : he defeated the lord justice, and slew three of his captains.

The Countess of Desmond, who seems to have had very clear ideas how to proceed in order to procure her personal safety, made several attempts to propitiate the English government. She asked permission from Sir W. Pelham to go to England that she may implore the queen herself to pardon her husband. But the lord deputy had doubts of her, and wrote of her in by no means complimentary terms :—

“ I have considered,” he replied to Ormond, who undertook to plead her cause, “ I have considered my ladie of Desmond’s letter, and truly I take it for a dream ; for if my lady can be a traitor and a true woman at her pleasure, and enjoy her husband’s goods and lands, and her own libertie, as if no offence had been committed, she hath the best hap of anie

lady living; wherefor, I pray your lordship from her vain petition till our meeting, and answer her letter with silence, for it deserveth none other."

But the countess was persevering, and obtained an interview at last with Pelham at Askeaton, when she tried those "teares and pleadings" which had proved so effectual with her husband. Presumedly Pelham was made of sterner stuff, for the tears and pleadings had no effect, though he writes thus of them to his royal mistress :—

"I had left the earl without a rest anie where; he flyeth from place to place, and seeketh mediation for peace by his countess, whom yesterday I did licence to have speeche with me here, whose abundance of tears sufficientlie betrayeth the miserable state of herself, her husband, and fortunes."

Her child she had already given up to the Earl of Ormond, by whom he was sent to Dublin. Willing or unwilling, she followed her husband's fortunes a short time longer; but when she was aroused from her bed, in company with the earl, "two daies before Twelfth Night," and obliged to pass the remainder of the night in a ditch, up to her chin in water, she could not endure her privations any longer, and gave herself up to the lord general, only regretting that she could not persuade her lord to follow her example, "whom reason could never rule."

Of her future it must suffice to say that she survived the earl, and married for her second husband the O'Connor Sligo.

An engagement took place at Mannisteranena, near Bruff, which proved very fatal to the Geraldines, and where Dr. Allen, a physician who had accompanied the expedition from Spain, was slain.⁸ After this, the whole country was desolated

8. Smith, Froude, and every other English author has made the mistake of calling Allen a priest and a Jesuit.

from Luachair Droghaidh (Slievelogher, near Castleisland), to the Suir. Even the poet Spenser has left a pitiful description of the misery of the people, who, as usual, were the victims to the quarrels of their superiors. The Geraldines—

“Proceeded to destroy, demolish, burn, and completely consume every fortress, town, cornfield, and habitation between those places to which they came, lest the English might get possession of them and dwell in them ; and the English consigned to a like destruction every house and habitation, and every rick and stack of corn to which they came, to injure the Geraldines, so that, between them, the country was left one level plain, without corn or edifices.”

The Earl of Desmond had now committed himself so far, that he was proclaimed a traitor on the 2nd November, 1579. The earl set up his camp at Ballyhourra, in Cork, and then began four years of miserable and fearful war. James Sussex was seized early in the year 1580 by Cormac MacCarthy, who was then sheriff of Cork, and so loyal as to win the praises of Sir Henry Sidney, who declared him to be the “rarest man that ever was born of the Irishry ;” and it certainly was rare for a MacCarthy to signalize himself by devotion to the English cause.

James was taken to Cork, and after a month’s imprisonment, during which time he daily prepared himself for death, “an order came from Dublin from the lord justice and the council, ordering the mayor to put that noble forth to death, and cut him in quarters and little pieces.” This was accordingly done.

Preparations were made by the English immediately after Christmas for what they hoped would prove a war of exter-

mination, in which Kerry was not spared. The lord justice marched to Limerick, and a fleet was despatched thither also. The Earl of Ormond joined the hosting, and marauding parties were sent out, who “showed mercy neither to the strong nor to the weak.” They killed blind and feeble men, women, boys, and girls, sick persons, idiots, and old people.

The lord justice then passed into Kerry, which, though they had vast tracts of land elsewhere, might be almost called the country of the Geraldines, from the fidelity of the Kerrymen to the fortunes of the already falling house. He proceeded to *Teamhair Luachra*, a name now obsolete, but the site is known by the name of *Beal-atha-an Teamhrach*, and is a ford in the parish of Dysart, near the town of Castleisland. From thence he went to Tralee, the scene of so many a momentous event, and not being able to penetrate into the country further than Slieveinch, he resolved to lay siege to the Desmond stronghold at Carrigafoyle, which he took.

After a rest of about two months in Limerick, he set out again, and plundered as far as Dingle, taking hostages. Amongst these were Barrymore, the wife and son of Mac Carthy More, the two sons of Mac Maurice of Kerry, O’Sullivan Beare, Mac Donagh, chief of Duhallow, and the son of Mac Carthy Reagh.

Carrigafoyle was commanded by Julio, an Italian engineer, who had under his command nineteen Spaniards and fifty Irish. According to the Four Masters it was attacked by two camps. “They pitched two camps by sea and land around it.” The chronicler did not explain to us how the camp was “pitched” at sea, though they are exceedingly eloquent on the

subject of the cannon—a novelty then in Irish warfare :—

“ As for the lord justice, he ordered the great ordnance sent to him to be landed, and he placed five great guns opposite the rock, to play upon it without mercy. It was said that the least of these guns was a dimi-cannon.⁹ He then began to storm the castle, and there was not a solitude, a wilderness, a declivity, or woody vale, from the Cain of Breas, the son of Ealathan, son of Neid, in the south west of the province of Clann Deirgthine to Cnoc-Meadha-Sinil, in Connacht, in which the sound and roar of these unknown and wonderful cannon were not heard. The western side of Carraic-an-phuil was at length broken from the top to the foundation, and the warders were crushed to death by its fall. The lord justice then took the castle, and remained in it five days after he had taken it, and at the end of that time he went to Askeaton.”

This is, perhaps, as fine a piece of hyperbole as ever was written, but there can be no doubt that the roar of the cannon, and still more its effect, left a long and vivid impression in the wilds of Kerry.

None of the Anglo-Irish writers mention a fleet as having taken part in this engagement. Winter, the English vice-admiral, cruised about the coast during the autumn of 1580, to prevent the Spaniards from landing. He put into the harbour of Ventry, but returned to England in September.

The next event of importance in Kerry history is the famous capture of the Fort del Ore. It is also, for many reasons, an event of national importance. It will be remembered that James Desmond landed here with Doctor Saunders, the Pope’s Nuncio, and that after he had been killed by the Bourkes, Sir

9. A demi-cannon is a gun six inches and six-eighth parts diameter in the bore, and twelve feet long. The rock was a name given to the castle from its firmness, not from any natural rock near it. *Carraig-na-phuill* means the castle near the hole. It is so called from a deep hole in the Shannon near it.

John Desmond had taken the command. For more than a year the struggle had continued, and no further help had been obtained from abroad. The following extracts from the State Papers will show the opinion of English politicians as to the affairs of the Desmonds.

After the death of James, Sir W. Drury wrote this to Sir F. Walsingham :—

“ Albeit the foreign partizans may seem to be disappointed by the suddaine taking awaye of this principal instrument (James Fitzmaurice), yet the traitor that remaineth, John of Desmond, is not to be slightly regarded, both because his power is more than the others, his wisdome, I think, equal, and his credit universal with all the idlenesse of Ireland ; only the other surmounted him in ippocrisie to allure men to the cause of religion, and a long experience how to protract the warre. What friends he had here, and what *cold* enemies, my brother Drew can inform you, which knoweth both my opinion of the erle his brother, and of the devocion I find in Clancarre, Barrie, Roche, and others.”

From this it is evident that James Desmond was credited by his enemies with being a devout Catholic, and that Sir John of Desmond had not only many friends, but that even his enemies were not warm in their demonstration of hostility.

On the 3rd September, 1579, Sir Nicholas Maltby wrote from Kilmallock that the earl had not three men of the county who would follow him, besides his household, and that all had followed Sir John—a clear and certainly unprejudiced statement of the state of popular opinion. That help from abroad was confidently expected is evident from many sources, but we doubt if Dr. Saunders staked his head on the probability of its arrival, as we find stated in the following letter. It

must be remembered, in reading all such documents, how bitterly intensified religious differences were by political feuds, so that few indeed, on either side, would admit even ordinary honesty or conscientiousness in his opponent. As an evidence of this, and for other reasons, we append :

"The report of Justice Wynch of the state of things in Munster and West Kerry, written the last day of March, 1580.

"The rebels in Munster doe still continue their rebellion, keeping themselves in desart places, expecting the coming of foreign powers, which the dolted doctor and traiture Saunders doth verifie unto them, offering his head to be cutte off yf aide come not by the xx day of April next. There arrived in Dyngall in Kerrie, two Spanish barks about the 26th of February, to understand the state of the rebels, and Doctor Saunders, who declared they were sent from the court of Spain, upon report that all the Geraldines were overthrown and killed. They came to know the certainty thereof, and finding before them in the town the said dolting doctor, he did return them with speede, with vehement letters for the speedie sending into Ireland the ayde promised ; and also certifying the prosperous successe of the Geraldynes, setting them forth, as I understood, a thousand times with more force and success than they have had, or are like to have, and so the said barques are despatched from the first of Marche. This much I am advertised of by the Earl of Clancarre, who came from these parts of late, and was here at Cork with the lord general [Ormonde], promising to serve her magistrie with all his force against the said rebels, alsoe, the said Earle of Clancarre his son and heire remaineth in my custody this twelve month and halfe, as pledge for the good and dutiful behaviour of his father. He hath no more sonnes but the same. Methinks if I had not good regard in keeping the sonne, the father had been as false with us as the rest. Likewise I do understand the Baron of Lixnaw, and Patrick his son, are ready to run

from the traytors to the lord general, if that they may be received, affirming that they were in haste joined to the erle, their old enemie, but to save themselves from his furie and rage, till they might come to the governor, which two principal pillars, the Earle of Clancarre on this side, and the Baron of Lixnaw on the other side, being pulled from the traytors, they are left bare and destitute.

“ JOHN WYNGHE.”

Happily Saunders’ letters are extant also, so that we can learn both sides of the question—a *sine qua non* for those who wish to form an opinion founded on fact, and not on prejudice.

On the 12th of August, 1580, Lord Grey arrived in Ireland to supersede Sir W. Pelham in the office of lord deputy. He wrote thus to the queen on the same day :—

“ The rebels in Munster hold out still, yet this day, on landing, I found it advertised hither, that James of Desmond, with Saunders, their honest apostle, making into these parts to have joined with the rebels here, were encountered by one Sir Cormac Mac Tiege, of Muskerrie, in the county of Cork ; the said James was taken, and a man of Saunders hys, the master escaping very hardly, unhappily. An exploit surely of great avayle and worthielie to be considered ; it may, therefore, please your magestie to bestowe some thanks on the gentleman, with some rewarde.”

The deputy little suspected that while he was penning his despatch the long expected Spanish aid was actually in active preparation, for on the 27th August, 1580, the new expedition sailed from the harbour of Santander, on the coast of Biscay, under the command of Colonel Sebastian San José. The English accounts state that he had a force of 600 men. Dr. Saunders, who certainly was most likely to be best informed,

gives the number as 300. Probably these statements, which appear contradictory, could, like many apparently contradictory statements, be easily reconciled. Dr. Saunders mentions the actual number who sailed from Spain ; other writers included, probably, the total number engaged in the undertaking.

The expedition landed on the 13th September, 1580, and landed their stores at Smerwick. This fort, called by the Irish Dun-an-oir, by the Spanish translated to Fort-del-ore, is situated on an island connected with the south shore of Smerwick harbour. The island is a solid rock, about fifty feet high, with perpendicular sides, and is surrounded by the sea except in one narrow neck or passage, which connects it with the mainland. O'Daly says that this fort was believed to be impregnable. "But," he adds, "what is there so strong that treason will not destroy ?"

The little Spanish fleet was sighted before landing, and the Earl of Clancare, who was encamped at Killorglen, near Killarney, and who, no doubt, had a very vivid anticipation of the probable consequences to his "sonne," if he was even suspected of complicity by his silence, sent a despatch in all haste to Cork. Another warning was sent from (Castle Magne) Castlemaine, Co. Kerry, by Andrew Martin, the constable, to St. Leger, and the Connors of Lixnaw, also sent a report to the Recorder of Limerick.

There is no doubt that San José was a traitor of the deepest dye. On the arrival of the Spaniards, he selected the Fort del Ore as his headquarters, in opposition to the urgent entreaties of the Irish leaders, who knew the strength of the English fleet,

and the difficulty there would be in obtaining provisions. The Bishop of Killaloe, Dr. Saunders, and Matthew de Oviedo were so thoroughly disgusted with his conduct, that they left him and joined the Earl of Desmond. The fort was first attacked by the Earl of Ormond, with 1,500 men, in October. The following is his own account of the affair :—

“ On the second day of last month (October), having assembled in company together at Cork, I marched from thence towards Slieve Louher, and arriving on the same, I had intelligence of ‘Desmond,’ ‘Baltinglass,’ ‘John of Desmond,’ ‘Piers Grace,’ with five hundred of foreign enemy, were encamped on a very strong ground called Bongounder, six miles from Tralee, where they promised to fight, and marching towards them, as they saw me come near, they fled; whereupon I, with a few of my horsemen and some shot, followed them till they came to the wood called Killvallylahie (Keelballylahiffe), and at the entering into that wood some of them were slain and hurt with our shot. The night coming on, and my footmen wearied with their travayle all the day long, I camped near them, meaning to be doinge earlie the next day with them ; and understanding by my spyals (spies) that Baltингlass and John of Desmond, with the greater part of the traitors, fled away that night towards Smerwicke, where the Italians fortified, I marched after them, and by the way took some of the Spaniards and Italians ; and when I came thither, Baltингlass and John of Desmond, with their companies, were departed thens by night, and carried the Pope’s nuncio along with them.

“ The 12th of that month (October), I took a few of my company with me to take a view of the forte, and drawing neare them, there issued from the forte one hundred and twelve Italians, and bestowed musket shot on me, at which time Andrew Martyne, Constable of Castel-Mayne, being with me, was slain. Whereupon, having with me 80 shotte, we skirmished with the Italians and drove them into the forte, after which they saluted us with their great shot.

"The place whereon they fortifie is from the rock called Smerwicke into the land, where they made a rampere of 18 foot high, as I might guess it, and flankers artificially wrought. Want of vitual, grete ordnance, and munitions, forced me to leave the place, and to return towards my lord deputy, who advertised me of his being at Limerick."

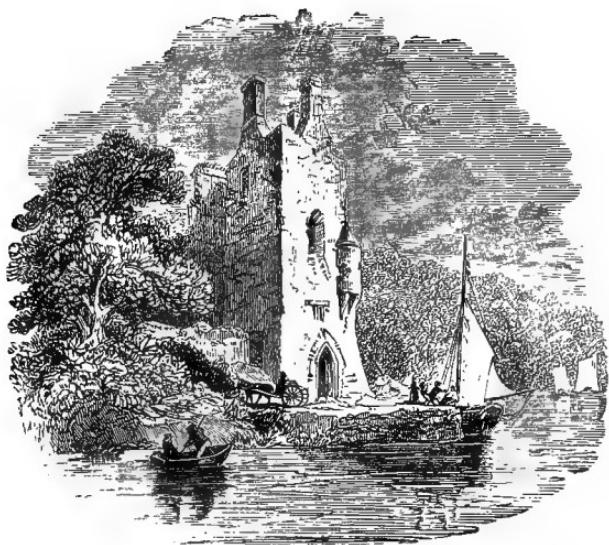
"As I marched back towards my lord deputie, spials brought me word that Desmond, with 500 of the foreign enemy, were going towards Connillogh, and camped at a place called Killenturnye, where I came so suddenly upon them as they were forced to leave certayne of their stiffe, as pannyeers (panniers), table and altar-cloths, chalices, books, and other such furniture (said to be the nuncio's), also some vitual and munition.

"I left six Spaniards at Castel-Mayne, prisoners, to be examined and otherwise used, at my lord deputie's pleasure, besides such as were slain."

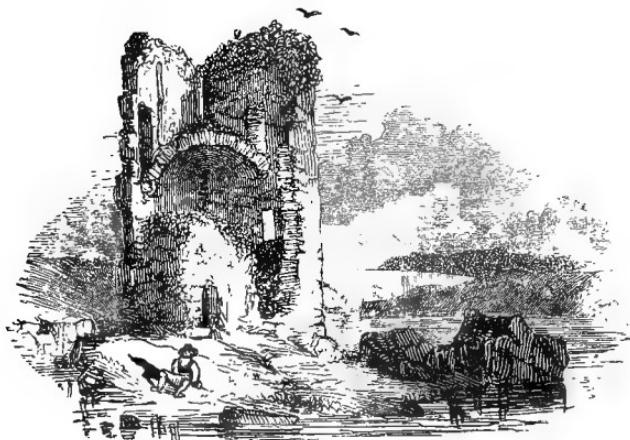
Even from this account, in which, as we might expect, the English losses are treated as lightly as possible, it is evident that they suffered considerably. The account given of the death of Captain Martin agrees exactly with the details given by Dr. Saunders; who further adds that the earl's retreat gave great courage to the men.

We must refer the reader to Kerry history for further details of the affairs. It will be sufficient to say here that San José's personal safety was his one object, and that he secured it at the expense of honour and self respect. Even the lord deputy's account describes him as an abject coward.¹

1. A letter from Paul Justinian to San José, written on the 9th May. 1581, contains sufficient evidence of this. The letter is preserved in the archives of the Vatican. But there is a further and corroborative account of high importance. Russell says, in his *Relation*: "San Joseph, that commanded the fort, a very coward, and unfit for the warrs, being affrighted with the continual battering, thinkes presently upon surrendering it; and knowing Herculias Pisano, and the other captains under his command, strong to dissuade him from it as an unworthy thing to be done by soldiers, and to insist that by theyre cowardynesse they should not diminish the courage of the Irish, who were coming to their succour with all speede, but to endure the assault. The governor, unwilling to hold



Castle of Ship-pool, mid-way between Innishannon
and Kinsale.



Ruins of Castle of Dundanure, near Bandon.



Warm controversies have been held about the culminating events in this tragedy, and polemics have added keenness and personalities to the subject. The question for consideration is whether we want truths or a theory to suit preconceived ideas. If we want truth, it is easily obtained by a comparison of the statements of both parties, which, happily, remain on record to the present day.

Both O'Daly and O'Sullivan Beare also wrote within fifty years after the occurrence of the events which they relate. Hence, we have a mass of almost contemporary evidence *from entirely independent sources*. The concurrence of this testimony is one of the highest possible evidences of its veracity. Both O'Sullivan and O'Daly mention an interpreter called Plunkett, who was present at the interview between San José and the deputy. He endeavoured to palliate the treachery of the Spaniard, by misinterpreting the conversation of the two chiefs, declaring to Grey that José would sooner lose his life than surrender, which was precisely what he had determined not to do, and interpreting to San José that Grey would not give quarter. The two generals began to suspect some misunderstanding, and Plunkett, who gloried

out the siege, with a remarkable cowardlyness, sounds out ye intentions of ye soouldiers, and threatening the said captaines, in the end brought them to condiscend to yeeld the fort, notwithstanding the perswasion of Herculias Pisano, known for his resolution and cōourage, truly worth to bear the name soe, not expecting releif out of Spayne, or from the Earle of Desmond, who, with all heart, was forthcoming sufficient fforces to succor them. The place, by the cowardice of the sayd governor, was yeeded to the lord deputy, and to Ormond, who, quite contrary to his promise and faith passed to them for the safety of their lives upon composition, put all the soldiers in cold blood to the sword, reserving only the captains, for which breach of promise and bloody act her majesty gave him but poor thanks, who always abhored and detested such cruel acts, being the most merciful princesse that lived in her time." It should be distinctly remembered that Russell wrote in 1638—only fifty-eight years after the events which he recorded, that he was no partisan of the Catholic or Irish cause—and furthermore, that his father served in the long wars on the English side.

in the deed, was taken in chains to the fort, and another interpreter procured.

Plunkett assured the Irish on his return to the fort that they were betrayed, and warned them even in his chains ; but either his words were not heeded, or the Spaniards were all-powerful. The real truth of the terms of the surrender will probably never be known in this world. Lord Grey, in his letter to Elizabeth, tells coldly of one of the most diabolical massacres on record—in fact, seems rather to glory in it. He declares that he would not allow the besieged any “condition or composition, other than that they should simple render me the forte, and yield themselves to my will for lyfe or deth. With this answer they departed.” One or two, he says, “came to have gotten a certaintie for some of ther lyves,” but this was refused. Now, both O’Daly, O’Sullivan, and Russell, as already quoted, distinctly state that the lord deputy promised the garrison their lives, though he put all to death, “reserving only the captains, contrary to his promise and faith passed to them for the safety of theyr lives upon composition.” Whether Grey’s written statement to Elizabeth that he did not make this ‘promise, or the statement of three independent writers that he did make it, is to be believed, we do not pretend to decide.

If Grey did break his word, he would certainly not have told Elizabeth of his treachery. The tone of sanctimonious cant in which he wrote about the death of the royal favourite, Sir John Clarke, shows that he knew how to flatter royalty ; and there is the evidence of O’Sullivan, who states that Plunkett misrepresented the words of Grey, and said he

spoke as if he were hesitating about granting the lives of the prisoners, from which it is evident that Grey said nothing of the kind. It must be feared that the three independent writers and popular tradition give the true account, and that "Grey's faith" was justly made a proverb by the Irish.

The massacre is admitted by Grey himself, possibly because it would have been useless to deny it. "I sent," he wrote to his mistress, "I sent streighe certeyne gentlemen in to see their weapons and armories laid down, and to guard the munition and victual then left from spoyl; then I put in certeyne bandes, who streight fell to execution. There were six hundred slain, ammunition and victul great stores, though much wasted through the disorder of the soldiers, which in the fusion could not be helped."

We trust his worst enemies may give him the benefit of the doubt as to the promise not to massacre. He has himself left on record that the deed was done by his own orders in cold blood, that he regretted the loss of the "victual and ammunition," but for "six hundred slain" he has no word of pity.

The few who were saved were but rescued for a more cruel death, which did not tend to produce any increased love of English rule in Ireland. Oliver Plunkett, the interpreter, an Irish priest, and William Willick, an Englishman, Dr. Saundier's friend and chaplain, were executed soon after, with circumstances of more than ordinary brutality. They were offered life if they would renounce their faith, but refusing to do this, their arms and legs were broken in three different

places by an iron-smith, and after a day and a night of agony were hanged.

After the capture of the Fort del Ore, the leaders of the Geraldines were all captured, one by one, and executed. The lord deputy went to Dingle, Captain Zouch was appointed to govern the country, and he marched on Castlemaine early in 1581, where he surprised the Earl of Desmond, who escaped with great difficulty. Sir John Desmond and James Fitz-maurice had been leading a wandering life, plundering through the country.

Under the year 1581, the Four Masters have the following records :—

“ Another hosting was made by John, the son of James, in the month of June, against Mac Carthy More, and he remained two or three days plundering and traversing his territory, from Muskerry to Ui-Rathach [Iveragh], and he then returned with prizes and spoils to Magh-y-Conchinne [Magunihy]. Those who beheld them declared that they never had before seen such a great pray of cattle in one place.

“ The Earl of Desmond was encamped at Uch-da-eo [Aghado, near Killarney], and at the time an English captain, namely, Sinitoe [Zouch], was appointed by the queen and the lord justice to preside over Desmond and Kerry. The captain marched day and night with a party of cavalry to make an attack on the camp of the Earl of Desmond, and it was on a Sunday morning that he arrived at the camp. The earl and all those who were with him were at this time buried in deep sleep and profound slumber, for they had remained vigilant on the watch all the night, and until that time. This captain immediately and alertly attacked all those whom he found straying in the streets, and slew them without mercy, nor did he wait for battle or engagement, but proceeded directly until he reached Castlemaine.”

No very great slaughter could have taken place, for in September the earl set out for Munster, where he plundered far and wide.

In 1579 Sir John Perrott brought six ships to Cork for the protection of that country, or at least of the English interest in that city, against the Spaniards. The lord deputy, Drury, died at Waterford soon after, and the Desmonds were very ready to take advantage of any temporary relaxation of government.

In 1579, Sir W. Pelham, the new lord justice, tried to induce the Earl of Desmond to submit to the queen's authority with a promise of pardon, and as he refused he was proclaimed a traitor and went into open rebellion, setting up his standard at Ballyhowra. He then proceeded to Youghal, where he met with great success.

The Earl of Ormond sent Captain White to the rescue, but he was overpowered and slain, with most of his followers.²

Saunders says :—“The bishops of Killaloe, Ardfert, and Ross share in all the privations of the camp. John Lacy, with his troop, comprising cavalry and infantry, passed from the enemy to the Catholic side, and levelled his own castles to the ground, lest they should afford protection to the enemy. The sons of the Earl of Connaught have made known their intention of joining us, and one of them declared that he was only pre-

2. A series of very important documents relating to this war have been lately published by the Right Rev. Dr. Moran, Bishop of Ossory, which show that the Catholic hierarchy and clergy joined it, and encouraged it, simply as a religious war. They were persecuted not only to death, but torture of the most cruel kind was not spared. Their native land was filled with misery, the result of English misgovernment and rapacity. No remedy was apparent except the remedy of the sword, and in such a case they could not refuse to assist the Irish chiefs to fight for their religion and their country. Saunders, who was the Papal nuncio, wrote the fullest details to the Roman court, and happily these are all preserved, so that both sides of the question are now open to the public.

vented, from doing so by the danger impending over his father who was as yet detained a captive in the hands of the English." Dr. Saunders also writes that during the Christmas time O'Neil and O'Donel had made a great havoc of the enemy. That after the taking of Yetal (Youghal) in Clancarthy's country, much time was lost in negotiations before a truce was agreed on. That in the absence of the Irish chiefs, the Earl of Ormond, the only Irish family hostile to the Catholic faith, invaded the territory of the Catholics, and carried away an immense booty. The Catholics, however, soon after made an inroad into his territory, and carried away an equal prey.

The success at Youghal gave Desmond courage, and he wrote to the Lord Justice declaring that he had now determined to fight for the Catholic Faith, and somewhat coolly advises him to join his party. The Lord Justice knew better. Adherence to the Catholic Faith meant persecution more or less painful, and fighting for it meant the cruellest death that torture could inflict³ if the soldier fell into the hands of his enemies.

The capture of Youghal was sorely felt in the English court. There are two sides to the story. One account has it that Desmond committed a special act of cruelty and villany in sacking this place, as the people were always his friends.

The Four Masters say :—

"They encamped before Youghal and finally took that town, which at that time was full of riches and goods. The Geraldines seized upon all the riches they found in this town, excepting such gold and silver as the merchants and burgesses had sent away in ships before the town was taken. Many a

3. See accounts already given of the death of Father Archer and others.—*Ante* p. 213.

poor indigent became rich and affluent by the spoils of this town. The Geraldines levelled the walls of the town, and broke down its courts and castles, and its buildings of stone and wood, so as that it was not habitable for some time afterwards."

But Holinshed says :

"That though the gates of the town were shut, it was but colourable, for verie shortly after, without deniall or resistance, the earl and all his troupe of rebels entered the town and took it, and there remained about five days, rifleing and carrieing away goods and household stuffs to the castell of Strangecallie and Sefinnen, the which then were kept by the Spaniards."

The fact was that the Irish mayors and governors who wished to keep their heads on their shoulders were often obliged to have two faces. Their hearts were with the "rebels," yet policy obliged them to make a decent show of resistance. Nevertheless, the Mayor of Youghal, Mr. Coppinger, was not successful on this occasion, for the Duke of Ormond had him tried by court-martial and hung at his own door for his supposed complicity in admitting Desmond.⁴ Desmond carried his spoils to Strancally and Kilfinan,⁵ which were garrisoned by Spaniards. These places were of course plundered by the queen's soldiers soon after.

Smith gives the following account of an exploit of "Captain Raleigh's," which is certainly but little credit to his fame for

4. Smith says, "the mayor was hanged to appease the Queen."—*History of Cork*, vol. 2, p 56. Ormond wrote to Burghley that "he would make an example of the townsmen of Youghal." Making examples might gratify revenge, but they did not attach the people to the government.

5. The ruins of Strancally are on the Blackwater, between Youghal and Lismore. Waterman wrote to Walsingham that "the garrison fled as soon as ever they heard an English drum."

knightly honour. It may be, however, that he did not consider the exercise of that virtue necessary in Ireland :—

“ Soon after this action, Captain Raleigh (afterwards Sir Walter) went from Cork to Dublin, to his patron, the Lord Grey, who on the 7th of September was made lord deputy of Ireland, with a complaint against the Barrys and Condons for assisting the rebels. He obtained a commission to seize on the castle of Barry’s Court and the rest of Lord Barry’s estate, and had some horse added to his company to enable him to take possession of it ; but Barry having notice of it, set Barry’s Court on fire, and the seneschal of Imokilly placed an ambush for him at Chore Abbey, which the young Raleigh courageously attacked, defeated, and broke through, so that A.D. 1580. he arrived safe at Cork. Captain Raleigh, Sir William Morgan, and Captain Piers, having received a commission to govern Munster, on the Earl of Ormond’s going to England, lay, for the most part, with the forces about Lismore. When the summer was spent, Raleigh returned to Cork with eight horse and four-score foot. Hearing that David Barry was at Cloyne with several hundred rebels, he passed that way, met him, and attacked his men, but they fled at the first onset. Being on his journey, he observed a company of Irish in a plain, adjacent to a wood, and immediately attacked them with six horse, his foot being not yet come up. The Irish seeing so few persons to fight with, killed five of the horses, and Raleigh’s amongst the rest. One Nicholas Wright, a Yorkshireman, observing his master’s horse to plunge (being wounded with a dart), cried out to an Irishman, one Patrick Fagan, who did so ; whilst he himself furiously attacked six of the enemy, and slew one of them. By this time James Fitz Richard came with one kern to Raleigh’s assistance, which kern was slain, and himself in much danger. Whereupon Raleigh cried out, ‘ Wright, if thou be a man, charge above hand and save the gentleman.’ Wright, at his master’s command, pressed among the Irish, slew five of them, and thereby saved Fitz Richard, in which skirmish his horse’s leg

was cut under him. Several of the Irish foot were killed, and two were taken prisoners and carried to Cork.

" While Raleigh lay in this city, he performed several signal pieces of service against the rebels ; among others, Zouch ordered him to take Lord Roche and his lady prisoners, and bring them to Cork, they being suspected of corresponding with the rebels. The seneschal of Imokilly and David Barry having noticed this design, assembled 700 or 800 men, to fall on Raleigh either going or on his return. Raleigh quitted Cork with about ninety men at ten of the clock at night, and marched towards Bally-in-harsh, twenty miles from Cork, the house of Lord Roche (a nobleman well beloved in the country), and arrived there early in the morning.

" He marched directly up to the castle gate, whereupon the townsmen, to the number of five hundred, immediately took up arms. Raleigh, having placed his men in order, took with him Michael Butler, James Fulford, Nicholas Wright, Arthur Barlow, Henry Swane, and Pinking Huish, and knocking at the gate, three or four of Lord Roche's gentlemen demanded the cause of their coming ; to whom Raleigh answered, that he came to speak with their lord ; which was agreed to, provided he would bring in with him but two or three of his followers. However, the gate being opened, he and all the above-mentioned persons entered the castle, and after he had seen Lord Roche and spoken to him, he by degrees and different means drew in a considerable number of his men, whom he directed to guard the iron gate of the court lodge, and that no man should pass in or out, and ordered others into the hall with their arms ready. Lord Roche set the best face he could upon the matter, and invited the captain to dine with him. After dinner, Raleigh informed him that he had orders to carry him and his lady to Cork.

1581. " Lord Roche began to excuse his going, and at length resolutely said that he neither could or would go ; but Raleigh letting him know that if he refused he would take him by force, he found there was no remedy, and therefore he and his lady set out on the journey on a most rainy and tempestuous

night, and through a very rocky and dangerous way, whereby many of the soldiers were severely hurt, and others lost their arms. However, the badness of the weather prevented their being attacked by the seneschal and his men, for they arrived safe in the city by break of day, to the great joy of the garrison, who were surprised that Raleigh had escaped so hazardous an enterprise. As for Lord Roche, he acquitted himself honourably of the crimes he was charged with, and afterwards did good service against the Irish."

Captain Zouch had been sent over to Cork the year previous to assist in the sacking and burning, and the Four Masters record the death of John Desmond under the year 1582, and say he encountered Captain Zouch's forces, though "neither of them were in search of the other." This, however, was not the case, as Zouch had been warned of his approach by a traitorous servant, who actually attacked Sir John when the party met, and plunged his spear into his throat, so that Zouch was not able to capture him alive, as he had hoped. James Desmond was also captured at the same time.

Zouch had left a "company of foot soldiers and a half a company of cavalry" at Ardfert, in the preceding year, 1581, and they remained there until the September of this year ; and "though they had received a great quantity of provisions and stores from the sovereign, they never ceased consuming and spending the country around them, and they compelled the son of every head of a tribe in the country to be delivered up into their hands." They were attacked by Lord Kerry's sons, Patrickin, Edmund, and Robert, who seized the provisions which they had collected in the town, and killed the captain ;—

"The sons of Mac Maurice then retired with their prey, and afterwards encamped round the town to besiege the soldiers. A gentleman of the Clann Sheehy, who was along with the sons of Mac Maurice at this time, was slain in the doorway of the monastery of O'Dorney, by the sons of the Bishop of Kerry, who were aiding the queen's people on that occasion. Mac Maurice himself, and the greater number in his country, had been hitherto obedient to the law, but when he saw his territory plundered, and when he heard that the captain had been slain by his sons, he at once destroyed Leacs Namha [Lixnaw], Lis-Tuarhail [Listowel], Bialle [Beale], and Baile-an-Brionneanaigh [Ballybrinnion]. He afterwards joined his sons. He was not joined in this evil career by the inhabitants of Baile-mhic-an-chain [Ballymacqueen] or of Baile-Ui-Choeluirghe [Ballyhealy], or the Clann-Pierce. Mac Maurice took his sons away from the town [Ardfert], and they all went back to the woods, and they were scarcely gone when Captain Sinitsi [Zouch] came into the country on report of the killing of Captain Hudson, and to relieve his people; and as he had not overtaken them [the Lord Kerry's party] about the town, he hanged the hostages of the country, mere children, who were in the custody of his people."

After this act of barbaric vengeance he placed some of his people in *Leac Beibhoinn* (Lachbeone), which had formerly belonged to the O'Connor Kerry, but had been wrested from it by Lord Kerry during the general disturbance. In the meantime the Earl of Desmond marched to Ardfert, and there another engagement took place, in which the Geraldines were successful. The effects of this war were severely felt by the Fitzmaurices, though they secreted their treasures in the "hollows of trees, or of rocks, or in the subterranean caverns, or under the roots of trees." Well might the annalist record the melancholy fact that "the lowing of a cow, or the voice

of the ploughman, could scarcely be heard from Dun-Caoin [Dunqueen] to Cashel, in Munster."

The Earl of Desmond encamped for nearly a week in Clancmaurice, while his soldiers plundered and collected spoils in *Pobal-ui-Chaoimh* [Pobble O'Keefe]. They were pursued, however, over the plains of Slieve-Luachra, by O'Keeffe, until they reached the earl's camp. Here Desmond charged them with those who were with him, and routed them with great slaughter.

The earl's unhappy career was now rapidly drawing to a close. His old enemy and relative, Ormond, had been made lord general of Munster—for, though he was by no means more loyal in heart, he contrived not to allow his feelings to work against his interests. The proud earl could no longer glory in being on the necks of the Butlers, for he was now absolutely and helplessly in their power.

On the 10th of April, 1583, Sir Henry Wallop wrote to the Earl of Leicester to inform him of the submission of the Countess of Desmond, the circumstances of which we have already related. He said there was a "bruit that Desmond himself should come hither [to Clonmel] in two or three daies, upon a protection;" but it was only "a bruit," for Desmond did not come. "John Lacy had licence," he continued, "to deal with the earle, his master, concerning his submission," and "pleaded him to submit himself simplie to her Majestie's mercy, and, in manifestation, to yield himself to the lord general." But Desmond had not drunk the cup of humiliation to the dregs even then, for though he listened patiently to the suggestion of submitting to the queen, the idea of sub-

mission to a Butler was more than he could bear, and he exclaimed, “‘Avant, churle,’ with other opprobrious wordes, saying, ‘Shall I yield myself to a Butler, mine ancient and knowne enemy? No! if it were not for those English churles that he hath at command, I would drinke alle their bloode as I would warm milke.’”

Two months only had passed away when the fortunes of the Geraldines had become so hopeless, and the spirit of the earl so utterly crushed, that he could write in the deepest strain of submission to his cruel foe :—

“Desmond to Ormond, 5th June, 1583.

“MY LORD—Great is my grieve when I thinke how heavilie her Majestie is bent to dishonor me, and howbeit I carry that name of an undutiful subiecte, yet God knoweth that my hearte and minde are most lowlie inclined to serve my most loving prince, so it may please her Highness to remove her heavy displeasure from me. As I may not condemn myself of disloyaltie to her Majestie, so can I not express myself, but must confess that I have incurred her Majestie’s indignation; yet when the cause and means which were found, and which caused me to commit folly, shall be known to her Highness, I rest in assured hope that her most gracious Majestie will both think of me as my heart deserveth, and also of those that wronge me into undutifulness, as their cunning devices meritith. From my hearte I am sorrie that folly, bad counsel, streights, or any other thing, hath made me to forget my duty, and therefore I am desirous to have conference with your lordship, to the end that I may declare to you how tyrannouslie I was used. Humbly craving that you will please to appoint some place and time where and when I may attend your honor, and then I doubt not to make it appear how dutiful a mind I carry—how faithfully I have, at myne own charge, served her Majestie before I was proclaimed—how sorrowful I am for

mine offences—and how faithful I am affected, even, hereafter to serve her Majestie."

"And so I commit your lordship to God, the fifth of June, 1583.

"GEROTT DESMOND."

This interview, so earnestly requested, was never obtained, and it cannot be doubted that the earl's enemies were only too willing to allow him to run on to his ruin, and would have rather given a helping than a hindering hand to its accomplishment.

Ormond wrote to Burleigh on the 18th of the same month : "The unhappy wretch, the Earl of Desmond, wandereth from place to place, forsaken of all men ; the poore countess lamenteth greatlie the follie of her husband, whom reason never could rule ;" but no word does he say of Desmond's repentance, so strongly and humbly expressed to himself.

On the 19th of September Lord Roche wrote to Ormond thus, of the fray on the borders of Slieve Louchra, which we have already related :—

"Desmond hath been on the borders of Slieve Louchra. My men overtooke the earl's chaplain ; took their bags, bottles, four oxen, and other stufte. Desmond and his followers narrowly escaped with life."

All the earl's followers had now deserted him, and it is pitiful to read how he "wepte like a child over the loss of his menne." During the remainder of September and the early part of November he lay concealed in the woods near Tralee, with the few followers who continued faithful to him. On Saturday, the 9th of November, the earl left the woods, near Castleisland, and went westward beyond Traimore to *Doire-*

more [Derrymore] wood, near Bongoinder,⁶ from whence he sent two of his horsemen, with eighteen kernes, Caher-ni-Fahye, to take a prey of cattle from Maurice Mac Owen, the brother-in-law of the man from whose important depositions we are quoting. The men executed their commission with little regard to mercy—they took “fortie cowes, niene coppels (horses), with greate store of other goodes and householde stiffe, and stripped naked the said Maurice, his wife, and childe.” The latter piece of barbarity, it must be remembered, was not done under Desmond’s orders, and as we have only the deposition of one side, it cannot be known now whether Maurice Mac Owen might not have done some deed of cruelty himself to the Geraldine party which might palliate, if it could not justify, this atrocity. Maurice Owen must have been a man of some considerable property, or he would not have been the object of this raid:

He at once sent messengers to Lieutenant Stanley, “then in the Dingell,” to his brother, Donnel, to inform them of what had happened; whereupon Donnel and Owen were desired by Stanley to set out on an expedition for the recovery of the cattle, and were empowered to ask the assistance of the ward

6. In the Earl of Ormond’s “Advices out of Munster,” in 1580, he writes thus to the queen: “Arriving at Slievelogher, I had intelligence that Desmond, Baltinglass, John of Desmond, Piers Grace, with their forces, and 500 of the foreign enemy, were encamped on a very strong ground called Bongoinder, six miles from Traly,” etc. About the same date Bingham mentions the place to Walsingham thus:—“There are two notable places which the rebels give forth they will fortifie, that do lye in the bay of Tralee; the one is called Bongoinder, the other is Kilbalabuthe, which places are naturally very strong, as I learne.” These sites have not as yet been satisfactorily identified. The account given above is principally taken from “The examination of Owen Mar Donnell O’Moriartagh, taken the 26th of November, 1583, of the manner and discours how the Earl of Desmond was pursued and slaine.” There can be no doubt of the accuracy of this document, and as the depositions were made only sixteen days after the events recorded, there could scarcely be any mistake as to days or dates. It agrees, too, substantially with the accounts given by O’Daly and Russell.

of Castle Mang. They obtained five soldiers from him. They had “eighteen proper kernes” of their own, and no time was lost, for they arrived at Tralee on Sunday evening, hoping to overtake the prey before it could pass the strait of Tramore. There they discovered the trail going eastward to Slieve Luachra. Here the soldiers of Castlemaine proved of what metal they were made, for they absolutely refused to accompany Moriarty’s party any further: a promise of “two biefs of the prey,” however, produced an immediate effect, and they consented to follow up the chase.

They got to Bellieore by daylight, and by moonlight to Glanaquintie, at Slieve Luachra. Here Donnel and Owen Moriarty got “above the glinne to view whether they might see anie fire in the woode, or hear any stirre, and having come to the heyghte over the glinne they saw a fire underneath them.” Donnel then went to spy, and reported that the cattle had not arrived, but that some persons were there. At day-break on Monday, the 11th of November, they set out for the “cabins,” Donnel and Owen going first, and ordering the soldiers to keep the rere. One of the soldiers, however, came forward, and dashed into the cabin where the earl lay. Owen, according to his own account, “ranne round throwe the cabin after the earle’s companaye (by whom certayne he knoweth not, but that all the footemenne and soldiers were together within the cabin), he discovered himself, sayinge, ‘I am the Earle of Desmond—save my life !’ Owen replied : “Thou hast killed thyself long agone, and now thou shalt be prisoner to the queen’s Majestie, and to the Earle of Ormond, lord general of Munster.”

The cattle had not yet arrived, and the Moriartys were evidently in considerable fear that those who accompanied it might return before they could escape with the earl, whose capture was a matter of infinitely greater importance than the recovery of their beeves.

But the earl had been severely wounded, and was unable to walk, so that Donnel proposed they should take it in turn to carry him on their backs, he himself offering to take the first turn. There was now no question of a Desmond on the necks of the Butlers, but an old man, wounded and betrayed, dragged ignominiously from his poor hovel in the woods. They did not carry him far. A cowardly fear of the return of his followers, or a still more cowardly desire to get the reward set on his head, at any sacrifice save a sacrifice of their own convenience, decided the fate of the last of the Desmonds. They "could not apply to fight, and to carry him away." So they determined to carry his head away, and that was enough to secure the reward ; and Owen Moriarty, who took the lead throughout, ordered O'Kelly to kill the earl, which he did by "drawing out his sword and stricking off his head."

The ghastly, and bleeding head was carried to Castlemaine, to be kept there until it could be taken to the lord general ; the poor mutilated body was left where it lay. The Irish-speaking peasant will still show you the site of the murder—the *Boher-an-Earla*, or Earl's road—the *Labig-an-Earla*, or Earl's bed, where he was flung upon the ground after his head was cut off ; and in Glanaquinty wood they still point out a recess by the side of a road where tradition affirms that the body was kept for eight weeks, until the Fitzgeralds of

Ardnagragh carried it off, under cover of night, to their own burial-place at Kil-na-n-Onain—so called because no one was interred there who did not belong to the great family of the Geraldines.

The fortress of Ardnagragh stood in a mountain defile above Castleisland, and commanded the pass into O'Keeffe's country, and the Kerry and Cork O'Keeffes were men of mettle in those warlike times. Kilmurry and Bally mac Luodam were in the same neighbourhood, and were also held by the Geraldines. A stone coffin was dug up in the churchyard of Kilnanonain during the present century, which was believed to have contained the remains of the once famous earl. Some modern barbarian broke it up for his limekiln—"an act of gratuitous mischief," observes a writer in the *Kerry Magazine*, on whose authority I give the above statement, "in a district where limestone is abundant."

The traditions of the county give Owen Moriarty the obloquy of being the murderer of the earl, and his own depositions are quite sufficient evidence of his complicity, though, from an apparently accidental circumstance, he did not strike the fatal blow. Owen went by the name of *Droghbeacula* (of the bad English), which tells a good deal. From this it is evident that he must have had some intercourse with the English, and was probably willing to be on their side, and to resist any demand which the earl might make upon him for assistance.

O'Daly says he was a foster-brother of the earl's, and that he had saved his life on one occasion when he was about to be hanged for stealing cattle. He was executed some fifteen

years after the earl's death by the "Lord of Lixnaw," at his own door. O'Kelly also came to an untimely end. He obtained a pension from the queen of lands to the value of £30 per annum, but he took to highway robbery in England, and, notwithstanding the mediation and influence of the Earl of Ormond, he was hanged for it. The vacillations which marked the career of the Earl of Desmond, have been accounted for by his fear that James Desmond would claim his title and property if he succeeded in expelling the English from Munster.

This, at least, was the opinion of English statesmen ; and when we remember how often the Desmond succession was turned aside at the will of some powerful Geraldine, there is at least some fair presumption that such may have been the case. Lord Drury wrote to Burleigh on the 30th March, 1579, detailing the precautions he had taken to ensure, if possible, the fidelity of the earls of Desmond and Clancarre :—

"The Erle of Desmond," he writes, "is come to me, and professeth as much loyaltie and dutie as any manne maye, and indeed I doubt not but that his private offence to James, who pretendeth (as should appear by his title abroad) himself to be Erle of Desmond, and his good usage and entreatie, will keep him sounde, though otherwise he were not so welle given, as trulie I must need say in all appearance he is. I looke also for the Earle of Clancarre, whom I have sent for, and mean to have his son and heir in pledge that is remaining at Cork, brought up at schole under the justice Wyngh, but I am resolved to remove him either neare about myself, or to some other place."

CHAPTER XII.

ELIZABETHEAN ERA.

A romance of Irish History—Florence Mac Carthy *Reagh*—His romantic marriage to Lady Ellen Mac Carthy—Interference of the English court—Queen Elizabeth's great anxiety to prevent the marriage—“Her Majestie's most blessed government will not force any one to marry against their wills”—A “Tudor hurricane”—Efforts to get the marriage undone—Florence is detained in Dublin, and Lady Ellen made prisoner in Cork—How she escapes, and hides for two years—Florence is released—O'Neil and the *sugane* earl—Carew, the President of Munster, has a troublesome time—The *sugane* earl bought over, and the consequences—St. Leger's letter announcing the marriage—The Countess of Clankertie the cause of all the mischief, as her Ma'ties “deepe con-cepte” may see—The perils of the match—All the Clan Kerties were at Florence's devotion, and he was exceeding “embrased” by them—He had the audacity to be “marryed with masse”—How Florence gets round them all, and pleads ignorance of the royal will—The English governor says the cruelties of their soldiers were enough to make the Irish “weary of their lives and their loyalty”—Dispute for precedence between Donald Mac Carthy and Florence settled by O'Neil—Lord Barry will not join the national party—Clever letters of the Protestant bishop of Cork—He sees through Florence Mac Carthy's schemes—The queen hopes that Florence may rule Desmond for her—How Florence gets out of the difficulty of giving up his son as a hostage—Florence swears “upon a booke” and on a *Pius Quintus*—The history of one Mr. Annyas, and of his conversion in the Tower—How he escapes “unknown” to the governor—He offers to do any dirty work in return—The end of his remarkable career.

It is pleasant to turn for a little from deeds of blood and vengeance to a tale of romance, which, if it has its sorrows, as all touching episodes in human life must have, is not without its attractions.

The history of Florence Mac Carthy Reagh is one which has been told in a volume, and yet which may be condensed in a few pages.

Florence was the eldest son of Donough Mac Carthy Reagh, and connected with the Desmonds through his mother, who belonged to that family. Being left a minor, he was under the wardship of Sir William Drury, but whatever else he may

have learned from him, he certainly did not learn loyalty. His father had sided with government, and consequently died wealthy, and Florence was enabled to indulge his taste for pleasure, which seems to have been only exceeded by his love of his native land.

From 1583 to 1588, he divided his time between the court of Elizabeth, where he made many friends, and his own possessions in Munster. The circumstances attending his marriage were not the least important or interesting part of his history. The Earl of Clancare,⁷ as he was generally but incorrectly called by the English, had an only daughter, the Lady Ellen Mac Carthy ; and as the last living representative of the main line of the Mac Carthy More, an alliance with her was naturally an object of honourable ambition to every Irish chieftain of sufficient position to aspire to her hand. Nor were the English nobles by any means ignorant of the advantage of such an alliance. Despite all the laws against fosterage, gossiped, and intermarriage with Celtic families, fosterage—gossiped, and intermarriages prevailed, for the importance and value of a close alliance with a powerful Irish clan was thoroughly understood by the settlers.

Elizabeth, who kept a very keen eye on the matrimonial arrangements of her subjects, was fully informed of the whole state of the case, and was prompt in action ; but there were neither telegraphs nor railways in those days, and hence the royal behests were not always executed according to the royal will.

⁷ The title really was Earl of the Clan Carthy, or Mac Carthy. It was Englished to Clancare, and spelled with the usual indifference to orthography.

An attempt was made to unite all the Mac Carthys by getting the *sugane* earl married to a sister of Lord Muskery. The news soon reached Sir George Carew, who at once sent for Florence Mac Carthy, suspecting him justly of being the real author of the scheme ; but Florence was quite prepared to swear any number of oaths that he knew *nothing* about it.

There were several important candidates for the lady's hand. St. Leger had suggested to Sir Thomas Norreys the advantages of such an alliance, and promised to further his cause at court, and even to obtain a grant of succession for him to the earl's estates. Sir Valentine Browne had extensive monetary transactions with the earl, as we have already mentioned, and was too thoroughly practical not to desire such an alliance for his son. The result was a marriage contract, formally drawn up, sealed, and witnessed, and signed by the earl, in which the lady and the lands were handed over to the Brownes. Florence Mac Carthy was then at court, to all exterior appearance the most loyal of loyal subjects. He had won the ear of statesmen, and the admiration of the queen, and there can be no question that a more than usually prosperous career was before him.

The earl arrived in London, and no doubt speedily communicated all the family arrangements to Florence ; but if he did no one was the wiser. Florence set out for Ireland, and proceeded forthwith to Sir Thomas Norreys, professing himself seriously aggrieved by the earl. Norreys believed him. He showed him documentary proof that the earl had broken faith with him. Norreys credited the documents. He offered the benefit of the forfeitures to Sir Thomas, but he refused them. He at once complied with the request made by Florence, to

have letters of authority into Desmond, to enable him to take possession of the lands legally his security. He went into Munster, and a few days after the amazed and bewildered Norreys heard the startling intelligence that the Lady Ellen was married to her cousin Florence.

It is very probable that love had something to do with the alliance as well as interest. The Lady Ellen had objected to the alliance with Mr. Browne, which her father had arranged—whether in good faith or not can never now be known. She had even taken the extreme measure of expressing her dislike personally to St. Leger, who, in his report to the queen after the marriage, wrote thus :—

“ The countesse and young lady came unto me and divers of the gentlemen of the countrey, to acquaint me with their discontentment ; and some others of the best of those parties discovered their grieffes by their letters.”

The deputy attempted to satisfy them by assuring them that :—

“ It stooode not with the course of her majesty’s most blessed government, neyther would the lawes of England permit, that any should be forced to marry against their wills, and that they weare to feare no such matter.”

The lady Ellen, however, had doubts of her majesty’s “most blessed government,” and proposed settling her matrimonial affairs for herself. That she was a woman of tolerably independent mind her future career gave ample evidence. The marriage took place in an old ruined church in Killarney, when Mass was said also by the officiating priest. No one was present except the countess and O’Sullivan More. The days of bridal joy were few. “ A Tudor hurricane ” burst

forth upon the hapless heads of all who might have prevented or did not prevent the marriage, as well as upon the bride and bridegroom ; and the reports sent into the queen of the probable consequences of the marriage did not tend to allay the storm.

The earl escaped, either because he was too powerful to be interfered with, or because his statement that he had not formally consented to the marriage was believed, but the countess was made the object of special vengeance. She was conveyed to the strong fortress of Castlemaine, and placed in the custody of Mr. Springe. Her unhappy fate touched Sir William Herbert, who wrote an urgent letter on her behalf to Walsingham, and assured him that she had acted by the orders of the earl, though he now threw the blame on her ; that he “ wishethe the countess trouble and ruin, that, by her deathe, he might advance himself to some newe marriage, whereby her majestey’s ryght for remaynder may bee impeached.”

Sir William further begged that he might be allowed to have the custody of the countess, and to take her out of that “vile and unwholesome place.”

Florence MacCarthy was sent to Dublin in December, 1588, and St. Leger wrote to the lords to say that it were well he should be kept a prisoner “duriinge this dangerouse tyme.” He further advised that Owen Mac Cartie should be kept in England “tyll the worlde be quyeter ;” and notwithstanding that solemn protestation had been made about the “ blessed government ” which never interfered in causes matrimonial, he urged that the “ marriage of Florence Mac Cartie More

maie be undone, and she marryed to some English gentleman, by the queen's appoynment."

In the meantime, the lady Ellen had been confided to the care of "certain servants of the earle," according to the lord deputy's account; according to Sir Thomas Norreys, she was in charge of "a merchant of the town" [Corke]; and according to St. Leger, she was in the safe keeping of the "gentleman porter." Moreover, it was said that Sir Valentine Browne had pleaded to be allowed the custody of the bride, possibly in the hope that the attractions of his son, Nicholas, and of his fair estate at Killarney, might prove, should she be compelled to wed again, a strong element in determining her choice. It certainly seems rather strange that there were so many different and conflicting statements as to the wardship of so important a charge. But whoever may have had the guardianship, the lady contrived to outwit them, and her husband had only been a few days confined in the Tower of London when she escaped from Cork, to the blank amazement and consternation of lord deputy, warders, and all. As the night fell one dark evening in February, two females passed quietly and unquestioned through the gates of Cork, and were joined by a peasant who was waiting on the road. Thus disappeared the lady Ellen Mac Carthy, and for two years the baffled government in vain endeavoured to ascertain whither she had fled.

St. Leger wrote to Burleigh "*on the flight of Florence's wife.*" He declared that Florence must have been privy to it; in fact, that he was the cause of it—which was probably correct. He had sent her a "messinger secretlie from Doblyn,

upon whose cominge unto her, and returning unto him againe, the morrowe after stole out of this town." The object was, he suggested, to keep her safe until she should have attained her majority, lest she should be persuaded "to be devorsed from Florence ; the which might very well have been done, had she not been conveyhed awaie as she is." When an influential member of her "majesty's most blessed government" thus spake and wrote, undoubtedly the lady Ellen did well to escape, if she wished to remain faithful to her young husband.

There was, however, one scrap of consolation for the Queen. Florence Mac Carthy had entered into recognizances for the safety of his lady in the town of Cork, until she should be delivered by order from her Highness out of England, and he forfeited his recognizances, and thereby a "castell and lands of great importance, called Castle Lough." So the queen had the castle, where, moreover, there were great store of orient pearls ; and Florence had his gay bride, whom he valued more than all the pearls.

The order for the release of Florence Mac Carthy came from the Privy Council, on the 19th January, 1591, and was, no doubt, mainly obtained by the generosity of the Earl of Ormond, who stood security for him in the sum of £1,000. His enemies were, indeed, many and powerful, but they were opposed to him rather because they hoped to profit by his downfall than from any personal dislike. He had, indeed, a rare quality of making friends, even of his most bitter foes, when once they came within the sphere of his influence, and throughout his long and chequered career, he lost no opportunity of winning those around him.

Florence at length obtained permission to return to Ireland, A.D. 1598. His father-in-law, the Earl of Clancare, died soon after, and Donnel, his bastard son, had proclaimed himself the Mac Carthy More, in the absence of all legitimate claimants of the title.

An attempt was made by O'Neil, Earl of Tyrone, in 1598 to revive the claims of the Desmond family, by claiming the title for James, grandson of the fifteenth earl. James went afterwards by the name of "the *sugane* earl." Sir George Carew was made President of Munster in 1599, and he had a troublesome time of it, after the Earl of Tyrone had asserted his authority by making an Earl of Desmond :-

" In the course of seventeen days, they left not, within the length or breadth of the country of the Geraldines, extending from Dungiven to the Suir, which the Saxons had well cultivated and filled with habitations and various wealth, a son of Saxon whom they did not kill or expel, nor did they leave within this time a single head residence, castle, or one sod of Geraldine territory, which they did not put into the possession of the Earl of Desmond, excepting only Castlemaine, in the county of Kerry. When these agents of the O'Neil had thus, in a short time, accomplished this great labour, they took their leave and bade farewell to this Earl of Desmond, whom they themselves had appointed."

This statement is a gross exaggeration. There was, no doubt, considerable disturbance in Munster; but there were many "sons of the Saxon" who remained undisturbed and untroubled on their plantations."

James Fitz Thomas, the *sugane* earl, was very successful in Munster, and Florence Mac Carthy now laid claim to the lands and title of Mac Carthy More in right of his wife.

Patrick, lord of Kerry, joined the *sugane* earl, and the English government finding that the Geraldines' cause was prospering, attempted the never-failing policy of division. James Fitzgerald, son to the last earl of Desmond, had been given up to the English by his mother in one of her fits of anxiety about her personal safety. He had been taken to London, and kept in the Tower half prisoner and half ward ; and as he was the legitimate heir to the title and estates, Elizabeth bethought her of putting him forward to counteract the rapidly increasing influence of the earl, who could only lay claim to the nomination of Tyrone. The plan was wisely laid, and at first gave every promise of success. The youth was sent to Ireland, accompanied by Captain Vine, and landed at Youghal on the 14th of October, 1600. On the 18th he visited the lord president at Mallow, and proceeded from thence to Kilmallock. The people came to welcome him with shouts of joy, and so far the plan seemed to prosper even beyond the expectations of its framers.

The young earl, educated in England, and taught indifference and contempt for everything Irish, must have been amazed at his reception. He was little prepared for what followed. The next day being Sunday, the people, still waiting to welcome him with acclamation whenever he appeared, saw with amazement, and then with indignation, that he had forsaken, or had never been taught, the faith of his fathers and of theirs. He went to the Protestant church. It was enough—the acclamations gave place to murmurs of contempt, but even that seemed too much notice to bestow on one whom they believed faithless to his church. It did not require much penetration to see that the scheme had failed.

St. Leger wrote a letter to Elizabeth to announce the marriage of Florence Mac Carthy, which is a curious specimen of courteous fear, flattery, and prejudice. He says that the match was a “cunning practice” by the Countess of Clankertie, who professed to have acted without her husband’s knowledge; but he leaves it to “deepe concepte” of her Majesty to guess how likely the same would be true. This was clever flattery, but the queen not being married, and never having allowed her own will to be contradicted, was scarcely a fair judge.

He then narrates pathetically “the perills that may accrue by the match.” They were, indeed, many to the English interest in Ireland. He trembles as “to what may grow thereof, and he should become undutiful,” a consummation which was but too probable, antecedents being considered; but this he leaves also to her “Ma’tie’s deep consideracon,” and indeed Irish affairs must have required no small share of the same. The mother-in-law was the great grievance, as mothers-in-law have been before and since. And she was a “bold subject,” and there was no knowing what she might not do with Florence, or make Florence do.

And then as to Florence himself, the case could hardly be worse. All “the Clan Kerties were to be at his devotion.” He was “greatly embrased” in his country. Worse still, he was addicted to “learn the Spanish tongue,” and fond of the company of Spaniards; he was “fervente in the old religion,” and he had the unparalleled audacity to be “marryed with a masse,” and not by “such injunctions as be set down by her Highnes.” It was enough to make the queen swear her worst oaths to know that she was thus set at defiance.

But there was a remedy—the usual one. Her Ma'tie was to “staye granntyng” the Earl of Clancare’s county to him, and to get possession of it “when it shall please God to call him out of this lyfe,” without any consideration at all as to whether it would please God that she should take possession of property to which she had no right whatsoever.⁸

But Florence Mac Carthy’s powers of fascination were not deficient, and on the 28th of July, 1588, we find that he had so completely “got round” Sir Thomas Norreys as to induce him to write to the queen that Florence was truly penitent for his fault, and had committed it in “ignorance of her Highness’ pleasure.”

The Earl of Essex was sent to Ireland as Lord Deputy in April, 1599. He brought an immense army with him, probably hoping to overawe the “rebels,” and to succeed in making peace where all others had failed. His first act was to garrison the north ; but he marched southward himself, and did not meet with the kind of reception he had anticipated. Five hundred of his men fell in a pass called Gap of the Feathers, from the number of plumed helmets which strewed the ground, and Sir Thomas Norreys, who had advanced to his assistance, was mortally wounded at Pallasgreen. Sir Henry Norreys fell soon after fighting at the side of Essex.

O’Neil in the meantime was making himself formidable in the north, but the president made a temporary peace with him in September. It was but temporary, and both sides were well aware of this. Essex returned to England after making a great display in Dublin, and was probably thankful to find

8. This letter is dated from Cork, 14th May, 1588.

himself safe out of Ireland. O'Neil had aided and meant to fight for religious freedom and recognition of the ancient rights of Celtic chiefs. To have gained his demands, however just, would have been probably to have given up the country, a resource which seems never to have thought of.

Although Sir William Hacket wrote from Castleisland to the English court⁹ that "the way these [the vice-president's] souldiers were suffered to goe up and down the countrey, taking up mete and drink necessary for themselves upon the poor people, was the ready way to make the Irish weary of theyre loyaltie and of their lyves."

O'Neil marched south in the spring of the year 1600, "to confirm his friendship with his allies in the war, and to wreak his vengeance on his enemies." He was met at Cork, by James Fitzmaurice, the *sugane* Earl of Desmond, and they plundered through Roche's country and Barrymore.

The Lord Barry of that day was loyal, and was therefore plundered, a fact which he did not forget in future intercourse with O'Neil and Desmond.

O'Neil pitched his camp between the rivers Lee and Bandon, and thither came all the Mac Carthys, for there was an important point to settle. This was whether Florence Mac Carthy himself, who was the son of Mac Carthy Reagh, or Donald M'Carthy, who was the base son of the Earl of Clancarre, should be head of the clan. During the long imprisonment of Florence the latter had been acknowledged

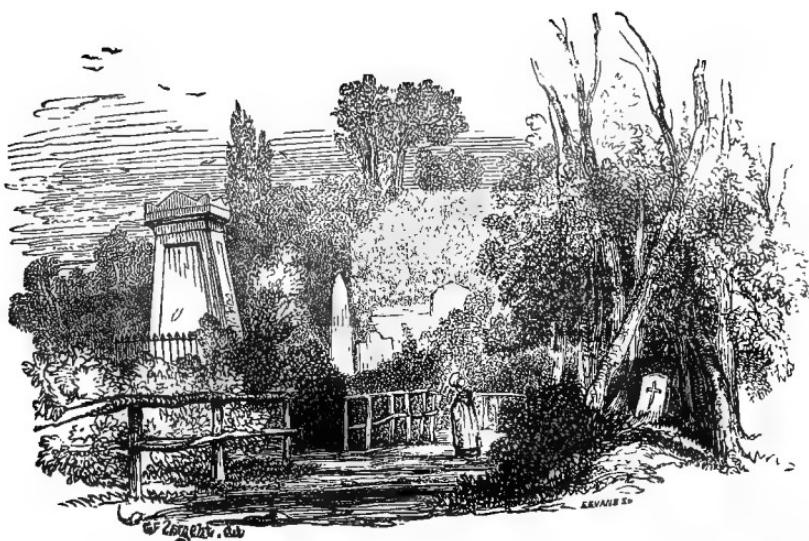
9. Sir Robert Cecil wrote that "they were beset with a world of difficulties how to press out water enough in England to quench the fire in Ireland." He forgot who kindled the fire, and how useless it was to quench it, while fuel was added continually to the flame.

as such, but matters were changed now, and a decision made in favour of Florence. He now solemnly joined the national cause, and for once flung prudence to the winds. On the first of March the Council of Munster wrote to Ormond that Lord Barry's country was all burned by O'Neil.¹

The Protestant bishop of Cork, who took a lively interest in the whole business, wrote frequently to the English parliament; but as he generally obtained his reports from traitors, they could scarcely be quite authentic. No doubt, however, popular rumour supplied a good deal that was true, with the usual embellishments. He says :

"The case thus standing, Florence Mac Carthy yet for all this pollitikely and imprudently, gives it forth in private messages to his friends in the towns where he is well favoured, especially in Kinsall, that he continueth loyall to her Majestie, and did what is done in deep pollicie to Coossen Tirone by warr^t out of England, for the better safety of himself and his countries. The Irish do beleeve this, and hold him for that a good subject, yea and of the English also, not knowing that this was the verie practise of O'Neyll himself at his first entrance into action of rebellion, to dally with the state and the worlde, until he had fitted himself, as your honor best knoweth. Florence being in camp besides Kinsall with O'Neyll, had thereout upon his lett^rs from his friends bottells of wyne and better relief. I cannot but deliver this unto your honor, wishing it might be looked unto with other of the Towne's doings. The 27th of the last Florence wrote unto Sir Henry Power for protection to parley with him. The council did agree, and gave him ward. The day following comes Florence within two miles of Cork with 300 Connaugh

¹. Lord Barry was warned repeatedly that he would suffer for it if he did not join the national party. He was, at least, nominally a Catholic, and the Bishop of Cork joined his entreaties to those of O'Neil and others, enjoining him to help his persecuted brethren. But Lord Barry seems to have had more regard for the herds of Ibawn, his kine, and his mares, and his garans, than for his religion.



Botanic Gardens (St. Joseph's Cemetery), where Father Mathew, the Apostle of Temperance, is interred.



Friary and Castle of Kilcrea.



Bonewes by a woodside (for he would not come into Cork). Theether went to Sir Henrie, and Sir George Thornton, and Sir Charles Wellmott ; and Florence comes out of the wood all armed with a pistoll at his gerdeel, very timorous. First conferred with him Sir Henrie and Sir George, and after Sir Charles with them. His speeches in defense of his doings are so frivolous, as that I will trouble your honor therewith, as if her Mat^te would have him to leave all and beg in England he would do it, with other vain words. But no likelihood of any hope that he is, or will be, a thankful subject for so many great favours and graces received of her highness. The general opinion of him heere is that he will show an Irish trick—ingratitude for a good turn—and, whatsoever he allegeth, sure it is his joining with O'Neyll was voluntary ; he might have kept him from him, but he aimeth to be as great in the South as the other in the North.

“ May the Lord of Hosts confound them both I pray in charity.

“ At the Old Head of Kinsall there is a strong fort, lately in Florence's keeping, but now taken by direction and award, their place. O'Neyll had equally divided betwixt his cousin Florence and his Earl of Desmond all profits gotten in possession, or coming from beyond the seayes. Pardon me, Right Hon^{ble}, I beseech you to yield a poor opinion : it were very requisite that some of her Majesty's pinnaces be appointed for this coast, and the river of the Shannon. The consideration I humbly leave to your honor's grave and deep deep judgment, craving pardon for my boldness.

“ Cork, this 2nd of April, 1600.

“ Your Honor's humbly to be commanded,

“ WILLIAM CORK, etc., Ross.

“ The lord president is not yet come into the province, but looked for daily.

“ To the Right Hon^{ble} Sir Robert Cecil, knight, Principal Secretary to the Queen's most excellent Majesty.”

The bishop appear to have had clearer ideas of Florence Mac Carthy's character than any one else, for he continued

still to maintain some kind of friendship with Carew and others. Probably there never was and never will be any one who so strangely baffled the penetration of acute statesmen.

The truth was that a double game was being played. There were a few in the court of Elizabeth, and certainly the queen herself, who, moved by a good policy, or the fascinations of the fascinating Florence, had indulged the hope that he might rule Desmond for the queen. This idea was improved by Florence, and he adheres to it with great pertinacity in all his letters at the very time that he was assisting the national party in every way possible. The truth probably was that Florence was very willing to appear to rule Desmond for the queen until he found it safe to proclaim that he ruled Desmond for himself.

Carew was thus in a grave difficulty. Was English statesman in Ireland ever free from one? He could not come down on Florence as a rebel. He invites him to Cork for conference, where Florence writes charmingly insincere letters to the English court, of which Carew manifestly does not believe one syllable. Hitherto the English governors of Ireland had only to deal with the question by the sword, it was submit or die. But now a new complication arose, there was a wily and accomplished enemy to deal with.

On the 6th of May, 1600, Carew writes after one of these interviews, in which Florence very adroitly gets out of the difficulty of giving up his son as a hostage—a concession which he never had even the slightest idea of making, but it was his policy not to say a direct no:—

“He sware unto me uppon a booke that he would never

beare armes agaynst her Magestie's forces, except he were assaultted in Desmond, and thatt all his followers should like-wyse abstayne from actual rebellion, but his bonies were more att the commandment of Dermod O'Connor than of himselfe, and therefore whensoever Dermod woulld send for them he could not restrayne them. He likewyse did swere unto me thatt whensoever I did send for him upon my word thatt he would come unto me, and in the meantime he woulld evermore send me intelligence of the rebels' proceedings, and do me the best underhand service he could ; and for testimony of his obedience he would att any tyme, when your honour pleaseth to send for him, upon your faythful promyse thatt he shall nott be a prisoner, for he sayeth thatt he will rather runne any fortune than to be detayned going to England to make knowne unto you his sincere meaning. This is all y^d: past between us, and more than to be neutrall, he would nott promise or could be exacted from him of his going to England. I would be glad that your honour would make tryall, which I do nott believe that will performe, for the wch he sware upon a Pius Quintus,² for upon no other book the earl woulld beleeve him. He protests thatt for his particular he dothe nott expect the ayde of Spaniards here presentlye. He confessethe that he knowes thatt att the last the queen must and will prevayl in Ireland, but yett he had rather dye than to be a beggar agayne to feel the wants he hathe done, wch he is sure to do yf he be reconcyled ; but these excuses are but devices to draw the queene to yield to his demands. Thinking thatt the tyme serves for rebels to obtayne whatsoever, they ask, but herein I hope his follyeye shall fayle him, for I have as much from him as I desire, w^{ch} is to have no cause to employ any part of her Maties forces agaynst him, for by his oathe he bound nott to serve agaynst us or annoy any of her Maties good subjects, but to lyve pryvatlye in Desmond and to keep his countrye, wch if he performe I shall be att the bettre leisure to prosecute James McThomas, and when thatt worke is fynished a few days will serve to humble

2. The Bull of Pope Pius.

Florence and to teach him submissive entreaties, and forget to capitulatt either for land titles or chardge. I never rackt my witts more to beat reason into a man's head than I did to him, but pride dothe so much possesse him in being called McCartmore that his understanding is lost and not capable of any reasons but his own.

Next day Carew says that "he filled his skin with sack," in other words, got drunk; but in truth it would be hard to tell whether Florence pretended drunkenness or not. The next day, "better remembering himself," he brought letters to Carew for the English court, to which Carew says he gives no credit, "or to anything he sayes, for my intellyences assures me that under-hand he combynes with the rebels as firmly as he may, and yet his oaths are to the contrary."

Yet, in a few lines further on, he says:—

"This day, better remembiring himselfe, he brought me these three letters and gave them unto me to read, which vareys nothing from his former letters to me and others, but I do nott credditt unto them, or to anything he says, for my intelliencies assure me thatt underhand he combynes with the rebels as firmly as he may; and yet his oathes are to the contrarye. The report of the fight betwene her Maties forces and him is false. Lett your honour beleeve whatt I have wrotten to Sir Walter Ralighe wch is a true narration of thatt daye's service, testified under a discreet Irishman's hand, who did view the bodies. This day I find him more tractable than before, gevinge me some good hope thatt he will be delyvre his sonne presentlye pleadge into my hands; but such is his inconstancie as I dare nott trust him, for his fears on either side do so besiedge him as he cannot well resolue whether it were good for him to be a subject or a rebel, and to say my opinion of him, he is good for nether of them bothe. If I were assured thatt he would keepe his promise with me, and do me underhand service as he protests, I could then be more

gladd of his walkinge in the woodes then in the citye of Corke ; but cowards are faythlesse, and so I think I shall find him. But, howsoever he deale with me I doubt not but to make some advantage of him, and fight with him att his owne weapon, so as he shall nott overreach me. The White Knight hether sent this day a messenger unto me with faythfull promise to submit himselfe, so as he may be pardoned for his life, and goodes restored in blood ; have his lands by new grannt from her Matie, and forgiven the arrearadge of his rents due upon him since the rebellion, all which because they are nott unreasonable demands, and such as are nether unprofitable or dishonourable to the Queen, and such as I am sure att the last, when he hathe done more harme, her Majesty will grannt unto him ; I will be so adventurous as to promise them unto him, hopeing that the queene will nott mislyke itt. The stay of Florence from aydinge James Mac Thomas, and the drawinge in of the White Knight dothe in a manner free the countye of Corke, then my taske lyes onelye in Limericke and Kerrye, in w^{ch} counties, I doubt nott but to rayse uppe factions agaynst Desmond and his brother, w^{ch} will geve a fayre hope towards the fynishinge of this warre. This bearer, Captain Browne, sonne to Sir Valentyne, and a casheered captain, I may nott forget to recommend unto your honour's good favour, beseechinge you to give him your ayde, and assistance if he shall have cause to be a suter for the same. He is an honest man, very valiant, and that w^{ch} I like best, one that loves me."

Certainly Florence Mac Carthy was no fool. Carew writes from Shandon :—

“ Shandon, this 6th of May, 1600.

“ Let my censuringe of Florence, I beseche your honnour, be kept as secettlye as you may, for otherwise my creditt will be cracht with him, for now he trusts muche in my friendship, w^{ch} I did unfaynedlye afford him before I sawe his follye.”

When fighting was general, and the ally of to-day might be

the foe of to-morrow, it was not surprising that friends and foes should be sometimes mistaken. Smith says :

"In August, Captain Huxley, with 70 foot and 24 horse, marched from Mallow towards Condon's country, in pursuit of an arch rebel called John Mac Redmond. The army by mistake burned an house in a village of the White Knight, which they imagined belonged to the rebels ; but, upon discovering their error, the captain offered to pay the damage. John Fitz-Gibbon, son to the White Knight, was by no means satisfied, but gathered 160 foot and some horse, and attacked the English, to whom he did no hurt, although they slew 60 of his men.

A.D. 1600. "The White Knight stormed at first, but when he understood the mistake he was at length pacified ; the guide who led them into the error was executed."

Which hanging must have afforded immense satisfaction to all except the person principally concerned.

From Limerick to Cork and from Cork to Limerick the indefatigable Carew runs and writes, and Florence Mac Carthy More is still the object of his search and the subject of his pen.

He summonses the recreant to meet him at Carrigfoyle, but though Florence was not ten miles distant, and was offered any number of safe conducts, he had no idea of falling into the trap.

But he wrote—he was facile at the pen—and he assures Carew that he is "his very good lord," not only in the complimentary style of the times, for he avers that he is a "poore, true, old friend, and as faythfull as his los chiefest frends in England." As for his loyalty, who could impeach it ? He "had not assisted rebels, he had not relieved them," and as for correspondence, he was so anxious to write that he had actuallly had his letters "styched up in woman's apparel."

It was clear that Florence could neither be captured nor killed by ordinary means, and it was equally clear that he was very much in the way of the English in Ireland. What was to be done? There was at this time a certain Irishman called John Annyas, who had contrived to get himself into the Tower of London for certain indiscretions, and who was not unnaturally very desirous of getting out, and by no means particular as to how his liberation should be effected. He had been converted to the new religion, and his conversion was remarkable, and had a curious connection with want of raiment, which he pathetically discloses. He writes:—

“To the Lords of Her Ma’ties most Honnorable Privie Consell.”

He states his miseries—the cause of his conversion—and what he can, and will do, if he is only let out. He has “noe clodes at all excepte towe shurtes,” but he has “even pacience for afflyxion ;” still he does *not* like being in the tower, and he is painfully anxious to show how perfectly he is converted, for he has been “perusinge the Bible over a year,” and is fully “satysfied and reformed ;” so he proposes that he should be allowed to escape, and offers, if this be done, to go and pretend to be a Catholic again, and to say he has suffered for the Catholic cause, and to find out what the Spaniards are about to do, or any other dirty work that may be desirable for Tudor statesmen, and as security he offers to give up his unmarried brothers as hostages—that is if they are “alyve,” and if he can find them. It does not seem to have occurred to his new born zeal to think that there were two parties to such an arrangement.

His offer was accepted. He had described to Mr. Lieutenant how he might escape "unknown to the keeper," and Mr. Lieutenant instantly ordered more new manacles, and staples, and hinges, and a "bowlt" for the prison door, but for all that Annyas "bowlted" himself one evening, with an excellent and new outfit, and we meet him next in Ireland where he is looking, not after his relatives, but after Florence Mac Carthy, and where an indignant people hear that he has come for the purpose of poisoning Florence.

When the matter comes out, and the deed was not done, there was a terrible outcry of virtuous indignation. Cecil writes in an agony to Carew that nothing would save his character but having Annyas hanged after he had cleared him by a public confession; and he declares in the most solemn manner that he abhored such work, though he would have no objection to having a "rebel taken alive" or to have his head.³

Annyas was imprisoned, but he was not hanged. Perhaps he declined making the much desired confession. He turns up next at Dunboy, where his career terminates, and the night before his execution he wrote to the Baron of Lixnaw as if he had been the "virtuost" man in all the world, and the truest friend.

Wingfield, he said, had betrayed him. His "death satisfies former suspicions," and he writes "to immortalize his name on earth." He did not know that State Papers would be

3. Notwithstanding all this, Carew wrote to Cecil, April 30, 1600, of Mr. Annyas "that he had conferred with him, and liked his prospects." There was a good deal of double dealing every where, and the State Paper Office contains letters and documents which prove that the poisoning of O'Neil was under consideration, under circumstances of peculiar atrocity.

unearthed one day, and that his correspondence with Tudor statesmen would show him to be what he was. He begs that “the service of the Catholic Church” may be observed for his soul.

The letter is altogether a curious production, antecedents considered, for a man on the eve of execution.

At last the end came, so far as the active career in Ireland of Florence Mac Carthy was concerned. Bribing, shooting, poisoning, and all other attempts having failed, one only expedient remained. The Spaniards were even then at hand, and with Florence to aid and encourage them, the consequences were too terrible to contemplate. Carew had often sought and obtained interviews with him, but Florence always took care to have solemn protections for his safety.

The one resource that remained now was to give such guarantee, and then to violate it.

It was dishonourable to the last degree, it was unknightly, some people would have said it was unEnglish. But the temptation was great, and after all Florence was “mere Irish.”

On the 18th June, 1601, Carew writes full details of his success to Cecil, and boasts of his treachery—indeed, he thought it too good for Florence, and plumes himself in having saved his head. He will send him and John Fitz Thomas to her Majesty as soon as the “winde do settle in the west,” being “the best present that Mounster affords.” Moreover, he “hopes to get Bishop Creaghe for a hundred pounds,” and the Knight of the Valley for another, and he thinks he could get the head of Mac William in Connaught;

but as Mac William, happily for himself, is out of his territory, and there is honour—shall we say amongst thieves or murderers—he has some little hesitation about adding his head to the heads dead or living with which he hopes to propitiate his royal mistress.

We must spoil a romance. Florence Mac Carthy goes to the Tower, and remains there until 1614, when the Earls of Thomond, Clanricard, and others, bailed him out, but he was not allowed to leave London. He was alive in 1631, but the date of his death is not known. His wife did not share his imprisonment, and the romantic course of his early life faded into a bitter estrangement in his latter days.

The Earl of Desmond, whom Cecil's fingers "had itched to hang," lost his reason in the Tower. He died in 1603.

CHAPTER XIII.

ELIZABETHEAN ERA.

Rumours of a Spanish invasion—Report of Cecil's spy—The sovereign of Kinsale announces their arrival—The Pope's letter to O'Neil—Kinsale surrenders at discretion—Don Juan's proclamation—Arrival of O'Neil and O'Donnell from the North—The English between two fires—Diary of the siege in the English State Paper Office—Mr. Boyle, afterwards Earl of Cork, goes to London in all haste to announce the victory of the English—Mr. Boyle sups with Cecil, and improves the opportunity—An Irish traitor, and the mischief done by *usquebaugh*—Don Juan's treachery—How his papers from Spain were intercepted—He has a “vehement suspicion” of Carew—How the Lord Deputy swears with a good conscience that Carew has not got them, because he has them himself—O'Sullivan Bear calls Don Juan “a brute”—O'Sullivan Bear's letter to Don Juan—The English capture Donnelong and Donneshed—The Fitzmaurices generally on the “rebel” side—O'Sullivan takes the field, and leaves Mac Geoghegan in charge of Dunboy—The town is battered down, and some of the men who try to escape by water are slain by the English soldiers, who are placed in boats for the purpose—The bearer of an offer of surrender is hanged, contrary to all the laws of civilized warfare—Mac Geoghegan tries to blow up the castle while the soldiers are capturing him—All the brave defenders of Dunboy are hanged, except a few reserved for torture—O'Sullivan Bear escapes by being absent—He is obliged to fly to the mountains with his followers—His extraordinary march to the North—Don Juan returns to Spain, and is disgraced.

THE beginning of the year 1601 rumours of a Spanish invasion were again rife, to the extreme discomfort of the English court ; and in the beginning of August, Cecil received definite intelligence from the spy whom he employed at the Spanish court. On the 13th September a Captain Lowe arrived in Cork harbour, and declared that he had sighted the fleet ; on the 20th September the Spaniards really arrived in Kinsale harbour, and the Sovereign of Kinsale sent in all haste to Sir Charles, who was in Cork, to inform him of the arrival of the fleet, with the additional intelligence that it was

bearing down on Cork. This was true, but as the wind changed suddenly they tacked about for Kinsale.

Don Juan D'Aquila was in command, and had some two thousand five hundred men under him. The whole expedition had been carefully planned, and was specially sanctioned by the Holy See; but a terrible disappointment awaited the Spanish troops. Florence Mac Carthy, in whom they had

4. The following letter was addressed to O'Neil. The original is given in *Hib. Pac.*, but most incorrectly :—

" Beloved son, health and the apostolic blessing. Having learned as well from your letters as from those of which our beloved son, Peter Lombard, your countryman, and provost of Cambray, presented to us, that the confederation into which you and very many of the princes and chief nobility of the kingdom have entered is still, through the mercy of God, preserved inviolate in the bonds of charity, and that you have gained many victories over the English, who deserted from our Church and from the Catholic faith, we were filled with exceeding joy, and we returned thanks to God, the Father of Mercies, for having yet preserved in that kingdom so many thousands who never bent the knee to Baal. These have not only rejected profane novelties and the impieties of heresy, but, moreover, bravely combat for the inheritance of their fathers, for the preservation and integrity of the faith, and for the maintenance of union with the Church, which alone is Catholic and apostolic, and outside of which there is no salvation. We extol the singular piety and fortitude which you, beloved son, have displayed, as well as those princes and all others who, being united and confederated with you, refuse no dangers for the glory of God, and manifestly prove themselves to be worthy children and successors of those heroes who, by valour in war, and their devotion to the cause of religion, acquired an immortal fame. Maintain, my sons, these sentiments, maintain this union and concord, and God the all powerful, the God of peace and concord, will be with you, and will continue to prostrate your enemies before you. As for us, we love and cherish, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, your Excellency, and all others who are devoted to the ancient faith, and who perpetuate the fame of their fathers. We cease not to pray to God for your felicity and safety, and we shall ever be solicitous for your welfare, and, if necessity requires, we will gladly use all influence in our power to induce the Catholic princes and sovereigns to succour yourselves and your cause. It is also our intention to send to you a special nuncio of this Holy See, over which, by divine disposition, we, though unworthily, preside, who will be a native of your kingdom, pious, prudent, imbued with zeal for the glory of God, and approved of by us, that thus he may prove the respect we entertain for you, and may assist you in maintaining the so necessary and salutary union, as well as in propagating the Catholic faith, and discharging all the other offices which may promote the honour and worship of God. In the meantime, we judged it proper to permit these letters, in order to attest our love for you and for the whole kingdom, and thus, by our paternal affection, console you who are our beloved children in Christ. As regards Peter Lombard, whom you have constituted your orator and agent at our court, we have cordially received him, and we will continue so to do. To yourself, and to all those who are united with you in defence of the Catholic faith, we lovingly impart our apostolic blessing; and we pray God to send His angels as your protectors, to direct your pious efforts by His heavenly grace, and to defend you by the right hand of His omnipotence. Given in Rome, at St. Peter's, under the seal of the fisherman, the 20th of January, 1601."

placed so much confidence, was in the Tower, and they soon learned that the O'Neil's power to aid the expedition had been greatly exaggerated.

Kinsale surrendered at discretion, and Don Juan issued a proclamation to give confidence to the inhabitants.

The English in Ireland were extremely disconcerted by the bold course. A council was being held at Kilkenny to consider what should be done if the Spaniards should arrive, and the announcement that they have arrived is suddenly made. Certainly there is no time to lose. Some were for retiring to Dublin to collect forces; others for departing at once to the scene of action. The latter plan was decided on. The Lord Deputy and Sir Robert Gardiner set out for Cork that night. In the mean time despatch had been sent to O'Neil, but it was two full months before he could join the Spanish army.

Kincurran was besieged by the Lord Deputy and taken, a exploit which brought a special letter of thanks from the queen to her faithful George, in her own autograph, which must have worked strangely in her to induce so great a reward for so small a service.

The Lord President was to interrupt the northern chiefs, but the country fell wide, gave no help in the way of inflection, and his efforts were supplied.

O'Neil and O'Donnell arrived about the same time, and those of the Irish chiefs who had held out from fear or policy joined in with the national cause, when they hoped that the national cause would prosper.

O'Sullivan Bear despatched a letter to the King of Spain, asking for special help for his "Castle of Dunboy," and com-

mitting " his wife, and children, and manors, town, country, and land," to that monarch's special keeping.

The English were now between two fires, they had O'Neil on one side, and the Spanish on the other, and they were reduced to great straits.

The Diary of the siege of Kinsale in the *Carew Papers* says :—

"Tyrone, accompanied with O'Donnell, O'Rourke, Maguire, Mac Mahound, Randoll, Mac Saurlie, Redmond Bourke, O'Connor, Sligoe Brothers, and Tirrell, with the choice force, and, in effect, all the rebels of Ireland, being drawn into Munster, and joined with Spaniards that landed at Castlehaven, who brought to Tyrone's camp six ensigns of Spaniards and the greatest part of the Irishry of Munster, who being revolted, were joined with them, and entertained into the king's pay in several companies, and under their own lords, resolved to relieve the town of Kinsale, and to that purpose sat down the 21st of December a mile and a half from the town, between the English camp and Corke, and on that side of the army kept from them all passages and means for forage, the other side over the river of Ownybuoy being wholly at their disposition by reason of the general revolt of those parts. It seemed they were drawn so far by the importunity of Don Juan D'Aquila, as we perceived by some of his letters intercepted, wherein he did intimate his own necessity, their promise to succour him, and the facility of the enterprise, our army being weak in numbers and tired, as he termed us with assurance from himself that whensoever he should advance to our quarter he would give the blow soundly from the town. During the abode of the rebels in that place we had continual intelligence of their purpose to give alarms from their party, and sallies from the town, but to little other effect than to weary our men by keeping them continually in arms, the weather being extreme, tempestuous, cold and wet.

"On the 23rd of December, late in the night, Captain

Taffe informed the lord deputy that one of the rebels that had been sometimes belonging unto him sent him word (and confirmed it by a solemn oath to the bearer) that the resolution of the rebel was, either that night, or between that and the next, to enterprise their uttermost for the relief of the town, with some particulars in what sort they intended to give our camp. Whereupon the lord deputy gave order to strengthen the ordinary guards, to put the rest of the army in readiness but not into arms ; that about the falling of the moon the regiment volant (commanded by Sir Henry Power, and appointed only to answer the first occasion without doing any other duties) should draw out beyond the west part of the camp, and there to stand in arms not far from the main guard of horse."

The plan to surprise the Lord Deputy failed, if all accounts are true, through the Irishman's curse—whiskey. On the 22nd December, Mac Mahon, whose son had been page to the lord president, sent to his camp to ask for a bottle of aqua vitae, which was given him. Next day he sent a note of thanks, with information of the intended surprise. A surprise that is prepared for in this way is almost certain to end in most disastrous defeat.

And a disastrous defeat followed. The English gave no quarter, and Don Juan sent proposals of surrender in one week to the English camp.⁵

5. Smith tells with great satisfaction how Mr. Richard Boyle, afterwards Earl of Cork, made "most surprising expedition" to London with the news of the defeat of the national party. He knew how acceptable such intelligence would be at court, and he knew the intelligence might bring him much. Smith says :—

"I shall give the account of this expedition in the earl's own words :—‘ Then as clerk of the council I attend the lord president in all his employments, and waited upon him all the whole siege of Kinsall, and was employed by his lordship to her majesty with the news of that happy victory, in the which employment I made a speedy expedition to the court ; for I left my lord president at Shandon castle, near Cork, on the Monday morning about two of the clock, and the next day being Tuesday I delivered my packet and supped with Sir Robert Cecil, being then principal Secretary of State, at his house in the Strand, who, after supper, held me in discourse till two of the clock in the morning ; and

After considerable parlying, in which Don Juan looked solely to his own interest, a capitulation is agreed on ; the treacherous Spaniard then handed over his Irish allies, and they may get slain, hanged, or escape if they can.⁶

The Spanish troops were shipped off to Spain and many Irish with them, and Don Juan having made friends with his captives, with suspicious expedition, goes off with the English deputy to Cork.

The deputy is lodged with Dr. Lyons, the Protestant bishop ; the president at Shandon Castle, and Don Juan in the city.

Meantime a Spanish pinnace has arrived with despatches for Don Juan, and these despatches the deputy and the president are determined to see. The deputy would like to have the theft "handsomely done." He would not call it a robbery, only a transfer. Sir George Carew enjoys the exploit. The men who bring the despatches are robbed by bandits, five miles from Cork, and the news of the capture is

by seven that morning called upon me to attend him to the court, where he presented me to her majesty in her bed chamber, who remembered me, calling me by my name, telling me that she was glad that I was the happy man to bring the first news of that glorious victory, and after her majesty had interrogated me upon sundry questions very punctually, and that therein I had given her full satisfaction in every particular, she again gave me her hand to kiss, and recommended my despatch for Ireland, and so dismissed me with grace and favour."—*Earl of Cork's True Rememb., MS.*

6. There was no mercy shown to the unhappy Irish, indeed the idea of showing mercy to them seem not to have occurred to any one. In the Diary of the Siege of Kinsale (Carew Papers) we find the following :—

"The Earl of Clanricarde had many great escapes being shot through his garments, and no man did bloody his sword more than his lordship that day, and would not suffer any man to take away one of the Irish prisoners, but bid them kill the rebels. After the retreat was sounded, the lord deputy did give the order of knighthood to the Earl of Clanricarde in the field in the midst of the dead bodies, and returning back to the camp, drew out the whole army, and gave God thanks for this victory with their prayers. 'The enemy's army, as Alonso O'Campo doth assure us, was 6,000 foot, and 500 horse. There were some of the Irishry taken prisoners that offered great ransoms, but presently upon their bringing to the camp they were hanged.'"

conveyed with great grief by one of the messengers, who is allowed to escape for the purpose.

Don Juan has his suspicions. He goes to the deputy, and declares he has a "vehement suspicion" of Sir George, but the deputy, who happens to have the letters in his own possession, is able to swear "upon his faith" that Sir George had not got them.

The despatches were of the very highest importance. There was even a letter from the king, and Don Juan was urged in the strongest terms, in one and all, to persevere in his attempt, and even should he suffer a temporary defeat, to wait for further succour. What he might have done had he received the despatches, we may not conjecture: they belong to the history of the "perhaps" which would have so reversed the world's history, had they eventuated into acts. But we suspect he was coward as well as traitor. What he did do was to go home to write complimentary letters to Carew, who only laughed at him, and to die in disgrace as he deserved. Treachery so seldom prospers it is a wonder any man of common sense would play the part of traitor.

O'Sullivan Bear, who was in the habit of using very plain language, called Don Juan a brute. It might have been a solace to his feelings to do so, but it did not save his castle of Dunboy.

Don Juan had already handed over all the castles of his Irish friends to the English. He does not seem even to have taken the trouble of enquiring whether they liked the arrange-

ment. But handing them over and getting possession of them was not quite the same thing.⁷

Captain Flowers and Harvey were ordered to take possession of these castles if they could. Harvey got Castlehaven, but not without some risk. It was in charge of a Spaniard, and while he and the commander were in high conversation over their wine, the O'Driscolls were quietly getting possession of the castle. Two ships commanded by Harvey's brothers came into the harbour at the moment, and their attempts were thus frustrated. On the 26th of July, Donnelong and Donneshed were both delivered into the hands of the English, but Dunboy was to come. Flowers had shipped in "a hoy," or vessel of a hundred and twenty tons, with two companies of soldiers, but the weather was rough ; he could not effect a landing, O'Sullivan got into his own castle once more. He had indeed been allowed a run of the place, and appears to have been on pleasant terms with the Spanish commander even after they had ceased to be allies through Don Juan's treachery.

There were a few Irish, also, with the Spanish soldiers, and some of these men contrived a breach in the wall, and admitted eighty armed men at midnight, amongst them were Donnell Mac Carthy, Captain Farell, Burke, and Florence Fitzmaurice, the Anglo-Norman descendant of Raymond le Gros, now lord of Lixnaw—for these same Fitzmaurices were generally on the "rebel" side in Ireland. There were, also, Father

7. O'Sullivan wrote to King Philip :—

"Don Juan tried himself to deliver my castle, and haven the only key of my inheritance, whereupon the living of many thousand persons doth rest, that live some twenty leagues upon the sea coast, into the hands of my cruel, cursed, misbelieving enemies, a thing, I fear, in respect of the execrableness, inhumanity, and ungratefulness of the fact, if it take effect, as it was plotted, that will give cause to other men not to trust any Spaniard hereafter with their bodies or goods upon those causes."

Archer and Father Daniel Collins. It was a forlorn hope. A specimen of Irish valour and desperation, this stealing into a man's own castle at midnight, and striving to win back by stealth what had been taken by force of arms. How this attempt would have been related if only an Irish army of occupation had held some English castle, and the English did this deed of valorous despair. What paens of praise would have flowed from the pen of Froude, and what uncouth sentences of approval would have dropped from the lips of grim Carlyle. But they were mere Irish ; "wolves," who were created to be the sport of the Saxon, and who were slain with less mercy than would be shown to a brute, when they were captured by fraud or by force.

At break of day Father Archer went to the Spanish commander and asked him to come to O'Sullivan's apartment. Here he was informed that the castle was in possession of its rightful owners, that a large force was outside, but that he and his men would be allowed to withdraw if they made no resistance. It was a curious affair this taking of the castle from the very men who had come to defend it. Francesco made no resistance. The Spaniards departed, and went to Baltimore to ship for Spain, except a few who remained to act as gunners.

Don Juan was in Cork when O'Sullivan took possession of Dunboy, and he expressed much indignation thereat. He had indeed become so attached to his English friends that he was willing to set out at once and regain it for them ; but though they were willing to profit by his treachery, they had little faith in his honour ; and being very desirous "to see his heels

towards Ireland," they persuaded him to remain quiet until his departure for Spain.

O'Sullivan took the field and left his constable, Mac Geoghegan, in charge of Dunboy. The English knew well the importance of this affair, and a large force was sent into the field. The Earl of Thomond⁸ was despatched into Bear. He got as far as Bantry, and having left 700 men on Whiddy Island, in the bay of Bantry, he returned to Cork to report:—

" All the English force in Munster were now concentrated on the one point. Carew set out from Cork on the 20th April, 1602. He encamped that night at Owneby, near Kinsale. On the 24th he reached Timoleague, on the 25th Rosscarbery; on the 26th he went over the Leap to Castletown, on the 27th to Baltimore, on the 29th he encamped at a castle near Kilcock, wherein the rebel Conogher, the eldest son of Sir Fineen O'Driscoll, knight, held a ward; the 30th the army dislodged, and drew to Carew castle, built in ancient time by the lord president's ancestors and by the Irish, called Downmarke, on the Marques, his house being two miles distant from the Abbey of Bantry, where we sate downe as well to give annoyance to the rebels as to tarry the coming of the shipping with victuals, munition and ordnance, at which place Captain George Flower, with his garrison (left there by the Earl of Thomond), fell in unto us."

When the army had fairly encamped before Dunboy, Staf-

8. These were his instructions:—"The service you are to performe is to do all your endeavours to have the rebels for me in Carbery, Bear, and Bantry, with their cowes, and to use all hostile prosecution upon the persons of the people."—*Instructions to Earl of Thomond, Pacata Hib.* The "hostile prosecutions" were horrible. Even Mr. Froude is obliged to admit this, and says:—"Carew had been seen murdering women and children, and babies that have scarcely leftt he breast."—*History of England, vol. x., p. 308.* And again:—"He (Gilbert) regarded himself as dealing rather with savage beasts than with human beings, and when he hunted them to their dens, he strangled the Arab and rooted out the entire brood." And then this amiable historian proceeds to regre that this could not be done so as to extirpate the race entirely. "Arabs," "wolves," and "dogs" are his favourite terms, when he does not use the name savages, for his Irish fellow creatures.

ford wrote to the Spanish commissioners, offering them a safe-conduct to Spain if they would leave the work for love of his "honourable" friend Don Juan ; and he further assures them that if they will only "clog the ordnance" or "mayne their carriages," so that they may be found useless when most wanted, their recompense shall be liberal indeed. The letter is dated

"From the Camp near Bantrie, the sixth of May; 1602."

It is addressed to

"*The Spaniards held by force in the Castle of Dunboy.*"

But the Spaniards were not to be bribed. Early in June Thomond had an interview with Mac Geoghegan, to see what could be done with him in the way of bribery, but he failed completely.

On the 5th of June, the day on which this interview occurred, a Spanish ship sailed up the Kenmare river to Ardea castle, with gold, provisions, and, better still, a promise of large reinforcements. O'Sullivan set out at once with a small force to meet this vessel, and as he went he looked his last at his castle of Dunboy. On the 17th of June the place was so severely shattered by cannon that the garrison offered to surrender, if allowed to depart with their arms. This was refused, as might be expected ; but the English commander had the mean and contemptible inhumanity to hang the man who brought the message. In civilized nations the bearers of such communications are always respected. The odds were fearful —four thousand outside, and not one hundred and fifty within.

A few hours did the work. The castle of Dunboy was

battered to the ground. A few who tried to escape by water were killed by soldiers placed in boats for the purpose ; the rest took refuge in a cellar, where they were at last obliged to surrender. Mac Geoghegan was mortally wounded, but even as the English soldiers came down the steep stair he had seized a lighted faggot, and all but succeeded in setting fire to some barrels of powder, trying even in death to be avenged on his enemies.

Fifty-eight of those who surrendered were hanged that day in the English camp, and a few were reserved for special and cruel torture. We have already told their fate and sufferings. On the 22nd of June, 1602, Dunboy was blown up by Carew.

O'Sullivan escaped into Kerry with Captain Tirell, and here for long and weary months he and his followers encamped in the mountains of Glengarriff, waiting for help from Spain, which never came. When news did come, it was fatal to his hopes ; and he at once took the brave determination to fight his way step by step to the north with the women and children, the sick and infirm of his camp. What he dared and did, and what this forlorn company suffered, may not be told here. In eight months O'Sullivan returned once more to his desolate country, where he had left his wife and his youngest child in the safe and faithful company of his foster-brother, MacSweeny. During his absence they remained concealed in a place known as the "Eagle's nest," in the Glengarriff mountains.

A piece of very sharp practice was effected about this time, by which the lord president contrived to get Blarney castle into his possession. He had long viewed it with covetous eyes, but between O'Sullivan Beares and Mac Carthy Mores his

hands were kept tolerably full of pressing occupation. Blarney castle was in the possession of Cormac Mac Dermot Mac Carthy More, of Muskery, a nobleman who had found it to his interest to be reconciled to the English in Ireland, and acted accordingly. He had done their spiriting very faithfully. When O'Donnell was dashing down into Munster from his northern fortresses, Mac Carthy had tried to intercept him in the English interest. When Mountjoy was at the siege of Kinsale, Mac Carthy assisted him. But his services were not required any longer, and his castle was, and he was therefore to receive a grateful return for all his dutiful allegiance.

The matter was arranged thus : Mac Carthy had a graceless cousin, who joined the Spaniards when the Spaniards seemed likely to succeed, but who was extremely anxious to rejoin the English now that the Spanish had failed. So he writes to the Lord President from his castle of *Carrig-a-phocka*, which lay between Macroom and Killarney, and he entreats "the remission of his offences." He is "ashamed of himself," but then his faults were not "malicious" but "youthful." It was all his cousin's fault. He would not give up certain lands to which he laid claim, and when was a claimant ever wrong ? But he is quite ready by good deeds now "to wipe out the memory of his former follies," and the President, paternally solicitous for the general welfare, is quite willing to employ him. So he proceeds to make certain depositions against his cousin, the lord of Muskery and proprietor of Blarney castle. He accuses him of having had letters from Don Juan D'Aquila, which was probably true, because he had received a

bribe through his brother-in-law to deliver up "his strong castle of the Blarney, situated within two miles of Corke;" and in fact he was playing a double game, which is always dangerous, when you are found out, and Tiege having involved himself in all kinds of treason when it suited his convenience, goes into a fit of virtuous indignation at his cousin's disloyalty, and is very anxious indeed that he should not escape unpunished.

So Mac Carthy is to be arrested, and Blarney castle is to be seized. The President goes off to Kinsale to be entirely out of the way, and Sir Charles Wilmot was ordered to go on a pretended chase, and to arrive at Blarney castle and ask for "wine and usquebaugh, whereof Irish gentlemen are seldom disfurnished." Sir Charles came and saw, but he did not conquer. Mac Carthy had his suspicions, and Wilmot had to do without the wine and the usquebaugh, and, worse still, without his prisoner: in fact, he was hardly allowed to look within the gates of the bawn. The capture had to be effected some other way, and it was effected before the President came back from Kinsale.

Mac Carthy was accused, and of course denied all complicity with the Spaniards; and Carew, with a charming assumption of benevolent affection, suggests that he shall give up his castle of Blarney just for a little while as evidence of his sincerity, until the matter could be proved one way or another.

Mac Carthy did not see it in that light. He obstinately refused to be convinced of the benevolence, and as a just punishment for his distrust of so excellent a friend, for his rejection of such good council, he was ordered "in yrons closer

than before, until he should demeane himself in more dutiful conformitie." Mac Carthy did not like the treatment, and saw his way to be dutiful, and gave up the castle.

His two other castles, Kilcrea and Macroom, were also taken from him, and he was left a sadder, and, we may hope, a wiser man.

Mac Carthy's son was being educated at Oxford, and his following, which was numerous, determined to have him home, so that if the father was in gaol in Shandon castle, the son would be free to fight for him outside. The lord president found out the plot, and defeated it. He did more: it suited his policy to let Mac Carthy free, and he escaped one evening from the barred windows of Shandon castle, though his guards had received the most special and strict instructions for his safe keeping.

Mac Carthy fled to the remnant of the Dunboy army, who were encamped in the wilds of Bear, but he was afraid of open rebellion. His son was a prisoner in England; his wife and daughter in safe keeping at Cork. So he meets the President on the 21st October, 1802, and, falling down on his knees, beseeches mercy, which mercy the artful Carew willingly grants, for he fears exceedingly what may be the consequence if Mac Carthy of Muskery remains in the mountains, and if his people should add strength to the force already there. He was indeed "fouly stained" with manifold treasons, but after all he was only a "jugling traytor," and others were "professed traytors," and Carew having done a good deal in the jugglery line himself had possibly some sympathy for him.

A grand effort was made now to disperse O'Sullivan Bear's,

little camp. It was attacked by night, but a gun went off "accidentally" amongst the besieging force, and though eighty men are slain, Tirell escapes in his shirt, and his wife in very light attire.

He eventually emigrates to O'Carroll's country, and O'Sullivan, with O'Connor Kerry, are left to fight or die alone. Still they hoped that the King of Spain would "win Ireland," and a letter from Hugh O'Donnell encouraged the anticipation,

Philip had indeed made large promises to O'Donnell's importunity ; but at last, perhaps from hope deferred, perhaps from longing for the old land, he sickens and dies, and the report of his very honourable burial is all the comfort left to his Irish friends.⁹

We have told elsewhere of O'Sullivan's retreat and its consequences. There is the peace of despair all over the land ; nothing remains but broken hearts and ruined fortunes.

Carew goes home to his royal mistress, for whom death is already waiting at the gate, and he is quite prepared with or without "jugling," to give brief lament to her memory, and to pray in homage to the rising sun.

He has left an account of his doings in Munster, of the wreck and ruin which he wrought, and his evil deeds are held in reprobation by all honourable men of whatever nationality.

9. The Four Masters record his death thus :—" Alas ! the early eclipse of him who died here is mournful to many. He was the head of the conference and council. He was a mighty and bounteous lord, with the authority of a prince to enforce law. A lion in strength and force of character ; a dove in meekness and gentleness. He was a sweet-sounding trumpet, endowed with the gift of eloquence, and a look of amiability which captivated everyone who beheld him."

CHAPTER XIV.

ELIZABETHEAN ERA.

The social state of Cork at this period—Salary of the Lord Deputies—Their extreme rapacity—Spenser's account of their administration—He says “nothing but bitterness” is left to the poor Irish—He shows the evil of the Irish government being entailed by England, and the mischief arising from the change of policy and politics in each new Lord Deputy—The State Papers admit how much evil is done—Complaints made of their robbing the poor people in the markets—Complaints of the coinage for Ireland being seriously adulterated—It is made besides twenty-five per cent. less in value than the English currency—The medicines and condiments given to the young Earl of Desmond when in the Tower—His unfavourable accounts of the Cork aldermen—Dress in the sixteenth century—Queen Elizabeth's gowns sent to the wives of Irish chieftains, and the effect produced on them—The Countess of Desmond becomes converted to loyalty—Lord Clanricarde's tailor's bills—How he dresses himself, and how he dresses his sons—Cork aldermen in this century, and how they lived—A list of the goods and chattels of Alderman Ronayne—His plate—His household stuff—His corne and his cattell—A contemporary description of the state of Ireland—The fare of the poor people—Wakes—Fairs—Temperature—Climate—Agriculture—Live stock—How St. Patrick's Day was kept—How the “boys” laughed at Turlough Lynough for wearing English robes—A description of Cork in the sixteenth century—Cork in the “forme of an egge”—The old custom house—The “golden castle” of the Roches—The castellated Church of the Knights Templars—The Marsh—The Church and Abbey of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem—The Fort of Cork—The North Abbey—Shandon Castle, where the Barrys kept state—The Benedictine Convent of St. John.

ET all the while these bloody deeds were being done men were eating and drinking, and buying and selling, and some, at least, were making efforts as best they might to trade, even though at any moment all their gains might be swept away, so great is the power of hope.

Money was then of more value than it is now, or rather we should say provisions and other necessaries of life cost less. The salary of the lord president was only £130 6s. 8d. per annum, and for his diet “with the council at his table” £320 per annum. A recent writer says :—

“ According to an ancient document at Lismore, in the hand-writing of the first Earl of Cork, besides the above salary, the

president and council were allowed £20 a week for diet, and £1 10s. 7d. a-day for retinue of horse and foot."

The governors of Ireland made some show of state, but their life was one of such continual warfare of the most contemptible kind, that it is a matter of surprise how any sensible man could have taken such an office. No doubt there were ample opportunities for satisfying rapacity, and, perhaps, this was a convincing reason.

There were even then some Englishmen, by no means partial to Ireland, who had just sense enough to see the fatal character of the policy by which the country was governed.

Spenser says :—

" The governors are usually envious of one another's greater glory ; which if they would seek to excel by better governing, it should be a most laudable emulation, but they do quite otherwise. For this, as you may remark, is the common order of them, that who cometh next in place will not follow that course of government, however good, which his predecessors held, either for disdain of himself or doubt to have his doings drowned in another man's praise, but will straight take a way quite contrary to the former as reform them. The next, by discountenancing the English, will curry favour with the Irish, and so make his government seem plausible, as having all the Irish at his command ; but he that come after will, perhaps, follow neither the one nor the other, but will dandle the one and the other in such sort as he will suck sweet out of them both, and leave bitterness to the poor country ; which if he that comes after shall seek to redress, he shall, perhaps, find such crosses as he shall hardly be able to bear, or do any good that might work the disgrace of his predecessors. Examples you may see hereof in the governors of late times sufficiently, and in others of former times more manifestly, when the government of that realm was committed sometimes

to the Geraldines, as when the House of York had the crown of England ; sometimes to the Butlers, as when the House of Lancaster got the same, and other whiles when an English governor was appointed, he, perhaps, found enemies of both."

And again he says :—

"The chief evil in that government is that no governor is suffered to go on with any one course, but upon the best information here ; of this or that he is either stopped and crossed, or other courses appointed him from hence which he shall run, which how inconvenient it is, is at this hour too well felt. And therefore this should be one principle in the appointing of the lord deputy's authority, that it should be more ample and absolute than it is, and that he should have uncontrolled power to do anything that he, with the advisement of the council, should think meet to be done ; for it is not possible for the council here to direct a government there who shall be forced oftentimes to follow the necessity of present actions and to take the sudden advantage of time, which, being once lost, will not be recovered ; whilst through expecting direction from hence, the delays whereof are often times through other greater affairs most irksome. The opportunities there in the meantime pass away, and great danger often groweth, which, by such timely prevention, might easily be stopped.

"And this (as I remember) is worthily observed by Machiavel, in his discourses upon Livy, where he commendeth the manner of the Romans' government in giving absolute power to all their counsellors and governors, which if they abused they should afterwards dearly answer. And the contrary thereof he reprehendeth in the States of Venice, of Florence, and many other principalities of Italy, who used to limit their chief officers so strictly as that thereby they have oftentimes lost such happy occasions as they could never come into again ; the like whereof, whoso hath been conversant in the government of Ireland, hath too often seen to their great hindrance and hurt."

It is, indeed, a matter of history, and not of prejudice or partiality, to state that the system of governing in Ireland was simply systematic plunder. If killing was no murder (in Ireland), where an Irish churl was concerned, robbing was certainly no theft. The waters of the Irish channel appear to have washed out every spark of humanity and honour from the hearts of English statesmen and governors, as they passed to unhappy Ireland.

In 1531 we find a State Paper, entitled *Articles of the Enormities and Abuses of the Lord Leonard Grey, the king's deputy in Ireland,*" and amongst these was his "hosting,"—in other words, robbing the poor people; his entering the public markets, and taking away food without payment, which was open robbery; and his taking forcible possession of carriages and horses: no wonder the poor Irishman did not care to put a hand to the plough, or sow the grain. He might, indeed, reap the harvest, but he reaped it too frequently for another.

To the charge of open robbery we must add that of adulteration of coinage. Base English coins found their way so freely to Ireland as to interfere with the exactions of deputies, who, when they robbed or extorted, liked to have good value, and some effort was made to put matters straight; but somehow even this was so contrived as to be of advantage to English interests, for the Queen made a gain of £2,000 by melting down 60,000 lbs. weight of Irish harps.²

As Cork was the head quarters of the English in Munster, they were obliged, for their own interest, to keep some sort of

2. These Irish harps were silver, value twelve pence in Ireland and nine pence in England. Thus adding a further extortion of twenty-five per cent. on poor Ireland.

social order there, so that Cork merchants had a comparatively good time, and on the whole were able to do some trade.

There are some curious details on record of the good things in the way of condiments and medicines for the unfortunate young Earl Desmond while in the Tower. It was certainly the policy of government to bring him up a milk sop, and to keep him alive. He had *Manor Christi*, whatsoever that delectable compound may have been, and he had an “electuary to take in the mornynge,” and a “syrope to drink after it.” He had “a plaster for the stomach,” and a perfume for the hedd,” and a “bathe contayninge many ingredients.” “Syrop of vylets, and a box of perfume for theares,” “and rhubarb to stepe in a drink,” a julep, and sundry other nastinessess, for which he must have needed the “quarterne of Sewger Candye,” and the syrop of vyletts and lemons and waterlillyes, so charitably provided.

No wonder this over-nursed and enfeebled boy complains of his voyage across the channel to Cecil, for though they had “so fair a passage that the master and saylors said they never, for this tyme of yeare, knew the lyke,” he was “so verey sickle, as whilst I live I shall never love that element, being two days and a night at sea begged them to lande me anywhere.” And he is, therefore, landed at Youghal; and though “somewhat weake, he has a good deal of cheere at Mr. John Fitz Edmond’s house at Clone.”

But his experience of Cork is not so favourable. “The town,” he says, and we wonder he had the wit to make the observation, “has so great a charter, so little honesty,” but the grievance was that he could not get a good supper, and

that the mayor was not over civil. The mayor was to hear more of it, for Cecil wrote indignantly to Carew about "his lewde usage of the young erle of Desmond."

Perhaps he expected an entertainment in the English fashion, though he seems to have had more physic than meat in the Tower.

The virgin queen was very desirous that her subjects should conform to her royal will and pleasure in matters of dress, as well as in matters of belief. Nor was she by any means ignorant of the appreciation of rich raiment peculiar to the female sex. She sent some of her royal dresses to the wives of Irish chieftains, and these ladies appear to have accepted her old clothes in some cases with a gratitude which was eminently practical.³ The Countess of Desmond discovered some of her husband's bad qualities and general unmanageableness after the gift of a dress of cloth of gold.

Lord Clanrickarde's tailor's bill, as proffered to him in the year of grace 1578, is still extant, and also a bill for the raiment of his lordship's sons, Mr. Bourke and Mr. Darby, which goes to show that while he ruffled it himself in very fine attire, his sons did penance for his extravagance in something very like sackcloth.

My lord is charged with "dublettes of sattin and hose of lace velvet," and nothing less than "3 doz. of bottones" for the

3. The queen's gowns were not altogether presentable even to Irish ladies. The front breadths were "slobbered," and a "memorial" on the subject was sent from Ireland on the 27th October, 1578, to this effect:—"It maie please yr honr that the forepartes of the Earle of Desmond's and O'Neil's wyves gownes may be sent." In July, 1579, Lord Chancellor Gerrarde wrote to Walsingham:—"I sent my man wth her Maties gowne to Turlaghe his wyfe, who is a contynuall good instrument to continewe him quyett. I made a foreparte whch wanted to yt his bres to me, acknowledginge the receipt I send yr honr to be made knowne to her Matie; her Highness never bestowed a garmt better; the other I have not yet delivered to the Countesse of Desmond."



House of the Painter, James Barry, Cork.



Pass of Keim-an-eigh, South-west of Inchageela.

same, and with "7 doz. and a half of lace and silk into the same hose, and he has a cloke of fine pinke."

But the young gentlemen have only "yellow canvass" for their doublets, "sad-coloured broad-cloth" for their hose, and "ash-coloured socks"⁴—a truly melancholy attire. After the perusal of this record we do not think the reader will consider the earl a very amiable parent.

Happily we have cotemporary records of how Cork gentlemen lived in this century, and it cannot be said that the following inventory of the goods and chattels of Alderman Roinane show that the Ronaynes of that day were less prosperous than they are now. The Cork corporation was by no means deficient in wealth, troublesome times notwithstanding:

"A true and perfect Inventory of all and singular the goods, creditts, and chattells of Thomas Roinane, late of the cittie of Corke, Alderman, deceased, which since the death have come to the hands and possession of Alice Ronan, als Mead, the relic of the s^d. deceased, and James Ronan, Cozen German of the s^d. deceased, and administrators of all and singular, the s^d. goods, creditts, and the chattells of the said deceased ; valued and praised by those whose names are hereunder written, by virtue of a commission, out of his Maties Court of Prerogatives for causes Ecclical and ffacultyes to them directed, as by the s^d. commission bearing date the ffifth day of June, anno dni one thousand six hundred ffortie and one, more at large may appear, as followeth, viz. :—

Imprimis one silver quilted salter iii <i>li.</i>	One dozen silver spoones, pr toto ... iii <i>li.</i>
Item—One silver wyne boule, prized 1 <i>s.</i>	One gould chaine ... v <i>li.</i>
Three small silver wyne boules 1 <i>s.</i>	One gould signett ... xx <i>s.</i>
One silver beere boule x <i>ls.</i>	One silver chaine ... x <i>s.</i>
	Two gould juells, prized iii <i>li.</i>

4. See curious documents printed in the *Kilkenny Arch. Journal* for 1854.

HOUSEHOLD STUFF.

Three drawing boards	iiii <i>li.</i>	Duaske potts	...	xii <i>s.</i>
Six stooles, covered with Turkeycushion, prized toto	... xx <i>s.</i>	Two pottle and a quart pot...	...	vi <i>s.</i>
Ffoure plaine stooles	vi <i>s.</i>	Six brasse candles sticks	...	xx <i>s.</i>
Twelve chairs, great and small...	... xl <i>s.</i>	Two paire of ad-irons		vi <i>li.</i>
Two presses	... xx <i>s.</i>	One great kettle for brewing	...	vi <i>li.</i>
Two round tables	... xvi <i>s.</i>	One great brewing pann	...	1 <i>s.</i>
One Turkey carpett	iii <i>li.</i>	One brass pann	...	xl <i>s.</i>
Two long fformes	... v <i>s.</i>	Two aqua-vitae pottes		v <i>li.</i>
Two cupboards	... xx <i>s.</i>	One brass meate potte		xx <i>s.</i>
Seven bedsteads	... iii <i>li.</i> x <i>s.</i>	One small brass pann		xv <i>s.</i>
Three ffether beds with boulsters and pillow beeres	... xx <i>s.</i>	Three brass skillotts		xl <i>s.</i>
Three fflock beds, with boulsters	... xx <i>s.</i>	One paire of iron racks		xx <i>s.</i>
item—Ffoure paire of linnen sheetes	... xx <i>s.</i>	One paire of irons and irons	...	v <i>s.</i>
Three ruggs	... xv <i>s.</i>	Ffoure iron broaches		vi <i>s.</i>
Three caddowes	... xii <i>s.</i>	One dripping pann	...	iii <i>s.</i>
Two paire of curtaines	1 <i>s.</i>	One gred iron	...	ii <i>s.</i>
Ffoure table cloathes	xx <i>s.</i>	One ffrying pan	...	iii <i>s.</i>
Two dozen diap nap- kins	... xxx <i>s.</i>	One brass chafing dish		ii <i>s.</i>
Two dozen linen nap- kins	... x <i>s.</i>	One brass marter and an iron pistoll	...	x <i>s.</i>
Two dozen and halfe peuter dishes	... 1 <i>s.</i>	Ffoure chests	...	xl <i>s.</i>
A basin and ewre	... x <i>s.</i>	Two trucks...	...	xx <i>s.</i>
Two voyders	... x <i>s.</i>	Two pewter chamber potts	...	iii <i>s.</i>
CORNE.				
Ten barrells of mault	v <i>li.</i>	Two acres and halfe of oates	...	x <i>s.</i>
Ffive barrels of wheat	1 <i>s.</i>	One acre and halfe of beanes and pease,		
Two acres of wheat, sowed	... iii <i>li.</i>	sowed	...	xxx <i>s.</i>
One acre of great barley, sowed	... xl <i>s.</i>	One acre of beare barley, sowed	...	1 <i>s.</i>

CATTLE.

Ffive great cowes ...	vli.		Two garrons ...	...	xli.
Ffive heifers ...	iii li.		A hundred Irish		
One bull ...	x ^s .		sheepe ...	...	xlii.
Two calves ...	v ^s .		Fiftie lambs ...	...	l.

This indicates something more than comfort, and we doubt if any English alderman out of London had as much refinement or more wealth.

Dinley,⁶ an Englishman who visited Ireland in the reign of Charles II., has given a very interesting account of the state of the country then, and particularly of the poor classes. He describes "the nature of Ireland" thus:—

"This country is subject to prodigious and durable rains which drown the lands, whereupon some have called Ireland the [] of the world. The winter is more subject to wind than snow. It is remarkable that the most favourable wind that blows in Ireland is the south-east, and the most damageable and destructive is the opposite to that, the west and north-west. Westerly winds are most subject to blasts here, as the north-east in England is. The warres and their rebellions, which have been so frequent here, have destroy'd almost all their woods both for timber and firing. This want is supplied by the boggs, out of the trenches whereof they take and square pieces of earth, and setting them in the sun, they harden and make turfs, which lay'd up dry under some shed neer the house, they become excellent fewell for chamber or kitchen."

His description of fuel might be quoted at the present day:

"I have seen turfe so good, so sweet, and so commodious a fire, that I know not whether it be not to be preferred to wood and coale. This is certain, that it is sooner lighted than

5. *Kilkenny Arch. Journal*, 1854.

6. "Mr. Dinley belonged to a Worcestershire family of high respectability. His Irish tour was written in 1681."—*Kilkenny Arch. Journal*, 1854.

either wood or coale, though not so durable as the latter. Turfe and wood mixed together, as I have seen in Holland, make a most admirable fire. Those which are for the use of the chamber are cutt neat and square like bricks, and of that bignes ; but those which are used in the offices of the house for the kitchen, bakeing or breading, are cutt in lumps of any shape they can easiest rid them from the bogg, and make the greatest despatch of* as to quantity. There is yet resting a very famous wood belonging to y^e Earl of Stafford, called []. The scullogues, in digging for turfe, find large whale trees of oak, elme, and firr, which two last are rarely seen growing in this kingdom. The soyle is generally rude, neglected, woody, shrubby, wild, marshy, boggy, full of large pools, loghs, or meers, and great boggs and ponds are seen upon the very tops of hills and mountains, as the Galty hill hath a large pond and is boggy, as also is Gallows hill, between Limerick and Sixmile-bridge, in y^e county of Thomond, and others."

The temperature is thus described :—

"The air is temperate, certain it is that cold reigne here more than heat, being a northern country, and because of the reines and windes, which are here ordinary and very frequent, it is not so clear as in England, wherefore apter for the growth of gras than y^e ripening corne. I remark'd for the twelve-month I passed there the inconstancy of the air to be so great, that y^e seasons seem'd to be in a perpetuall confusion ; and sometimes a very ill scent to attend a great raine, as I observ'd particularly at Rallahine, in y^e county of Clare, the West of Ireland being very subject to it. As the heat is not very great here, so the cold is soon dispersed.

"The countrey beares good corne of all sorts, in particular the county of Limerick. It is admirable for game of all sorts ; besides, the rocks and mountains have great number of rabbits, and a stagg runs not above seven miles out right. The chase of the fox is not so violent nor long as in England : it seldomes goes two miles out right also. The rivers, pools call'd loughs,

and ponds were never known to have these English fish, unless they were at times brought over, as carpe, tench, gugeon, perche, nor cray-fish. The air also wants these English birds, as a black crow, a magpie. Yett there they have which we have not comonly, as eagles, hawks of more sorts [black in original], and railes, a reddish bird of about the largenes and goodnes of a quaile."

He has a number of curious cures for the ague, and he remarks that spiders are without poison, and that the breed of cattle is smaller than in England.

He is strong on the subject of dirt, and especially the way in which butter is prepared.

The keen, or common burial, he describes from Campion :—

"They follow the dead corps to the grave with ullaloos, clapping of hands, hollowings, skreechings, and barbarous outcries, pittyful in appearance ; not so pittyful in appearance as noyse, as being without teares, whence grew the proverb, 'To weep Irish.' "

And this description holds good still in some of the more remote parts of the country, though there is some imperfection in the description of wakes :

" Irish wakes are an attendance upon the dead, which is performed with more solemnity and less noyse in towns than in the country, where the coffin is placed under a table, or, if the poverty of the defunct do not allow him that, then he is shrouded only with flowers, ribbons, and sweet herbs sewed to the shroud about the corpse, with a great many candles lighted and set out upon a table. At these meetings the young frye, viz., Darby, Teige, Morogh, Leeane, Rinett, Allsoon, Norah Shevaune More, Kathleen, Ishabeal, Nooulla, Mayrgett, Inni-sheen, Shinnyed, &c., appeare as gay as may be with their holyday apparell, and with piper, harper, or fiddler, revell and dance the night throughout, make love and matches."

He speaks warmly of the devotion of the Irish to their

foster children, and thus describes St. Patrick's Day :—

“The 17th day of March yearly is St. Patrick's, an immoveable feast, when ye Irish of all stations and conditions wear crosses in their hatts, some of pins, some of green ribbon, and the vulgar superstitiously wear shamroges, 3-leaved grass, which they likewise eat (they say) to cause a sweet breath. The common people and servants also demand their Patrick's groat of their masters, which they go expressly to town (though half a dozen miles off) to spend, where somewhere sometimes it amounts to a piece of 8, or cobb, a piece, etc. Very few of the zealous are found sober at night.”

Of the food he says :—

“Dyet generally of the vulgar Irish are potatoes, milk, new milk which they call sweet milk, bonny clobber, malla-baune, whey, curds, large brown oat cakes of a foot and a half broad, bak_t before the fire, bread made of bare, a sort of barley, pease, beans, and oat meale, wheat or rye for great dayes. Besides potatoes roasted in the embers they feed on parsnips, carrots and water cresses. Butter layd up in wicker basketts, mixed with store of (blank in original), a sort of garlick, and buried for some time in a bog to make a provision of an high taste for Lent. Near the shoares they eat sea-weeds, as dillisk, slugane. At faries their eating is very barbarous, each proferring his friend a chop of mutton or beef, which they call a spoule out of ye pott, without salt (or) sauce, or salmon without vinegar. For food, among people of condicon, a sort of swine's flesh they eat, which differs from ye custom of England. It is neither sucking pig, pork, or bacon, it is called pigging rigging, a sort of pig between it and pork ; this they slitt in the middle, head and all, and so roast it by ye name above. The vulgar are inclined to drink beer and usquebath in excess, etc. Both men, women and children are addicted to tobacco in an abundant manner.”

And he adds :—

“Several English themselves are degenerated into such meer Irish, that they have not only suffered themselves and

their posterity, by the neglect and scorn of the use of their own proper language English, to forget it, but to be ashamed of the names of their ancestors, because English, though noble and of great antiquity, and converted them into Irish sir-names."

Furthermore :

"They became much more severe and cruel enemies of their country of England than the meer Irish themselves,"

Which simply means that they resisted all efforts to deprive them of their estates far more vigorously than the native Irish, who were often too much crushed down to rebel.

The Irish did not take willingly to the English fashion in dress ; Cox says :—

"The Irish lords were obliged to wear robes, and the better to induce them to it, the deputy bestowed robes upon Turlough Lynogh, and other principal men of the Irish, which they embraced like fetters ; so that one of them desired the deputy that his chaplain might walk the streets with him in trousers. For then, says he, the boys will laugh at him as well as at me ; whereto the deputy gravely replyed that the want of order and decency would be their ruin, and demonstrated to them the benefits of this conformity."

But worse luck than being laughed at by the boys happened to Turlough ; for the deputy says :—

"And now having passed this," writes the lord deputy, "and lasie journings towards Dublin, at Sir Thomas Cusack's house, I was advertised that Turlough Lynough was by a jester, one of the Doinloughes, shott through the body wth ij pellets oute of a caliver, setting at supper wth his spouse, aunte to the Earle of Argile, that the Scots lately arrived were now in a maze, that all Ulster stode upon election of a new captain, etc. In the meanwhile I was advertised of his hope

of recoverie, and that he was caried into fardest p^{ts} of his contrie."

We conclude this chapter with a graphic description of Cork, at the close of the seventeenth century, from the able pen of a Cork writer :—

" What was Cork like at this time ? Fortunately, we can tell with some exactness. There is a very interesting map of it in the *Pacata Hibernia*. You see how accurate is Spencer's description of Cork as 'an island fayre,' enclosed by 'the spreading Lee' with his 'divided flood.' Also Camden's contemporary account of Cork, as 'of the forme of an egge, with the river flowinge round about it, and runninge betweene, not passable through but by bridges lying out at length, as it were, in one direct broad street.' That 'one direct broad street' corresponds with our North and South Main-streets. It was then called the 'Royal-street,' sometimes 'the High-street,' and sometimes 'the Queen's Majesty's street.' At either end of it you observe the North and South Gates, with their forts and drawbridges. Crossing it at right angles is Castle-street, through which flowed (as beneath it flows still,) a branch of the river — 'the river flowinge betweene' which Camden observed. At the intersection of Castle-street and the Main-street, where the Young Men's Society Hall now stands, you observe the 'Golden Castle' of the Roches. There the Exchange was afterwards built, and for more than a century the trade of Cork was transacted. At the other end of Castle-street, where Daunt's-square now is, you will observe 'ye Water Gate,' and the King and Queen's Castles. To these castles the street owes its name and the city its arms. Ships used to be brought into Castle-street to be unloaded, as at Amsterdam. The custom-house was there to receive them.

" The Royal or (Main) street was also intersected then, as it is now, by narrow lanes. These lanes were the fashionable residences of Cork. In them wealthy merchants had their mansions. You see Skiddy's Castle in one and Therry's in

another. Spenser, as we noted, lived in one about this very time. Prince Rupert—Cromwell—James II., were afterwards entertained in them. You observe Christ Church and St. Peter's where Christ Church and St. Peter's are still. The former was a castellated church of the Knights Templars. The latter was known as "Oure Ladye Chapelle."

"But the most significant object on the map, as it was the chief object of civic care and expenditure, is the great city wall, encircling the whole, with the river for a foss, and sixteen towers for a coronal. The eastern walls corresponded with the western side of our present Grand Parade. Portions of them were lately to be seen near Tobin-street. The Marsh, spreading eastward, is the site of the present South Mall, Patrick-street, and the conterminous streets. It looks on the map decidedly like what Lord Macaulay described it—'a desolate marsh, in which a sportsman who pursued the water-fowls sunk deep in the mire at every step.' The western wall corresponded with the eastern side of the present Duncan-street. The river ran here, as depicted on the map, until the close of the last century. To the west were other marshes, on which now stand Nile-street, Henry-street, the Mardyke, etc. This district was called by our fathers, and is still known as, emphatically, 'The Marsh.' The space inside the walls was scarcely a quarter of a mile in length from north to south, and not more than an eighth of a mile in breadth from east to west.

"In the south-west angle of the map you see the remains of St. Finnbar's Church, with the significant title, 'ye Cathedrale Church of old Corcke.' Not far distant from it to the east, at the place we now call Crosses-green, was the Dominican Abbey of St. Mary's of the Isle, built on 'St. Dominick's Island' by the Barrys, nearly four centuries before the time we are considering. It had been a famous place. When the lord deputy came to Cork, it was there he lodged. Thence went forth prelates to rule dioceses far and near—at Cashel of the King's, in O'Neill's country up north, over in France at fair Toulouse. There died the gallant Edward

Mortimer, Earl of March. The abbey, however, had recently been ‘suppressed,’ and the image of St. Dominick burned at the high cross of Cork. But popular feeling was too strong for arbitrary power. At the date of which I speak (the close of Elizabeth’s reign), the Friar’s Preachers were still in their old home ; and they held it for nearly a century afterwards. Near this was ‘the fort of Cork,’ lately built ‘to overawe the citizen,’ of which I shall have more to tell bye-and-bye. Farther east in the southern suburb stood the Augustinian Abbey—the ‘Red Abbey’—of which I spoke just now, whose tower still stands in Cumberland street. It is still called the ‘Red Abbey.’ Still farther east, where now runs George’s-quay, then called the ‘Red Abbey Marsh,’ were the Church and Abbey of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem.

“In the north-west suburb, on the North Mall, where North Abbey-square now stands, was the North Abbey. It was, as you see, actually within arrow-shot of the city walls and North Gate fort. In Elizabeth’s time it also was suppressed. Its rich possessions had been granted to the Skiddys. But there also the Friars somehow kept their ground. Farther on to the east, where St. Mary’s Church now stands, was Shandon Castle. It was perched on the verge of a precipice, over-hanging the river. The adjacent lane is still sometimes known as Shandon Castle-lane. There the Barrys once kept splendid state. There also the Judges of Assize held courts of gaol delivery. Nearly at its foot, just where the Kiln river meets the Lee, was the hamlet of Dungarvan. Close by, where Daly’s distillery now stands, was, at the time of which I speak, the Benedictine Convent of St. John. The place is still called John-street. In 1296 the ‘Convent Question’ was raised about the founding of this convent. Edward I., by royal writ, referred to the Chief Justice of Ireland whether a convent should be established here. The Chief Justice reported that such an institution would be *ad communem commodum et communem utilitatem totius patriæ*, and so the convent was founded and flourished for centuries.

“How did the Cork folk live in the sixteenth century ? They

seem to have been an active, stirring race. Camden tells us that Cork was then 'a populous little tradinge towne much resorted to.' 'Its inhabitants,' says Hollingshed, 'were industrious and opulent.' They travelled much, and many foreign merchants resided with them. 'Their haven,' he truly says, 'is an haven roiall.' '*Hic etiam cives,*' says Stonhurst, '*copius satis locupletes, operam mercuturæ navant.*' The mayor and bailiffs, with the advice of the town council, governed the city. They were practically almost independent of external authority. Their edicts had nearly the force of laws. They levied taxes, and regulated commerce. They judged, pilloried, and hanged offenders. They modified the English laws of property. They had a mint and coined their own money, some of which, however, was declared by Act of the English Parliament (16, Edw. IV.) to be 'utterly damned.' They cared little about the Parliament—English or Irish. Sometimes they refused to send representatives, and declined to pay any taxes which their representatives had not voted. But they had their troubles both inside the walls and without. Inside they were at constant loggerheads with the soldiery, who came in attendance on the great Anglo-Norman lords that often visited Cork, or the Lord President of Munster, whose official residence was in Cork. The citizens liked to receive the great lords. In a mercantile view, I suppose their visits were profitable. But their attendants were rollicking, swaggering rascals whom it was hard to endure. The Bishop of Rosscarbery wrote to the Lords Justices in October, 1582, a curious complaint about this. He tells their lordships, that 'unless these soldiers' insolence be checked, the city people will not stand them.' 'They esteem,' he says, 'no more of a mayor than they do of his horseboy, and their words are these to the best of the town : Ye are but beggars and traitors : we are soldiers and gentlemen.' Outside the walls, the Cork folk had to do almost daily battle with 'the Irish enemys.' The walls themselves had to be guarded day and night. 'The townspeople could not,' says Hollingshed, 'walk out for recreation,' without 'being with power of men furnished.' But

they bore themselves bravely. The greater merchants had castles in the country as well as shops in the town. The Roches built Shippool Castle ; the Barrys, Shandon and Barrymore Castles. The Sarsfields had a fortress at Garrycloyne ; the Meades at Meadstown ; the Martels at Ballymartle. Thus, while the artizan took his turn at defending the walls, the stout burgher-merchant left his counting-house to don his arms and sally out to his castle, at the head of his retainers, like a feudal lord. So they traded, ruled, suffered and fought, for centuries."

We are also able to give a most interesting contemporary account of the manners and customs of the Irish at this period from another and entirely different source. A letter is preserved in the archives of the Irish College, Rome, written by a priest who accompanied Monsignore Rinuccini to Ireland in 1645.

He shows the abundant fertility of the country, and in what plenty and comfort the people might have lived if they had only been allowed to do so :—

"The country through which we passed [the party landed at Kenmare, Co. Kerry], though situated in a mountainous district, is agreeable ; and being entirely pasture land, is most abundantly stocked with cattle of every kind. Occasionally one meets a long tract of valley interspersed with groves and woods, which as they are neither high nor densely planted, partakes more of the agreeable than of the gloomy. For seventy miles the country which we meet was almost entirely of this character ; but having once crossed the mountains we entered upon an immense plain, occasionally diversified with hills and valley, highly cultivated and enriched with an infinite number of cattle, especially oxen and sheep, from the latter of which is obtained the very finest of what is known amongst us as English wool.

"The men are fine looking and of incredible strength ; they are stout runners, and bear every sort of hardship with indescribable cheerfulness. They are all devoted to arms, and especially now that they are at war. Those who apply themselves to the study of literature are most learned, and such persons are to be found of every profession and in every branch of science.

"The women are remarkably tall and comely, and display a charming union of gracefulness with modesty and devotion. Their manners are marked by extreme simplicity, and they freely mix in conversation everywhere without suspicion or jealousy. Their costume is different from ours, and somewhat resembles the French ; they moreover wear a long cloak and profuse locks of hair, and go without any head-dress, contenting themselves with a kind of handkerchief almost after the Greek fashion, which displays their natural beauty to great advantage. The families are very large, there are some that have as many as thirty children, all living, and the number of those who have from fifteen to twenty children is immense, and all these children are handsome, tall and robust, the majority being light-haired, and of clear white and red complexion.

"They give most superb entertainments both of flesh and fish, for they have both in the greatest abundance. They are perpetually pledging healths, the usual drink being Spanish wines, French claret, most delicious beer, and most excellent milk.

"Butter is used on all occasions, and there is no food in which a large quantity of it is not taken. Already we have all accommodated ourselves to the usages of the country (but we give up the language altogether on account of its great difficulty). There is also plenty of fruit, as apples, pears, plums, artichokes, and all eatables are cheap. A fat ox costs sixteen shillings; a sheep fifteen pence, a pair of capons or fowls five pence, eggs a farthing a piece, and so on for the rest in proportion. You can have a large fish for a penny ;

and game is so abundant that they make no account of it at all. Birds may almost be killed with sticks, and especially thrushes, blackbirds, and chaffinches. Both the salt and the fresh water fish are most exquisite, and so abundant that, for fifteen pence, we bought one hundred and fifty pounds of excellent fish, such as pike, salmon, herring, trout, etc., all of exceeding good quality. We got a thousand pilchards and oysters for twenty-five baiocchi (twelve and a half pence).

“The horses are very plenty, stout, well-built, swift, and cheap; so that for £5 you might buy a nag which in Italy could not be had for a hundred gold pieces.”

Elsewhere he shows how strongly the people were attached to the religion for which they shed their blood so willingly, and that it was not in ignorance they sacrificed all things for their faith.

He says :—

“How wonderful it is that in these wild and mountainous places, and among a poor people who are reduced to absolute misery by the devastations of the heretical enemy, I should find, nevertheless, the noble influence of our holy Catholic faith; for there was not one man, woman or child, however small, who could not repeat the Our Father, the Hail Mary, the Creed, and the commandments of the holy Church.

“It is certainly impossible to describe the manifestations of reverence, affection, and courtesy of all the inhabitants, and their boundless devotion towards the holy Apostolic See, and I solemnly assure you that I often could not restrain my tears in seeing them fall on their knees in the midst of the mire to kiss or at least touch the garments of the Nuncio; and when they touched them they kissed their hands as if they had touched relics; and when they received the blessing of his excellency, they returned home with hands upraised to

heaven, thus giving us to understand how great was the consolation they experienced.”?

7. The following prayers, which were seized on the supposition that they were ‘treasonable’ when Lord Enniskillen was executed in London in 1644, will show what was the faith for which Catholics were so bitterly persecuted. In his dying declaration he says:—“Since I am here to die I desire to depart with a quiet mind and with the marks of a good Christian, that is asking forgiveness first of God, and then of the world. And I do forgive from the bottom of my heart all my enemies and offenders, even those that have a hand in my death. I die a Roman Catholic, and although I have been a great sinner, yet I am now, by God’s grace, heartily sorry for all my sins, and I do most confidently trust to be saved, not by my own good works alone, but by the passion, merit, and mercy of my Dear Saviour, Jesus Christ, into whose hands I commend my spirit.”

He prayed thus:—

“Into thy hands I commend my spirit; Thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth; Thou hast created me, O my God; Thou hast redeemed me, O most holy Father. I am all thine. Let thy will be done in me. Illuminate mine eyes that I may never sleep in death.

“Mary, Mother of Grace, Mother of Mercy, do thou protect us from the enemy, and receive us in the hour of death.

“O holy archangels, and my angel guardian, my patron, and all the saints of heaven, intercede for me, and help me by your prayers and merits.

“O Lord Jesus Christ, I believe that Thou art my God and my Redeemer, and I firmly believe whatsoever Thy holy Catholic Church propounds to be believed and profess, that I will live and die in this faith.

“It grieves me that I have offended so great goodness, and it grieves me that I can grieve no more for my offences committed against Thee, my Creator and Saviour, in thought, word and deed, and by omission; and I humbly beseech Thee to pardon me by thy blood, which Thou hast poured out for my salvation; and if I have forgot anything which hath offended Thy Majesty, or do not know it, I desire to know it and repent it.

“And in the meantime I ask forgiveness of all, and likewise for Thy sake do, from my heart, pass by all offences whereby others have offended me. Also I pray them to forgive me; and if I have detained anything from any man, my heirs shall make restitution to them to whom it is due.”

CHAPTER XV.

TEMP. JAMES I., CHARLES I., AND CROMWELL.

Elizabeth's successor—Captain Morgan sent to Cork to proclaim the new monarch—The Cork mayor and aldermen refuse to issue the proclamation—Some sharp words on both sides—A trial, and the jury fined heavily because they will not find for the Crown—Entry of the Lord Lieutenant to Cork—The people place plow-shares in the street, to call attention to the misery they have so long suffered in not being allowed to till their land—Sir Henry Beecher made Lord President of Munster—Charters granted to Bandon and Cloghnakilty—In 1622 Cork is devastated by fire—Mr. Boyle comes to Ireland—Stafford falls a victim to the Puritan party—The Irish unite in support of their king and their religion—The Confederate Catholics—The Irish generally take the wrong side—The only liberty allowed by the Puritans was liberty to agree with themselves—The Catholic oath—How Lord Cork heard the news of the Catholic rising—General Barry in Cork—Lord Muskery's unruly camp—St. Leger dies of a broken heart—Charles II. proclaimed in Cork, Kinsale, and Youghal, immediately after the execution of Charles I.—Cromwell lands in Ireland—He declares he meddles with no man's conscience, and yet persecutes most cruelly—His intolerance by no means confined to Catholics—His bitter persecution of all who did not agree with him—His cruel persecution of the Quakers—Character given of him by the historian of the Society of Friends—Lady Fanshawe's account of his capture of Cork—Her flight to Kinsale—Cromwell's policy—He sends an order for the execution of a gentleman whom he fears, by the gentleman himself—Escape of the intended victim of this base treachery—Cromwell returns to England—Ireland is "planted" once more—The terrible injustice inflicted by these confiscations, and the barbarous and reckless manner in which they were carried out—The oath exacted from the Catholics by Cromwell, and some account of his persecutions from contemporary sources

ELIZABETH was dead, and it only remained for courtiers and others to say long live the king. In Ireland a change of monarchy made little difference, except in as far as it afforded a fair pretext for a new assertion of national rights.

On the 11th April, 1603, Mountjoy sent Captain Morgan to Cork to proclaim the king, but the mayor declined. He said he would take time to think of it, and when it was asserted that the king had been proclaimed in Dublin, he by no means saw it a sufficient reason why he should be pro-

claimed in Cork, and suggested that Perkin Warbeck had been proclaimed there precipitately, and by no means to the public advantage. Saxey, the chief justice of Munster, said the mayor and Corporation should be committed, but Meade, the recorder, declared that no one had any authority to commit them

"Whereupon," says Smith, "the mayor and Corporation went to the court house to consider of so important a matter; and Sir George Thornton waited for them an hour in an adjacent walk, having sent in to know the issue of their resolves. They put him off for another hour, and when that was expired, plainly told him they could not give their answer 'till the next day Mr. Boyle, (afterwards Earl of Cork), who was then clerk to the council, being present when this last answer was delivered (which, it seems, was done in a very passionate way by Mead, the recorder), desired him not to break out in so unreasonable and choleric a fashion Meade answered, that although he would not break out, there were several thousands ready to break out. Being told by Sir George Thornton that it was proper he should give a further account of his words, Mead replied well, well, and said that the city must take three or four days longer time to consult about the solemnity. They then despatched a messenger to the mayor of Waterford, to know whether Queen Elizabeth was dead; and, (says Mr. Boyle), gave more credit seemingly to a report from that town than to the proclamation from the lord deputy and council. On the first notice they received of the queen's death, and before they would proclaim the king, they consulted about surprising the fort of Halbowlin, and hindered Mr. Hughes, the king's store-keeper, to send ammunition and provision to it, although he was ordered to do so by the commissioner. The recorder pretended that there were two pieces of ordnance in that fort which belonged to the city, and that the provisions should not go till they were restored. They put all the citizens under arms, and set strong guards upon their gates to prevent any

soldiers from entering the towns ; yet they admitted several Irish into it, to whom they gave arms. Upon this delay to proclaim King James, Sir George Thornton told him he would proceed to the ceremony without him. Mead, the recorder, answered that he had no authority to do it in their liberty, nor would the citizens suffer it. However, Sir George, with Lord Roche, and about 800 soldiers, proclaimed his majesty in the north suburb, near Shandon Castle, but the mayor and sheriffs put off the solemnity to the 16th of April, and wrote to the lord deputy that they had received the king's proclamation on the 11th, but had deferred the publication of it that it might be done with more solemnity, humbly praying that the fort of Halbowlin might be put into their hands, and complained that the soldiers, then in that fort, had shot at some fishwomen, and boats which the city had sent out for provisions. On the 18th April the Lord Mountjoy (being now, by a new patent, created lord lieutenant), received an account from the commissioners that the citizens had not only refused to join them in proclaiming the king, but had also taken up arms, placed guards upon the town, and used such contemptuous words and actions, as would have raised a mutiny if they on their part had not behaved with great moderation and temper ; that they were obliged to furnish Halbowlin with stores from Kinsale ; that none of the citizens joined them when they proclaimed the king, and they beseeched the lord lieutenant to re-establish their authority by new letters patent, because the former were become void by the queen's death, which had emboldened the citizens to be thus insolent. The citizens every day grew more rebellious, for they burned all the bibles and common prayer books they could find ; they rased out the ten commandments, and other parts of the Scriptures, that were in the churches, that they might wash them over, and paint their old Popish pictures in their stead. They hallowed the churches, publicly set up the mass, and posted sentinels at the doors. They had a person named a legate from the Pope, who went round in procession with a cross, and forced people to reverence it. They buried

the dead with Romish ceremonies, and numbers took the sacrament to defend that religion with their lives and fortunes. The mayor and recorder were present at a sermon preached by John Fitz David Roche, in which he said that King James was not the lawful king of Ireland, nor could be so, until called to that dignity, and consecrated by the Pope, and consequently there was no submission or obedience due to him. They disarmed the Protestants, and refused to take the mixed money."

It was, in fact, a case of strict reprisals. The Protestant party had the upper hand for years, but they could not alter the religious convictions of the people, though they might prevent any manifestation of them ; and the moment there was any hope of liberty they took up arms to assert their rights, and in so doing no doubt many excesses were committed, though they were trifling, indeed, in comparison to what had been suffered for years.

They fired on Shandon castle, where Lady Carew had taken refuge, no doubt, in revenge of the cruel exactions of her husband.⁸

The commissioners, finding no good was to be done by treaty, sent to Halbowlin for artillery ; but the citizens having notice of their design, manned some boats, under the command of William, Terry, to take that fort ; or, if possible, to intercept the artillery. And in this attempt on the fort there were several killed on both sides ; but the guns came safe to the commissioners' camp, which so terrified them that they

8. Smith says :—"Richard Gold, who was arraigned for attempting the fort of Halbowlin, proved that the late lord president's steward took from him twenty barrels of wheat for the Lady Carew, without paying for it ; and he going for his money, would give him but 20s. of the new standard for every barrel, which he would not accept, but desired a bill to receive it in England of the lord president. The wheat, he says, cost him in France 19s. a barrel, in silver money, besides his charges, and to oblige the president, he offered to sell it for his own money again."—*MSS. at Lismore.*

agreed to a cessation till the arrival of the lord lieutenant, who was then upon his march towards the city. The night before the lord lieutenant entered the town, they were divided in opinion whether to admit him and the army or not. Mead, the recorder, strongly opposed his entrance, and drawing together the Meads, Golds, Captain Terry, Lieutenant Murrrough, Fagan, and a great number of people, they would have withstood his lordship's entrance, had not Alderman John Coppinger, Walter Coppinger, Alderman Terry, the Galways, Verdons, and Martels opposed their design.

When the lord lieutenant entered the city the people placed plow shares on each side of the street, to call attention to the misery they had so long suffered from not being allowed to till their lands in peace. Smith is pleased to call this "silly." Perhaps if he had endured the same misery he might have altered his mode of expression.

For once some little mercy was shown, and example was made of "only some few of the ringleaders." They were tried by an "Irish jury" and acquitted, "though there was full and undeniable evidence against them."⁹

But some satisfaction was had, for the foreman was taught that he should give verdicts according to orders, and to teach him to do so he was fined £200, an immense sum in these days, and "the rest of the jury in proportion."

Under the year 1604, Smith says ;

9. He says :—“The grand jury were Owen O’Sullivan, Teige Mac Cormac Carty, John Taylor, Thomas T. C. Gankrough (who made his mark as he could not write), Garret-boy-Barry (who did the same), Joshua Barry, Edmond Barry, Arthur Hyde, Charles Callaghan, William Mellifont, Redmond Magher, Teige Mac T. M. D. Dermot Carty, John Barry, Garrel Barry Bryan, Owen Mac Swiney. The bill was found against the prisoners.

"The Romanists began to rebuild several abbeys and monasteries in this county, and in other parts of the kingdom ; Kilcrea and the abbey of Timoleague were repaired, 'intending,' says Sullivan, 'to restore the splendour of religion.' Sir Henry Beecher was about this time made lord president of Munster.

^{1605.} "The city of Cork and its liberties were separated from the county of Cork, and made a distinct county. The same year the corporations of Bandon, Cloughnakilty, &c., began to settle their future form of government.

^{1606.} "The Lord Kinsale obtained letters of leave and recommendations to the king from the lords justices and council. Among other particulars, they inform his Majesty that he had given good testimony of his loyalty to the crown in the service at Kinsale, besides several other acts of fidelity and forwardness at other times, both in civil and martial affairs ; upon which he obtained an annual pension of £133 6s. 8d. from King James I.

"Towards the end of this year and beginning of the next there was a most dreadful pestilence in the city of Cork, which, by degrees, ceased of itself.

"Cork, Youghal, and Kinsale, with several other towns in Munster, obtained new charters from his Majesty, with a further augmentation of their privileges. The bishop's episcopal palace in Cork was re-edified by Bishop Lyon, and cost him £4,000.

^{1610.} "The customs of Ireland were now very small in the city of Cork. They only amounted in seven years to £255 11s. 7d., to £70 in Youghal, and but £18 12s. 3d. in Kinsale. The Lord Davers was, in November this year, made Lord President of Munster, in the room of Sir Henry Beecher, deceased.

^{A.D. 1611.} "Sir Richard Morison, Vice-President of Munster, under Sir Oliver St. John, Lord President, reviewed the forces of this province ; and, among others, the English planters settled in it by the gentlemen who were undertakers. New charters were made out for Bandon and Cloughnakilty the same year.

1612. "A considerable part of the city of Cork was burned down by an accidental fire.

1614. "The following establishment, besides the lord president's allowance, was made for this province :—To the Earl of Cork, as governor of Loughfoil during his life, by letters patent, £365 per annum ; the provost martial of Munster, £102 13s. 1d. sterling per annum ; the late Earl of Desmond's three sisters had each £50 per annum ; the constable of Halbowlin, 1s. 2d per diem ; two commissioners at 3s. 4d. each per diem.

1616. "Sir Oliver St. John, lord president of Munster, was made lord deputy of Ireland, Donough O'Brien, Earl of Thomond, having been appointed, 6th of May, 1615, lord president in his room.

1617. "August 9th, Sir Walter Raleigh sailed from the harbour of Cork on his last unfortunate expedition to the West Indies.

1618. "On the 7th of November Mr. William Gold, who was the foregoing year mayor of Cork, delivered up in open court, to his successor, four charters, viz., those of Edward IV., Henry VIII., Queen Elizabeth, and the charter of King James I., as also one quietus of the exchequer for the fee-farm rent of the city.

1620. "Richard Boyle, bishop of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross, this year repaired more ruinous churches and consecrated more new ones than any other bishop in his time ; which Dr. Edward Worth, bishop of Killaloe, has observed in his funeral service. He died on the 19th of March, 1614.

1622. "A dreadful fire happened in Cork, which consumed the greatest part of the city, and the shoemakers received a new charter from King James I.

1624. "Richard, Earl of Cork, was this year admitted and sworn a freeman of the city of Cork. On the 5th of September, died Doneugh, Earl of Thomond, Lord President of Munster ; and the Lord Falkland issued out a commission, September 7th, to Henry, Earl of Thomond, the Earl of Desmond, the Earl of Cork, Lord Esmond, or any two of them, for the better government of this province during the vacancy of the presidentship, which was supplied by the

appointment of Sir Edward Villiers on the 27th of May. During his government the French and Spaniards gave out that in revenge for the expedition to Rochelle they would make a descent on Ireland. The forts of Cork and Waterford having been quite neglected, the Earl of Cork lent £500 to the Lord President Villiers, with which these forts were made defensible. When Lord Wimbleton arrived at Kinsale with the king's forces, Lord Cork took ten companies of foot, many of them being weak and wounded, and lodged and dined them near three months upon his tenants. He supplied the general with £500, and entertained him and all his officers nobly at Lismore."

It is to be feared that Lord Cork's tenants did not see the exact "nobility" of entertaining officers at their expense, or supplying a general¹ with £500, for which additional taxes were put on them,

A little further on Smith says :—

Charles I., A.D. 1629. "About this time, Lord Falkland was called over to England, and the sword committed to the Chancellor Loftus and Earl of Cork as lords justices, who found the country generally exhausted and very poor, occasioned by the above-mentioned levies, the mortality of cattle, scarcity of corn, and decay of trade. Most of the new corporations in Munster were almost depopulated, particularly Dingle, Tralee, Baltimore, Tallagh, Bandon, Ardfert, Lismore, Cloghnakilty, Askeaton, and Dungarvan, who on the change of governments sent up petitions to be eased of those taxes, setting forth that there were fifty-three corporations in the other provinces that only paid with the country at large, upon which the council ordered that they should not for the future pay more than rateable for what lands they had in their liberties; and the rather, because the charge of the country was by the Earl of

1. This gentleman came to Ireland as plain Mr. Boyle, with but seventeen pounds in his pocket. His antecedents were not respectable. He had been committed to the Marshalsea in London, for stealing, in 1597.

Cork's means reduced from £40,000 to £20,000 a year, which was both a great ease to the kingdom, and was also found sufficient to support the army three years till Easter, 1633 ; but when in July following Lord Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, came to the government, he moved the lords to give their consent, and to signify the same by their letters through the kingdom, that £20,000 more might be raised to maintain the forces for another year, to begin in January, 1633, which the kingdom consented to, being raised and paid accordingly, in which the new corporations of Munster bore a proportionate part. And when the £120,000 and the last £20,000 were fully paid, the lord deputy by his own warrant ordered the lord president of Munster to levy above £1,000 on these poor corporations, upon which that of Tallagh petitioned the lord president to be freed from £144 18s. which was charged on them after all the other money was levied ; but they were dismissed without any relief, and horsemen quartered on them, until the best persons of the town were forced to go to the lord president, and enter into bonds for payment of this sum, whereupon the horsemen were recalled, and they paid the money accordingly."

Lord Cork's conduct was not as exemplary as his panegyrist, Mr. Smith, was anxious to represent, for his own reasons. Few other English settlers did more in wholesale plundering, but he excelled them all in chicanery.

The cleverness with which he put Lady Raleigh out of her husband's estates cannot fail to command the admiration of every admirer of successful villainy. The whole story has been told at length by an upright modern writer, too honest to allow his religious belief to blind him to historical facts.²

2. The Rev. L. B. Gibson. He says he copied the letter alluded to above from the original, which is in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire. When the lord deputy wanted Mac Mahon's estates in Monaghan he hung him. Even Tynes Morrison, no lover of Ireland, admits this to be true ; indeed it was simply undeniable.

The evidence of Lord Cork's treachery is still extant, and in his own handwriting. He wrote to Sir Walter Raleigh's son as one who had been a great benefactor to his father, and in manifest grief that the son could not be got to see or acknowledge his wonderful generosity.

The property he says was "utterly waste." We shall see presently how false this statement was. He paid in "ready gold" a thousand crowns for it—but he forgets to add that it amounted to forty thousand acres—and that Raleigh, who would have merited more compassion, had he been less cruel to others, was in the Tower attainted of treason, and was glad to make any agreement that promised present good. Then he goes on to describe all he had done for his friend, and he ends by declaring that Sir Walter had left his curse to his widow and children if they put any hindrance in the way of his getting and keeping this land. One thing being certain that Lord Cork wanted to keep what he had got, no matter what might be said or thought by the lawful heirs. Further, the college of Youghal, which had been founded and endowed by the eighth Earl of Desmond, was sequestered in 1597, and Lord Cork got that into his hands too. But when the English invaders appropriated to themselves the property of others they were not very scrupulous in their arrangements. Lord Cork got Youghal, and paid a thousand pounds in 1644 to secure a title to Raleigh's estate, which included Youghal ; but Sir James Fullerton had been before him in 1603, and had got Youghal also, and Lord Cork had to buy Fullerton out.

But this nobleman was by no means satisfied with defrauding

the dead, nor did he limit his lust of possession to Catholic property. He so plundered Protestant bishops and benefices, that Dr. Atherton, the Protestant bishop of Waterford, brought an action at law against him; and it is more than implied that the earl, to rid himself of the bishop, got a charge preferred against him, which ended in his execution.

Lord Stafford became lord deputy of Ireland in 1631, and as Lord Cork knew his “thoroughness” well, he stood in considerable fear of his investigations.

The first dispute was about the tomb of Lord Cork’s wife. With the usual high-handed style of the lower class of English settlers, he insisted on having it placed where the communion table should have stood, where in Catholic times the high altar had been. This matter was compromised by screening off the tomb.

The next quarrel was more serious. It was about Lord Cork’s appropriation of Church land, and it ended in his being obliged to pay a fine of fifteen thousand pounds.³

In 1631 the Turks gave some trouble on the Irish coast, and particularly at Cork and Kinsale. In 1637 there was a flood in Cork, which did great damage. In 1639 the tobacco manufactory at Kinsale, which might have been a source of

3. Archbishop Laud was delighted, and wrote to Stafford :—“ My lord, I did not take you to be so good a physician as you are for the truth ; a great many church cormorants have fed so full upon it that they are fallen into a fever, and for that no physic is better than a vomit, if it be given time, and therefore you have taken a very judicious course to administer one so early to my Lord Cork. I hope it will do him good, though perchance he thinks not so, for if the fever hang long about him, or the rest, it will certainly shake either of their estates in pieces. Go on, my lord ; I must needs say this is thorough, indeed, and so is your physic, too, for a vomit never ends kindly that does not work both ways, and that is thorough.”

Cork gave evidence on Stafford’s trial, and the immense value of Raleigh’s lands, which he called “waste,” came out. It also came out that he gave a valuable living, on which he had contrived to lay hands, to a groom.

great prosperity, was ruined by Lord Stafford. In 1641 there was a general rising of the Irish Catholic party; but before entering on details of this, as far as the South is concerned, we must glance back briefly at the principal events of English history during the preceding year.

We already mentioned how James the First of England, and Second of Scotland deceived the Irish nation. How he drank to the eternal damnation of papists. On the 28th of December James was proclaimed in Dublin. His proclamation runs thus:—

“ We hereby make known to our subjects in Ireland, that no toleration shall ever be granted by us. This we do for the purpose of cutting off all hope that any other religion shall be allowed, save that which is consonant to the laws and statutes this realm.”

The penal statutes were renewed, and enforced with increased severity. Several members of the Corporation and some of the principal citizens of Dublin were sent to prison; similar outrages on religious liberty were perpetrated at Waterford, Ross, and Limerick. In some cases these gentlemen were only asked to attend the Protestant church once, but they nobly refused to act against their conscience even once, though it should procure them freedom from imprisonment, or even death. The Vicar-Apostolic of Waterford and Lismore wrote a detailed account of the sufferings of the Irish nation for the faith at this period to Cardinal Baronius. His letter is dated “ Waterford, 1st of May, 1606.” He says:— “ There is scarcely a spot where Catholics can find a safe retreat. The impious soldiery, by day and night, pursue the defenceless priests, and mercilessly persecute them. Up to the present

they have only succeeded in seizing three : one is detained in Dublin prison, another in Cork, and a third, in my opinion, is the happiest of all, triumphing in heaven with Christ our Lord ; for in the excess of the fury of the soldiery, without any further trial or accusation, having expressed himself to be a priest, he was hanged upon the spot."

He then narrates the sufferings of the Catholic laity, many of whom, he says, are reduced to "extreme poverty and misery;" "if they have any property, they are doubly persecuted by the avaricious courtiers." But so many have given a glorious testimony of their faith, he thinks their enemies and persecutors have gained but little. Thus, while one party was rejoicing in their temporal gain, the other was rejoicing in temporal loss ; and while the former were preaching liberty of conscience as their creed, the latter were martyrs to it.

Another letter to Rome says :—" 2,000 florins are offered for the discovery of a Jesuit, and 1,000 for the discovery of any other priest, or even of the house where he lives. Whenever the servants of any of the clergy are arrested, they are cruelly scourged with whips, until they disclose all that they know about them. Bodies of soldiers are dispersed throughout the country in pursuit of bandits and priests ; and all that they seize on, they have the power, by martial law, of hanging without further trial. They enter private houses, and execute whom they please, vieing with each other in cruelty. It is difficult to define the precise number of those who are put to death. All who are greedy and spendthrifts, seek to make a prey of the property of the Catholics. No doors, no walls, no enclosures can stop them in their course. Whatever is for

profane use they profess to regard as sacred, and bear it off ; and whatever is sacred they seize on to desecrate. Silver cups are called chalices, and gems are designated as *Agnus Deis* ; and all are, therefore, carried away. There are already in prison one bishop, one vicar-general, some religious, very many priests, and an immense number of the laity of every class and condition. In one city alone five of the aldermen were thrown into prison successively, for refusing to take the nefarious oath of allegiance, on their being nominated to the mayoralty ; in another city, no less than thirty were likewise thrust into prison at Easter last, for having approached the holy communion in the Catholic Church."

The Catholics protested against this treatment in vain. A petition was considered an offence, and the petitioners were sent to gaol for their pains.

The north suffered in every way quite as much as the south, and it suffered especially from the plan of plantations which was agreed upon in 1609. It was the old plan which had been attempted before, though with less show of legal arrangement, but with quite the same proportion of legal iniquity. The simple object was to expel the natives, and to extirpate the Catholic religion. The six counties to be planted were Tyrone, Derry, Donegal, Armagh, Fermanagh, and Cavan. These were parcelled out into portions varying from 2,000 to 4,000 acres, and the planters were obliged to build bawns and castles.

The plan of plantation was simple. It was a practical illustration of the proverb that charity begins at home, omitting the latter clause, that it should not end there. Chichester

went over the north carefully, and wrote to the Earl of Northampton, then a ruling member of King James' cabinet, to request that he might be appointed President of Ulster. He commences his epistle by stating how deeply he is indebted to his lordship for his comfortable and kind letters, and the praise he has given him in public and private. He then bestows an abundant meed of commendation on his justice in return. He next explains his hopes and desires. He declares that he wishes for the Presidency of Ulster, "more for the service he might there do his Majesty, than for the profit he expects"—a statement which the earl no doubt read exactly as it was intended ; and he says that he only mentions his case because "charitie beginnes with myeselfe," which, indeed, appears to have been the view of that virtue generally taken by all planters and adventurers.

The conduct of those men who had such peculiar views of charity has been put on record, not by any Catholic writer, but by a Presbyterian minister. He says :—

"From Scotland came many, and from England not a few ; yet all of them generally the scum of both nations, who, from debt, or making and fleeing from justice, or seeking shelter, came hither, hoping to be without fear of man's justice, in a land where there was nothing or but little as yet of the fear of God. . . . Most of the people were all void of godliness.

. . . On all hands atheism increased, and disregard of God ; iniquity abounds, with contention, fighting, murder, and adultery."

Lord Falkland came to Ireland in 1622. Usher, who was at heart a Puritan, preached a violent sermon on the occasion, in which he suggested a very literal application of his text, "He beareth not the sword in vain." If a similar application

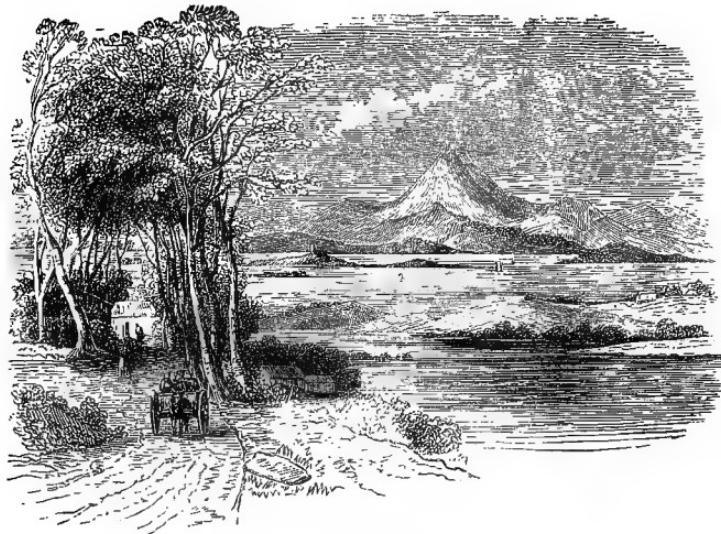
of the text had been made by a Catholic divine, it would have been called intolerance, persecution, and a hint that the Inquisition was at hand ; as used by him, it was supposed to mean putting down Popery by the sword.

“James, the wisest fool in Europe,” died in 1625. On the accession of Charles I., in 1625, it was so generally supposed he would favour the Catholic cause, that the earliest act of the new Parliament in London was to vote a petition, begging the king to enforce the laws against recusants and Popish priests. The Viceroy, Lord Falkland, advised the Irish Catholics to propitiate him with a voluntary subsidy. They offered him the enormous sum of £120,000, to be paid in three annual instalments, and in return he promised them certain “graces.” The contract was ratified by royal proclamation, in which the concessions were accompanied by a promise that a parliament should be held to confirm them. The first instalment of the money was paid, and the Irish agents returned home to find themselves cruelly deceived and basely cheated. Falkland was recalled by the Puritan party, on suspicion of favouring the Catholics ; Viscount Ely and the Earl of Cork were appointed Lords Justices ; and a reign of terror was at once commenced.

Wentworth assembled a parliament in July, 1634, the year after his arrival in Ireland. Its subserviency was provided for by having a number of persons elected who were in the pay of the crown as military officers. The “graces” were asked for, and the Lord Deputy declared they should be granted, if the supply was readily voted. “Surely,” he said, “so great a meanness cannot enter your hearts as once to

suspect his Majesty's gracious regards of you, and performance with you, when you affix yourself upon his grace." This speech so took the hearts of the people, that all were ready to grant all that might be demanded ; and six subsidies of £50,000 each were voted, though Wentworth only expected £30,000. In the meanwhile neither Wentworth nor the king had the slightest idea of granting the "graces;" and the atrocious duplicity and incomparable "meanness" of the king is placed eternally on record, in his own letter to his favourite, in which he thanks him "for keeping off the envy [odium] of a necessary negative from me, of those unreasonable graces that people expected from me." Wentworth describes himself how two judges and Sir John Radcliffe assisted him in the plan, and how a positive refusal was made to recommend the passing of the "graces" into law at the next session.

"Charles' faith" might now safely rank with Grey's ; and the poor impoverished Irishman, who would willingly have given his last penny, as well as the last drop of his blood, to save his faith, was again cruelly betrayed where he most certainly might have expected that he could have confided and trusted. One of the "graces" was to make sixty years of undisputed possession of property a bar to the claims of the crown ; and certainly if there ever were a country where such a demand was necessary and reasonable, it was surely Ireland. There had been so many plantations, it was hard for anything to grow ; and so many settlements, it was hard for anything to be settled. Each new monarch, since the first invasion of the country by Henry II., had his favourites to provide for and his friends to oblige. The island across the



View of Bantry Bay.



Tower at the entrance of Youghal Harbour.

sea was considered "no man's land," as the original inhabitants were never taken into account, and were simply ignored; unless, indeed, when they made their presence very evident by open resistance to this wholesale robbery. It was no wonder, then, that this "grace" should be specially solicited. It was one in which the last English settler in Ulster had quite great an interest as the oldest Celt in Connemara. The Burkes and the Geraldines had suffered almost as much from the rapacity of their own countrymen as the natives, on whom their ancestors had inflicted such cruel wrongs. No man's property was safe in Ireland, for the tenure was depending on the royal will; and the caprices of the Tudors were supplemented by the necessities of the Stuarts.

But the "grace" was refused," although, probably, there was many a recent colonist who would have willingly given one-half of his plantation to have secured the other to his descendants. The reason of the refusal was soon apparent. As soon as parliament was dissolved, a Commission of "Defective Titles" was issued for Connaught. Ulster had been settled, Leinster had been settled, Munster had been settled; there remained only Connaught, hitherto so inaccessible—now, with advancing knowledge of the art of war and new means of carrying out that art, doomed to the scourge of desolation.

The process was extremely simple. The lawyers were set to work to hunt out old claims for the crown; and as Wentworth had determined to invalidate the title to every estate in Connaught, they had abundant occupation. Roscommon was selected for a commencement. The sheriffs were directed

to select jurors who would find for the crown. The jurors were made clearly to understand what was expected from them, and what the consequences would be if they were "contumacious." The object of the crown was, of course, the general good of the country. The people of Connaught were too civilized and enriched ; but, in order to carry out this very desirable arrangement, the present proprietors were to be replaced by new landlords, and the country was to be placed entirely at the disposal of the sovereign.

It was now discovered that the lands and lordships of De Burgo, adjacent to the Castle of Athlone, and, in fact, the whole remaining province, belonged to the crown. It would be useless here to give details of the special pleading on which this statement was founded ; it is an illustration of what I have observed before, that the tenure of the English settler was quite as uncertain as the tenure of the Celt. The jury found for the king ; and as a reward, the foreman, Sir Lucas Dillon, was graciously permitted to retain a portion of his own lands. Lowther, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, got four shillings in the pound of the first year's rent raised under the Commission of "Defective Titles." The juries of Mayo and Sligo were equally complacent ; but there was stern resistance made in Galway, and stern reprisals were made for the resistance. The jurors were fined £4,000 each, and were imprisoned, and their estates seized until that sum was paid. The sheriff was fined £1,000, and being unable to pay that sum, he died in prison. And all this was done with the full knowledge and the entire sanction of the "royal martyr."

The country was discontented, and the lord deputy demanded

more troops, "until the intended plantation should be settled." He could not see why the people should object to what was so very much for their own good, and never allowed himself to think that the disturbance had anything to do with the land question. The new proprietors were of the same opinion. Those who were, or who feared to, be dispossessed, and those who felt that their homes, whether humble or noble, could not be called their own, felt differently ; but their opinion was as little regarded as their sufferings.

In 1640 another appeal was made by the king for assistance, and Wentworth headed the contribution with £20,000. He had devoted himself with considerable ability to increasing the Irish revenue, and the trade of the country had improved, although the Irish woollen manufacture had been completely crushed, as it threatened to interfere with English commerce. The lord deputy now saw the advantage of procuring a standing army in Ireland, and he proceeded to embody a force of 10,000 foot and 1,000 horse. These men were principally Irish and Catholics, as he knew they would be most likely to stand by the king in an hour of trial, notwithstanding the cruel persecutions to which they had been subjected. But the deputy's own career was nearer its termination than he had anticipated. When he forsook the popular side in England, Pym had remarked significantly : "Though you have left us, I will not leave you while your head is on your shoulders." The Puritan faction never lost sight of a quarry when once they had it in sight, and it scarcely needed Strafford's haughtiness and devotion to the king to seal his doom. The unhappy king was compelled to sign his death-warrant ; and the victim

was executed on the 12th of May, 1641, redeeming in some manner, by the nobleness of his death, the cruelties, injustices, and duplicity of which he had been guilty during his life.

The kingdom of England was never in a more critical state than at this period. The king was such only in name, and the ruling powers were the Puritan party, who already looked to Cromwell as their head. The resistance, which had begun in opposition to tyrannical enactments, and to the arbitrary exercise of authority by the king and his high church prelates, was fast merging into, what it soon became, an open revolt against the crown, and all religion which did not square with the very peculiar and ill-defined tenets of the rebellious party. In 1641 the queen's confessor was sent to the Tower, and a resolution was passed by both houses never to consent to the toleration of the Catholic worship in Ireland, or in any other part of his Majesty's dominions. The country party had determined to possess themselves of the command of the army, and whatever struggles the king might make, to secure the only support of his throne, it was clear that the question was likely to be decided in their favour. The conduct of Holles, Pym, Hampden, and Stroud was well known even in Ireland ; and in Ireland fearful apprehensions were entertained that still more cruel sufferings were preparing for that unfortunate country.

It became then a matter of self-defence and of necessity for the Irish people to unite in support of their religion and of their king ; but, unhappily, the warm and enthusiastic admiration which has been so fully and freely lavished on the cavalier in England has not extended itself to the confederate Catholics of Ireland.

Both had the same object, the protection of religion and of the monarchy ; and if the Irish confederate Catholic and the English cavalier were occasionally guilty of excesses which sullied the purity of their cause, it was but what might be expected in any movement where a multitude are banded together for the same object, but not always with the same purity of intention. The ruthless outrages of the Puritan party, and the denial of all religious liberty except the liberty to agree with themselves, should compel silence on such subjects from their defenders.

There was such a permanent conflict of interest in Ireland, that there were unfortunately many different parties. There was the royalist party, and the republican or parliamentary party; the latter being men who always went with the times, with whichever party was the most powerful ; and there was the Catholic confederate party, who were so far one with the royalists that they were desirous of supporting Charles, notwithstanding his utter faithlessness.⁴

4. The Catholic oath was as follows :—“I, A. B., do profess, swear, and protest, before God and his saints and angels, that I will, during my life, bear true faith and allegiance to my sovereign lord Charles, by the grace of God king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and to his heirs and lawful successors ; and that I will, to the best of my power, during my life, defend, uphold, and maintain all his and their just prerogatives, estates, and rights, the power and privilege of the parliament of this realm, the fundamental laws of Ireland, the free exercises of the Roman Catholic faith and religion throughout this land, and the lives, just liberties, possessions, estates, and rights of all those that have taken, or shall take, this oath, and perform the contents thereof.

“ And that I will obey and ratify all the orders and decrees made, and to be made, by the supreme council of the Confederate Catholics of this kingdom concerning the said public cause ; and I will not seek, directly or indirectly, any pardon or protection for any act done, or to be done, touching this general cause, without the consent of the major part of the said council ; and that I will not, directly or indirectly, do any act or acts that shall prejudice the said cause, but will, to the hazard of my life and estate, assist, prosecute, and maintain the same.

“ Moreover, I do further swear, that I will not accept of, or submit unto, any peace made, or to be made, with the said Confederate Catholics, without the consent and approbation of the general assembly of the said Confederate Catholics ; and for the preservation

The rising commenced in the north in October, 1641. A few days after, as Lord Cork sat at dinner with his son-in-law (the Earl of Barrymore) his son (Lord Broghill), and Mac Carthy of Muskery, the news was announced. There was one person at table who was by no means in ignorance, for Lord Muskery had a commission in his pocket from Charles, authorising him to raise 4,000 men in Munster. In a few days Lord Cork was enlightened, for Mac Carthy was up in arms.⁵

The unhappy condition of Ireland under English rule had been such as to create a system of mutual distrust, and Lord St. Leger, who was a staunch loyalist, went out to oppose Mac Carthy; but Lord Muskery showed his authority, and St. Leger at once joined his force, leaving it to Lord Cork and Broghill to join the rebel party against their lawful sovereign.

The loyalist party was under the command of Lord Mount Garrett, a descendant of the Earl of Ormond. He marched to Buttevant, where General Barry took the command of the Munster contingent.

There were two castles in Mallow, then the property of the Jephsons, who were on the rebel side, and both of these were taken by the loyalists. When "compensation" came to be made to these men for their losses, the owner of one of them put down his losses to the amount of £2,274. Enormous sums were expended in this way, as each person made just

and strengthening of the association and union of the kingdom, that upon any peace or accommodation to be made or concluded with the said Confederate Catholics, as aforesaid, I will to the utmost of my power insist upon and maintain the ensuing propositions, until a peace, as aforesaid, be made, and the matters to be agreed upon in the articles of peace be established and secured by parliament. So help me God, and His holy gospel."

5. The Rev. Mr. Gibson says:—"Lord Cork and his sons, and, we regret to say, Mr. Smith, call the Irish loyal Confederates, in whose ranks were the first Anglo-Norman and Irish noblemen in the kingdom, 'rebels.'"

what claim he or she pleased, but we do not hear that any such favour was granted to the loyalists at the restoration.

General Barry remained in the neighbourhood of Cork, and but a portion of the army advanced to Lismore, where Lord Broghill was entrenched. Cork, Youghal, Kinsale, and Bandon were in the hands of the rebels.⁶ Lord Muskery did his best to keep order in his somewhat unruly camp, for the Irish had been so long hunted and prevented from settling down to proper occupation, that it was no wonder many of them had taken to predatory habits—and how else, indeed, could they live?

The Lord Justice had taken the rebel side also, and no quarter was the word, even before Cromwell came. The Irish attacked Bandon, under Mac Carthy Reagh, on the 18th July, 1642, and were repulsed with great slaughter, and the prisoners executed with the usual barbarity. About the same time Sir Charles Vavasor arrived in Youghal with a thousand men, and Cork was invaded by Lord Muskery. His camp was at Rochfordstown, but his troops were soon repulsed with great loss.

The Parliamentary army were in such need of money, that they seized £4,000, which Sir Robert Tynte was prudently despatching to England. He was, however, well recompensed afterwards. Lord Cork complained, pathetically, that whereas his income once had been fifty pounds a day, he had not now fifty pence a week.

There was undeniably a general seizure by every one of all

6. This appellation will perhaps be objected to by some persons, but surely no other can be justly applied to those who were in open rebellion against their sovereign.

that could be laid hands on, and Lord Inchiquin seized all the tobacco in store at Cork, Kinsale, and Youghal.

St. Leger died in July of a broken heart. He was devotedly attached to Charles, but he could not fail to see that his interest lay with those who were in rebellion against him. The king appointed Lord Muskery to the office of president, but the lords justices chose Lord Inchiquin. He was a waverer, but this kept him on the Parliamentary side.

The Confederate party suffered a considerable loss at the siege of Liscarroll, where Lord Cork's son was killed, and very bravely borne off the field by his young brother.

Lord Cork died himself soon after, having certainly provided well for his family, and having shown the utmost indifference to all sense of honour in his public career. Yet his sons were not quite so grateful as he expected, for he writes to one of them (Lord Dungarvan), and advises him "not to slight or neglect him, as he had done hitherto."

Lord Castlehaven, an English nobleman, of very ancient family, was happily a creditable contrast to Lord Cork in many particulars. He commanded the loyalist army for some time, and with varying success and loss on both sides, until the arrival of Cromwell in 1649.

Immediately after the execution of Charles I., the Earl of Ormond proclaimed Charles II. in Cork, Kinsale, Youghal, and other southern towns. Prince Rupert landed in Kinsale, where his brother Maurice had arrived about a fortnight before; but the English parliament sent at once to blockade that port, and Rupert was obliged eventually to sail for Lisbon, having lost more than half his fleet.

Cromwell landed in Dublin on the 14th of August, 1649. He had a force of 9,000 foot and 4,000 horse. His first attack was on Drogheda, and his barbarous conduct in that place is too well known to need recording here. He then marched south by way of Wexford and Ross. Here he openly and plainly proclaimed his intolerance and his ignorant fanaticism.

In the words of a Protestant writer, quoted before :—

“ For Cromwell to say ‘ I meddle with no man’s conscience,’ and to deny, in the same breath, ‘ a liberty to exercise the mass,’ is a piece of audacity in the shape of self contradiction, which the devil himself would scarcely venture on.”⁷

But the Irish Catholics were by no means the only objects of his bigotry. The peaceful and unselfish Society of Friends suffered sorely at his hands, and were equally denied the divine rights of conscience, a fact which his latest panegyrist has not thought it necessary to notice.

To deny the supremacy of Henry VIII. in spiritual matters was “ wilfully to be dead,” as we have already seen; but Cromwell was, if possible, more tyrannical, and certainly more inhuman.

The Gospel, according to Cromwell, was to be proclaimed in England and Ireland, and to refuse belief meant instant extermination.⁸ How honourable men can commend such conduct is past ordinary comprehension. A little experience

7. The Rev. C. B. Gibson’s *History of Cork*, vol. 2, p. 99.

8. Cromwell’s intolerance was by no means confined to Catholics, a fact which has been quietly ignored by his panegyrists. We find ample evidence of this in a *History of the People called Quakers*, by John Gough, Dublin, 1789. At page 197, vol. 1, he says :— “ It is asserted that Cromwell’s principles were in favour of religious liberty, and that he allowed it to the fullest extent to all but the Papists and Prelatists ; yet the Quakers (so called) may be justly added to the number of those who were not allowed that liberty.”

of "liberty" under Cromwell living, would probably have had a considerable effect in modifying the opinions of those who cannot sufficiently praise him dead.

Cromwell writes thus to the governor of New Ross :—

"As for that which you mention concerning liberty of conscience, I meddle not with any man's conscience. But if by liberty of conscience, you mean liberty to exercise the mass, I judge it best to use plain dealing, and to let you know, where the Parliament of England have power, *that will not be allowed.*"

But Cromwell wanted money, and he had no idea of "standing with his finger in his mouth,"⁹ or doing without anything that he could get by force or fraud. He therefore writes to demand it from the English parliament.

Cork and Youghal were the next objects of his attack, and Colonel Phair, one of those appointed to see that Charles was duly executed, was made governor of Cork.

He accuses him of "conniving at the severe persecution of this unoffending society, in violation of his solemn professions, confirmed by oath on his entrance in the Protectorate." Mr. Gough's opinion of Cromwell's character is given in very plain language, and without circumlocution. He says that "Cromwell made every religious and moral consideration subordinate to that of retaining his sovereignty," vol. I, p. 199. No viler character could be given of any man. Of Cromwell's soldiers he makes the sharp remark—"Thus the soldiers who once pretended to fight for liberty of conscience became oppressors of other men's conscience," vol. I, p. 322. We purposed giving some notes of individual cases of persecution, but that we feared they were too numerous. The inoffensive Quakers were flogged and imprisoned, and even women were not spared the brutal punishment of the lash. See Gough *passim*. In fact they were treated like the "vilest criminals," vol. I, p. 316. See also *History of the Quakers*. Here there are some earnest appeals to Cromwell's soldiers to repent of their evil lives. But Cromwell was not without his difficulties in the promotion of civil and religious liberty in England. His eccentric biographer, Carlyle, describes his government as carrying "eternal gospel in the one hand, and temporal drawn sword in the other." Precisely the way in which the gospel of Mahomet was proclaimed. Yet even the English were not all grateful for this gospel, nor did they all admire the fashion in which it was propagated. Carlyle himself admits that there were a good many who could not see the gospel as Cromwell saw it, and who in consequence wished to "blow up" the Protector, who certainly was not a Protector to them. "Sexby, the Anabaptist colonel; Muggletonians, mad Quakers riding into Bristol; fifth monarchists, hungry flunkies, ever scheming, plotting, with or without hope, to 'seduce the Protector's guard,' to blow up the Protector in his bedroom."

Lady Fanshawe was in Cork at this time, and has given a most graphic description of the misery and destruction caused by the parliamentary army. She was aroused at midnight by the firing of guns, and at once called up her family. Her husband had left the day before for Kinsale, and this woman, a lady of no ordinary energy and talent, had the whole responsibility of the flight.¹ She enquired from the shrieking crowds what was the cause of the uproar, and was told that Colonel Jefferies had taken possession of the town in the name of Cromwell, and that "the Irish were stripped and wounded and turned out."

But as Lady Fanshawe was as loyal to the loyal cause as they were, she knew too well that the same fate awaited her, and she prepared at once for flight. We shall let her describe the rest:

"Upon this I immediately wrote a letter to my husband, blessing God's providence that he was not there with me, persuading him to patience and hope that I should get safely out of the town by God's assistance, and desired him to shift for himself for fear of a surprise, with promise that I would secure his papers. So soon as I had finished my letter I sent it by a faithful servant, who was let down the garden wall of Red Abbey,² and, sheltered by the darkness of the night, he made his escape. I immediately got my husband's cabinet, with all his writings, and near £1,000 in gold and silver, and all other things, both of clothes, linen, and household stuff that were portable of value, and then about three o'clock in the morning, by the light of a taper, and in that pain I was in, I went into the market place with only a man and a maid;

9. Carlyle's *Cromwell*, vol. 2, p. 182.

1. *Lady Fanshawe's Memoirs*, written by herself.

2. The Red Abbey was founded for Augustinian friars by De Courcey, in 1420. One he towers still stands in Cumberland-street.

and passing through an unruly tumult, with their swords in their hands, searched for their chief commander, Jefferies, who whilst he was loyal had received many civilities from your father. I told him it was necessary that upon that change I should remove, and I desired his pass that would be obeyed, or else I must remain there. I hoped he would not deny me that kindness. He instantly wrote me a pass both for myself, family, and goods, and said he would never forget the respect he owed to your father. I came through thousands of naked swords to Red Abbey, and hired the next neighbour's cart, which carried all that I could remove, and myself, sister, and little girl Nan, with three maids and two men, set forth at 5 o'clock in November, having but two horses amongst us all, which we rid on by turns. In this sad condition I left Red Abbey with as many goods as were worth £100, which could not be removed, and so were plundered. We went ten miles to Kinsale, in perpetual fear of being fetched back again ; but by little and little, I thank God, we got safe to the garrison, where I found your father the most disconsolate man in the world for fear of his family, which he had no possibility to assist ; but his joys exceeded to see me and his darling daughter, and to hear the wonderful escape we, through the assistance of God, had made."

Bandon was made an easy capture, being already in the Parliamentary interest, and Kinsale also "declared" for Cromwell, all which gives him occasion for letters of self-gratulating humility ; in which, however, he manages to hit pretty hard at "dissenting brethren," *i.e.*, those who presumed to differ from him, and on whom he dares not yet exercise the "tender mercies" of which he was so liberal in Ireland. Cromwell could palaver when he dared not curse ; could temporise and hide the sword in velvet when he feared to use it.³

Cromwell complains that he found some of the names of

3. Witness his letter to Lord Wharton, written from Cork, July 1, 1649-50.

Irish places "hard,"⁴ but he found at least one city harder, for he tried in vain a capture of Waterford.

Cromwell was fond of grim jokes. They were sometimes more than grim—they were about what might be expected from a thoroughly brutalized nature, with the added characteristic of pretended piety. He was anxious to get possession of the Protestant bishop Bramhall, who happily escaped him. Being in want of ordnance, he had the bells of the churches in Cork used for the purpose; and when he was remonstrated with for the sacrilege, he said that as gunpowder was invented by a priest, he thought it not amiss to promote the bells into cannons.

While in Cork, Richard Magee, of Mallow, went to pay his respects, probably from fear rather than affection. Cromwell got a hint that he might prove a troublesome enemy, and, after receiving him with the greatest show of kindness, gave him a letter to Colonel Phair. The contents were simple. The letter only contained the words—*execute the bearer.*

Mr. Magee had no idea of delivering a letter from a man of Cromwell's character without making himself aware of the subject. He must certainly have congratulated himself on his penetration when he perused its contents. Magee was a man of resources. He set off to Mallow and delivered the letter to the governor, against whom he had some ancient grudge, and informed him that Cromwell had requested him to be the bearer of it. The unsuspecting officer set out on his mission, but was happily saved from death by the prudence of

4. Letters to the Speakers of the Parliament of England.—Carlyle, vol. 2, p. 184.

Colonel Phair, who referred the matter to Cromwell before putting the order into execution.

We do not hear that Mr. Magee made any further calls on Cromwell, civil or otherwise.

Cromwell now marched northwards, but Lord Broghill continued the work of extermination in the south. The Catholic bishop of Ross headed an army of 4,000 foot and 300 horse, and marched to the relief of Clonmel, which Cromwell was besieging, but he was intercepted and seized by Broghill at Macroom.

He offered a pardon to the bishop if he would induce the garrison of Carrigdrohid Castle to yield. But when the bishop was brought before the walls he exhorted the people to hold out to the last, and was hanged instantly.

On the 29th of May, 1650, Cromwell sailed for England from Youghal, bearing with him the bitter curse of every Irish Catholic and loyalist.

A terribly bloody slaughter was effected near Dromagh, where the Irish had fought with surpassing bravery. The inhuman command was given "to kill all," and the order was executed with the usual barbarity. The engagement took place at Knocknaclady, about half a mile from Banteer.

The country being now once more thoroughly desolated, the next step was to parcel it out amongst a new set of adventurers. The Irish were to be transported to Connaught, a place which was considered too utterly wretched to be fit even for English troopers.

One or two Cork noblemen escaped the general fate. Lord Kinsale got off principally because his property was hardly

worth seizing, and Lord Muskery bribed Lord Broghill with £1,000 a year. Thus was unhappy Ireland once more the scene of no ordinary spoilation and robbery.

How little these new settlers thought of the injustice they committed, or of the probability that the precedent might be followed, to the terrible disadvantage of their own children, in another generation.

In the year 1662 a pamphlet was published in London, entitled "A Collection of some of the Massacres, etc., committed on the Irish in Ireland since the 23rd of October, 1641." The author more than once appeals to the testimony of officers yet living, who had been eye-witnesses of the dreadful deeds which he narrates, and no one has ever dared to question his veracity.

"In Condon's country (1641) above 300 labourers, women, and children were murdered by some of the now Earl of Orrery's soldiers. Sixty-six persons or thereabouts were subsequently brought prisoners to Castle Lyons and put into a stable; there their beards were burned as well as the hair of their heads, which so disfigured them that their nearest friends could not know them next day when they were hanging.

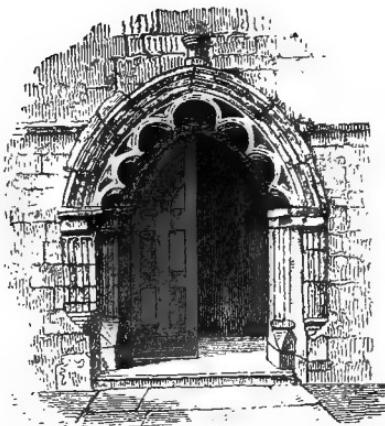
"In 1642, in the same county, 355 persons were murdered with clubs and stones. Being in protection, Mr. Henly, an English gentleman, dwelling in Roche's country, but a Roman Catholic, had his wife and children barbarously stripped, and most of his tenants inhumanly murdered by adjacent English garrisons, and such cruelties were used that they stabbed young infants and left them so, half dead on their mothers' dead carcasses. In this said Henlystown and the adjacent villages, at that time, there were murdered about 900 labourers, women, and children.

"In 1643, Cloghlegh being garrisoned by the Irish and surrendered upon quarter of life to Sir Charles Vavasour, they

were all inhumanly murdered, and the hearts of some of them pulled out and put into their mouths ; and many other massacres were committed the same time there upon women and children. At Lislee twenty-four men in protection were murdered by Colonel Mynn's soldiers. At Bellanere eight poor labourers were killed by Captain Bridge's men whilst in protection, and engaged in saving the harvest of the English. In 1642, at Clogheiulty, about 238 persons were murdered, of which number seventeen children were taken by the legs by the soldiers, who knocked out their brains against the walls. This was done by Forbes's men and the garrison of Bandon Bridge. At Garanne, near Ross, Conner Kennedy, who had protection for himself and his tenants to save their harvest, were murdered by the garrison of Ross as they were reaping their corn. In 1641 the garrison of Bandon Bridge tied eighty-eight Irishmen of that town back to back, and threw them off the bridge into the river, where they were all drowned. Patrick Hackett, master of a ship in Waterford, when the Duchess of Ormond was desirous to be conveyed to Dublin, left her safe with her family and goods there, and received from the lords justices and Ormond a pass for his safe return, but being driven by a storm into Dungarvan, and his men were hanged by direction of the commander-in-chief there, notwithstanding that he produced the said pass.

"The English party of this county burned O'Sullivan Beare's house in Bantry, and all the rest of that county, killing man, woman, and child, and turning many into their houses, then on fire, to be burned therein, and among others Thomas de Bucke, a cooper, about eighty years old, and his wife who was almost as aged.

" 1641. In Decies country, the neighbouring English garrison of the county of Cork, after burning and pillaging all that county, murdered above three thousand persons, men, women and children, and led one hundred labourers prisoners to Caperquine (Cappoquin), where, being tied by couples, they were cast into the river, and made sport of to see them drowned. This was before any rebellion began in Munster."



Doorway of the Cathedral dedicated
to St. Finn Bar, in Cork.



Medal.



Cromwell's Bridge.

NOTE.—Cromwell exacted an oath from all Catholics, which involved the most solemn denial of all that they held sacred. In a work entitled “ Historical Sketch of the Persecution Suffered by the Catholics of Ireland under the Rule of Cromwell and the Puritans,” we find the following record :—“ All the Catholics of the surrounding territory were ordered to repair to the city of Cork on a stated day, to have the new oath proposed to them ; the penalty of imprisonment and confiscation of all their goods was enacted for all above fifteen years of age, who should neglect to attend on the appointed day. Between five and six, a thousand Catholics entered the city walls ; a few only absented themselves anxious to await the result. According to the heretical custom of holding the assizes in the cherished sanctuaries of the Catholics, the magistrates took their seats in Christ’s Church—a happy omen that even the material edifice should be dedicated to him whose faith was so nobly to be confessed. All were arranged in processional order, that the oath might be the more easily administered individually to each of them. In the foremost ranks was a young man who entered the church with a light step, and whose looks beamed with joy. The clerk received immediate orders to administer to him the first oath ; for the magistrates saw in his joyous countenance a readiness, as they imagined, to assent to their desires. The young man requested that the oath should be translated into Irish, for he feared lest some of those around him, not understanding the English language, might inadvertently take the oath. A crier at once read it aloud in Irish, so that all within the church might hear. ‘ And what is the penalty,’ he then asked, ‘ for those who refuse the oath ? ’ ‘ The loss of two-thirds of their goods,’ was the magistrate’s reply. ‘ Well then,’ added he, smiling, ‘ all that I possess is six pounds ; take four of them, with the two that remain, and the blessing of God, myself and my family will subsist—I reject your oath.’ ”

“ An aged husbandman that stood by his side, filled with admiration, cried out aloud ‘ Brave fellows, reject the oath.’ The words were caught up from rank to rank till the church and the street without rang with the echo ‘ reject the oath : the impious oath.’ For half an hour these words, and the exclamation, ‘ Oh, God look down upon us ! ’ ‘ Oh, Mary, mother of God, assist us ! ’ could alone be heard. The magistrates, as though a thunder clap had rent the heavens, were struck mute with terror ; then rising from their seats, they commanded the assembled multitude to desperse, and every one of them under pain of death to depart from the city within an hour. ‘ Thus,’ concludes the contemporary narrative, ‘ the glorious confessors of Christ went forth with joy, praising God for the mercy he had shown to them.’ ”

Dr. Moran had the advantage of being able to consult original and contemporary documents which are preserved in the Vatican library.

CHAPTER XVI.

WILLIAM OF ORANGE.

A new monarchy and new political complications—The hopes of the Catholics raised by King James' accession—Major Lawless' lawless exploits—Catholic juries refuse to bring in unjust verdicts against Protestants—The term “high treason” of very varying meaning in Ireland—Clarendon is presented with the freedom of the city of Cork—The arrival of William of Orange—The Irish Catholics are again loyal, to their own great disadvantage—The siege of Bandon—The rise of the Southwell family—The English of Bandon take the rebel side and join William of Orange—Account given by Joseph Pike, a member of the Society of Friends—Presentments of the Cork Grand Jury—William of Orange tries to keep his troops from pilfering and preying on the people—Dean Davies' account of his army far from favourable—The siege of Cork—Dean Davies' graphic account—The Irish governor burns the suburbs, though he has been paid to spare them—Dean Davies said William's soldiers plundered property—How the Friends took care of their temporal affairs—Sir Michael Cox describes how the Irish were treated who took the loyal side—Marlborough's siege of Cork—His difficulties for want of shoes, which he cannot get even had he the money to buy them—The freemen of Cork petition the House of Commons—Smith's last entry, and a curious entry from Tuckey.

 NEW monarchy, as usual, brought political complications, by which the Irish suffered. King James's succession raised the hopes of the Catholics once more, but certainly Smith's curious account of their insolence to the Protestant party carries a contradiction with itself. He says that a certain Major Lawless, who appear to have been lawless by name and by nature, caused thirty-three Protestants to be indicted for high treason. High treason was a term of very curious and various application in unhappy Ireland. In the reign of Henry VIII. it was high treason to observe the religion in which you had been born and educated; moreover, it was high treason at one period of that reign to believe in the

Mass, and it was high treason at another period to deny it. In the reign of Charles I. it was high treason at one time to be faithful to the king, and at another time it was high treason to submit to the parliament. The utter incapacity of James II. made it high treason to call him king. When William came there was an intervening period at which it was high treason to be loyal to William according to one party, and high treason to be loyal to James according to another. Smith does not say of what particular form of high treason these Protestant gentlemen were accused by the lawless major, but he does say that they were acquitted by the jury who tried them, and that the foreman of the jury was a Papist—a curious evidence of Papistical intolerance.

In 1685, Clarendon, who was then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, was presented with the freedom of the city of Cork in a gold box. In 1686, Tirconnel, who was now vice-regent, came to Cork, and was sumptuously entertained by the mayor.

The difficulties which James II. got himself into with his English subjects can hardly be recorded here, but their effects were felt bitterly in Ireland. When the king's second wife gave him an heir, William of Orange, who had long flattered himself that he should one day wear the crown of England, saw that no time should be lost if he intended to secure the prize, and commenced his preparations with all the ability and with all the duplicity for which his career has been admired by one party, and denounced by the other, according as political and religious opinions viewed the deceit under the strong light of the ability, or the ability under the glare of the deceit. The Protestant party could not but see all that

was to be apprehended if a Catholic heir should succeed to the throne, and they sacrificed their loyalty to their interests, if not to their principles.

William arrived in England on the 5th of November, 1688. He professed to have come for the purpose of investigating the rumours which had been so industriously circulated respecting the birth of the heir who had barred his pretensions, and to induce the king to join the league which had been just formed against France ; but he took care to come provided with an armament, which gave the lie to his diplomatic pretensions ; and as soon as he had been joined by English troops, of whose disaffection he was well aware, his real motive was no longer concealed. James fled to France, whither he had already sent his queen and heir. Still there was a large party in England who had not yet declared openly for the usurper ; and had not James entirely alienated the affection of his subjects by his tyrannical treatment of the Protestant bishops, his conduct towards the University of Oxford, and the permission, if not the sanction, which he gave to Jeffries in his bloody career, there can be little doubt that William should have fought for the crown on English ground as he did on Irish.

If 'Irish Catholics had considered their own interests, and had been a little less loyal, it would have been very much to their advantage. William of Orange promised them exceptional advantages if they would join his cause, and there is no reason to suppose he would have acted with the treachery of a Stuart. But once again the Irish Catholics preferred a loyalty for which they never received either credit or thanks.

"On the 28th of February, 1688," Smith says, "the

Bandonians hearing that the Earl of Clancarty was marching with six companies to reinforce the troop of horse and two companies of foot there, commanded by Captain Daniel O'Neill, disarmed the garrison, killed some soldiers, took possession of all their horses and arms, and would have done much more if they were assisted. They shut their gates, and generously refused giving up any of their leaders ; but at last purchased their pardon for £1,000, with the demolition of their walls, which were then razed to the ground, and never since rebuilt. About this time a large party of Irish horse and foot entered Cork, who, at midnight, disarmed all the Protestants of the town, and next day seized their horses, as they likewise did in all the neighbouring villages. They also broke into the houses of several principal citizens, from whence they took great sums of money. Lieutenant-General Mac Carthy having thus, with the spoil of the English, increased his horse and mounted several more foot, marched with two field pieces towards Castle Martyr, the seat of Colonel Henry Boyle, who had with him about 140 gentlemen and servants to defend themselves against the violence of the Irish. He was persuaded by his friends not to make any resistance, upon the promise of the lieutenant-general that neither their persons or estates should be molested, but, without any regard thereunto, he caused the house to be plundered, and Colonel Boyle, with many of the gentlemen, to be carried prisoners to Cork.

“ On Wednesday, the 12th of March, King James landed in Kinsale, who soon after came to Cork, where, on the next Sunday, he heard mass in a new chapel, lately erected near the Franciscan Friary. Through the streets he was supported by two friars of that order, and attended by many others in their habits. He was received and entertained by Donough, earl of Clancarty, on his landing, at which time the king made him one of the lords of his bedchamber, and his regiment a royal regiment of guards. He was also made clerk of the crown and peace throughout this province, by letters patent. On the 14th, 5,000 French landed at Kinsale, under Count Lauzun and the Marquise de Lang. In their room King James sent back

Major-General Mac Carthy with as many Irish. The fleet were then attending the queen at Spain, which made the undertaking very easy to the French. 1689, April 14th, Admiral Herbert appeared with his fleet off the harbour of Kinsale. Mac Elligot, the governor, apprehending they were the French fleet then expected, was preparing to withdraw all his forces from the town, that the French may take possession of the place and forts, but upon his discovery of the mistake, he put all things in readiness to oppose them. These proceedings countenanced a report that King James had agreed to put Ireland into the French king's hands, for assisting him to recover his dominions. The 29th of April, Admiral Herbert being on the south coast of Ireland, by his scouts discovered the French fleet, and next day had intelligence that they were gone into Baltimore, being forty-four sail, but on pursuing them the scouts had sight of them to the west of Cape Clear ; and upon steering after them found they were got into Bantry Bay. The admiral lay off the bay all night, and the next morning stood in, where he found the enemy at anchor, but soon got under sail, bearing down upon him, in a line composed of twenty-eight men of war and five fire ships. When they came within musket shot of the Defiance, which led the van the French admiral put out the signal of battle, which was begun by firing their great and small shot at the Defiance and the rest as they came into the line. The English made several boards to gain the wind, or at least to engage them closer. Finding that way of working very disadvantageous, Admiral Herbert stood off to sea as well to have got his ships into a line, as to have gained the wind of the enemy, but found them so cautious in bearing down that he could not get an opportunity to do it ; so continued battering upon a stretch till five in the afternoon, when the French admiral stood into the bay. The admiral's ship and some others being disabled in their rigging, they could not follow them, but continued for some time after before the bay, and the admiral gave them a gun at parting. In this action Captain George Aylmer, of the Portland, with one lieutenant and 94 seamen,

were killed, and about 240 wounded. On the 7th of May the admiral got into Plymouth with the fleet. On the 11th of August the Lord Clare, governor of Cork, committed all the Protestants of the city to St. Peter's, Christ Church, and the courthouses. On the 10th of September several were sent to Blarney castle ; on the 11th many to Macroom ; and October the 13th all the churches were shut up. In several places the governors went into houses and shops, seized what they found without the formality of a pretence, and took it away. Mr. Baileau (who was governor of Cork with Lord Clare), not failing in any punctilio of dragooning his country, was supposed to have sent off to France to the value of £30,000 in money, leather, and other commodities, the spoils of the Protestants of this rich city."

Sir Thomas Southwell and some other gentlemen marched to Galway, but in trying to escape the troubles of the county Cork found worse where they went, for Sir Thomas was sentenced to be hanged.⁵

Joseph Pike, a member of the Society of Friends, has given an interesting account of the siege of Bandon. He says :—

"The English of Bandon revolted and turned out the Irish garrison, upon which an army of Irish horse and foot gathered at Cork to reduce them. Justin Mac Carthy, afterwards Lord Mountcashel, commanded them. Before they went towards Bandon, some of the soldiers or others laid a design to plunder the house of Richard Terry, who lived out of the South Gate, at the Red Abbey; and, in order thereto, got into the tower there and fired some shots out of it, then gave out that the English were gathering there to rise with the Bandon people ; upon which abundance of Irish gathered, and a hideous noise there was, and thereupon the designers plundered the house. I remember that at the very time of this hurly-burly, my cousin, Samuel Randall, and I, walking on the

5. Sir Thomas was under Lord Southwell, of Castle Mattrass. The Southwells commenced their career by keeping taverns for the sale of whiskey in the city of Limerick.

custom-house quay, saw a multitude of people, but knew not the cause of their assembling ; and, hastening into town, we found the troopers riding violently along the streets, with drawn swords ; the soldiers running to arms ; the Irish in an uproar, crying out, 'The Bandon people are come, and killing thousands out of South Gate ; others, in confusion, cried out, 'Kill them all, kill them all,' and some looked wickedly on us two with countenances full of mischief ; yet we got safely through them to my house. During this time of confusion, many husbands left their families and houses and ran on board the first ship they could get, as did also many women and children, as believing the English would be all slain. The ships sailing directly for England carried the news that all the English were murdered ; but in a little time this confusion ceased when the true cause was known."

King James issued his celebrated proclamation for the coining of "brass money" on the 18th of June, 1689, and the Mayor of Cork, Richard Maunsell, had a narrow escape of hanging for refusing it,⁶ and becoming a very exalted example of the blessing of his Majesty's presence in the country.

After the king's arrival in Dublin he issued various proclamations, which were almost as valuable as the paper they were written on, and paid the Irish many compliments on their loyalty, which must have been exceedingly gratifying after his ignominious and disgraceful flight from the Boyne.

Dean Davis, a Cork man, who assisted at the battle of the Boyne, and who appears to have had more vocation for

6. The following proclamation is from the Cork Grand Jury Book, 12th March, 1688 :—"We present that four hundred and twenty pounds be raised in the county of Cork, to be paid to George Crofts, Esq., who is forthwith to furnish the French fleet with fifty fat oxen and four hundred fat wethers, the same to be given to the admiral, officers, and seamen of the said fleet, as a small acknowledgment of the universal thanks due to them from this kingdom in general, but from us more particularly, for transporting his Majesty hither, we having the first blessings of his Majesty's presence in this country, for which we and our posterity shall ever praise God. George Crofts to be satisfied for grazing the said cattle till the return of the French fleet."

fighting than for preaching, has left a graphic account of the siege of Cork. When William returned to England he sent Marlborough to reduce the south of Ireland to obedience, and it must be said in all justice that there was no exceptional cruelty in his mode of warfare, for William of Orange had neither the brutality nor the hypocrisy of Cromwell.⁷

The Dean seems to have thoroughly enjoyed military affairs. His descriptions read accurate, and are certainly graphic.

Describing the siege of Cork, he says :—

“ Having got possession of the Cat we began to cast bombs into the city, and to play with our cannon against the fort,⁸ from thence and the Friar’s garden, and another battery above the fort, near the Mitre. This morning I gave Scravenmore an account of the usefulness of the steeple of the cathedral, that if boards were laid on the beams thereof, our men might gall the enemy in the fort from that place with their muskets ; whereupon Lieutenant Townsend was sent with men thither, and accordingly did very good execution.” And writes thus :—

“ I also took care to have the course of Droope’s millstream turned, which ran through the north of the city, and drove a grist mill there. In the morning our heavy cannon were landed near the Red Cow, by Red Abbey, and there a battery was raised of thirty-six pounders, which playing against the city wall soon made it tumble ; whereon the enemy let the bishop come out to us, whom they made prisoner in the city, with all the clergy, and about one thousand three hundred of

7. William knew how to keep his troops in order. He could not put down swearing, though Dean Davis did his best to preach it down, but he could and did put down robbery as far as possible, and it was not very easy with a set of “rapacious” adventurers. Davis says :—“Our men were very rapacious. Strict orders were given to seize offenders, and several were taken and executed at Kilcullen, and among them a quarter-master and a wagh-master of the Dutch Dragoons. July 13 being Sunday, our whole army halted, and by yesterday’s pillage were full of beef and mutton. I preached in the field against swearing, on James v., 17, and while I was in the sermon seven prisoners were led along our line in order to their execution, and among them one of our regiment.

8. The fort, i. e., the Elizabeth fort, in Barrack street. This fort, which Lord Macaulay, says “lies in ruins,” is in good preservation to the present day.

the Protestants ; and towards evening they beat a parley, and came to a treaty, whereon a truce was granted until the next morning.

" 28th. The enemy not accepting of the conditions offered, our cannon and bombs began to play most fiercely, in so much that a breach in the city began to appear plainly, and when the enemy appeared on the wall near it they were raked off by our small ordnance from the Cat. Last night a captain and lieutenant and forty men were posted in the brick-yard near Gill Abbey, to hinder the enemy from making their escape that way through the Marsh ; and, accordingly, some attempting it about midnight, Captain Swiney and four more were killed, and Captain Mac Carthy taken, being desperately wounded, and the rest forced into the city again. About one of the clock, the tide being out, the Danes from the north, and the English from the south, passed the river into the East Marsh, in order to storm the breach that was made in the city wall, and immediately the van posted themselves under the bank of the Marsh, which seems to be a counter-scarp to the city wall, in which approach the noble Duke of Grafton received a mortal wound in the point of his shoulder. The Salamander, also, and another vessel which came up by the morning tide, lay at the Marsh end, directly before the wall, and played their cannon at the breach, and shot bombs into the city, in the midst whereof the Earl of Tyrone and Lieutenant-Colonel Rycant came out and made articles for a surrender—the fort to be ours in an hour and the city next morning, all in arms to be prisoners of war. In the evening the fort was received by us, and the Protestants were set at liberty, and all was full of joy."

Cox complains of the burning of Cork by the governor, Mac Gillicuddy, after he had been paid to spare it.⁹ He says the city "was one of the most thriving cities for bigness in

9. The Friends, however peaceful, have always been sufficiently distinguished for worldly wisdom, and Joseph Pike relates "how he removed the best of his goods and thereby saved them," having little faith in Mac Gillicuddy's promises.

Europe," and laments terribly over "the hundreds of Protestants" who were reduced to beggary, forgetting how often Catholics had been similarly treated. So does political, and above all, religious prejudice, blind even the best of men to the most ordinary idea of justice.

It is probable that the inhabitants would have suffered quite as much from the sacking of the town as from the burning, for Dean Davis admits that it was pillaged, "especially of property." The Catholics were disarmed, and shut up in various places used as substitutes for prisons, and the soldiers were stript and marched to a marshy wet ground, where they were kept for five days, and reduced to such straits as to be obliged to eat dead horses.

Seven Irish regiments laid down their arms—Tyrone's, Mac Carthy's, O'Donovan's, Mac Gillicuddy's, Clancarty's, O'Sullivan's, and Barrett's. The principal officers and some of the men were sent to England as prisoners, and about 4,500 of the defenders of Limerick embarked at Cork for France, under the command of General Sarsfield [Lord Lucan]. On the 12th of October, 1691; the *Breada* man-of-war, which lay in Cork harbour, was blown up, and nearly all perished.

Sir Richard Cox describes how the captured Irish were treated after this war, in which, as usual, they had taken the royal and loyal side. He says:—

"On the first of May, 1691, I was sent with a commission to govern the counties of Cork and city of Cork. I came there 4th of May, and had with me a commission of Oyer and Terminer and gaol delivery. I soon raised and arrayed eight regiments of dragoons and three of foot, which were

under my command all that summer ; they did great service, and did much execution upon the Irish, and took from them so much prey (to the value of £10,000) as set many of them up after the war. I took no share of it myself, though I might have had the tenth ; but in everything I acted the part of a true Englishman, whose heart was in the cause ; and in requital, had a very hearty address of thanks from both counties, and received from the government £150 by conordatum, and from their Majesties an abatement of half my quit-rent for ever."

Marlborough's cavalry were marched to Kinsale now, and the inhabitants were summoned to surrender. After a sharp conflict they yielded, and obtained honourable terms, the weather being so severe that the English general was glad to purchase peace in any way.¹

The early part of the year 1691 was spent in internicine warfare, which was of little advantage to either party, while it served to desolate the country once more. Fermoy, Bandon, Clonakilty, and Rosscarbery—all suffered, and no man was likely to put in seed with so little prospect of a peaceful harvest.

There was a general forfeiture of estates, as usual, after each civil war. The Earl of Clancarty was the heaviest sufferer, but the Copperings, Galways, Barrys, Goolds, Driscolls, Roches, Mac Carthys, Nangles, Meaghers, and Sarsfields were subjected to severe confiscation.

1. Want of shoes for his soldiers was one of Marlborough's special troubles. He had five hundred men before Kinsale and not a hundred pair of shoes among them, "and shoes were not to be got for money, even if he had it." Sir James Cotter, who was a staunch adherent of the Stuarts, was empowered to raise £200 in the Co. Cork for the king's service, and further got an order to seize 600 pair of shoes which Captain Mac Gillycuddy had possessed himself of. From this it would appear that the Mac Gillycuddys had gone over to the winning side.

The following are amongst the last entries made by Smith. We shall enter more fully into details on the subject of municipal affairs in another part of the work. It will be seen that William and Mary did not deliver even their own friends from all evils, and that requests for release from undue taxation were met in a very peremptory fashion :—

“On the 28th of January the common council of Cork ordered that the Roman Catholics imposed on them as freemen by the late King James, without taking the usual oaths, should not be deemed freemen of this city for the future.

“On the 13th of July the Devonshire man-of-war had her deck blown up by accident, in Kinsale harbour, and thirty men wounded.

“May the 16th. The deputy governor of this county, with the bishops, clergy, and gentry thereof, entered into an association for the defence of his Majesty's person and government, in imitation of most of the other counties of Ireland.

“The townsmen of Youghal having manned out a boat with about forty seamen and soldiers, took a French privateer that lay at anchor under Cable island. The privateer had seized on some boats belonging to the town, and sent in one of them for provisions, keeping the rest as hostages. The French lost five men in the engagement, and Patrick Comerford, their captain, with the lieutenant and sixteen more were wounded. On the 23rd of August the Virginia fleet, being sixty sail, came into Kinsale, under the convoy of the Harwich and Weymouth men of war.

“The freemen of Cork petitioned the House of Commons against the mayor and aldermen, complaining of several unreasonable taxes imposed on them since the surrender of the city to King William, upon which the late mayor was ordered to be taken into custody, and Mr. Theophilus Morrice, one of the late sheriffs, commanded to attend the House.

“April 24th. The West India fleet, outward bound, put

into Kinsale, under the convoy of the Swan and Thunderbolt ships of war.

"The troops from Flanders embarked at Ostend, and sailed on the 10th of December for Cork ; but the fleet standing too much to the southwards, made the Old Head of Kinsale. The weather continuing hazy, the fleet stood out to sea ; and on the 24th, with great difficulty, put into Bantry, where they landed.

"April 30th. The Loo man-of-war was lost as she was turning out of Baltimore harbour, by running on a rock. The men, with most of the rigging and guns, were saved.

"August 16. The Marquis of Winchester, and the Earl of Galway, lords justices, set out from Dublin to Kilkenny, where they were sumptuously entertained by the Duchess of Ormond. On the 18th they arrived at Waterford, being met on the road by several gentlemen, and, near the city, by the mayor and corporation, with whom they dined. Next day, they viewed the garrison and the fort of Duncannon, where they were entertained by the governor, Colonel Purcell. After knighting John Mason, Esq., the mayor, their lordships proceeded to Clonmel, attended by the sheriff, and several gentlemen of the county of Tipperary, and by the mayor, aldermen, and recorder of Clonmel. They reviewed several regiments at Two-mile-bridge, who were there encamped. From Clonmel they proceeded to Cork. On the 23rd they lay at Colonel Barry's, near Castle-Lyons, and dined next day at Waterpark with the Lord Chief Justice Pine.

"On the 25th they came to Cork, being met some miles from the town by the bishop and clergy of the diocese, and several gentlemen, and were received at the gates of the city by the mayor and aldermen in their formalities, by whom they were sumptuously entertained at the expense of £200, and were made free of the city. On the 26th they went to Kinsale, visited the fort, and reviewed Sir Matthew Bridges' regiment of foot. On the 28th they returned to Cork, where they reviewed the royal regiment of foot, commanded by Colonel Hamilton ; and having taken a view of the harbour, were

entertained, on their return, by the bishop. On the 29th they set out for Limerick, and dined that day at Major Clayton's, in Mallow, lying at Captain Oliver's, near Charleville. On the 30th they arrived in Limerick, being attended through that county by the sheriffs and principal gentlemen, and were received at the gates of the city by the Mayor and Aldermen, in their formalities, with the usual ceremonies, the cannons being discharged, and the regiment of foot, commanded by General Tiffin and Brigadier-General Ingoldsby, lining the street. Having reviewed these regiments, they visited the works about the place and the stores. On the 2nd of August they left Limerick and dined with Sir Donogh O'Brien, at Six-mile-bridge, and lay that night at Mr. Hickman's, near Ennis, being attended by the sheriff and other principal gentlemen in the county of Clare. They were met on the borders of Galway by Sir George St. George, governor of that county, with many gentlemen, who attended their lordships to the gates of Galway, where they were received by the mayor and other magistrates in their formalities, twelve companies of Colonel Brewer's regiment in garrison lining the streets, and all the cannon being discharged. On the 4th their lordships reviewed the said twelve companies of Colonel Brewer's regiment in garrison.

"On the 4th their lordships reviewed the said twelve companies, dined with the mayor, and viewed the works about the town. The 5th they lay at Dean Pearce's, near Loughrea. Thence they went to Athlone, where they were received by Mr. Attorney-General Rochfort, commander of the militia of Westmeath; part of the militia of horse, foot, and dragoons being under arms on the occasion, and the cannon of that place being discharged. Their lordships went to church there on the 7th, and that evening lay at Mr. Peyton's, near Ballymore. Next morning they reviewed Colonel Webb's regiment of foot, and Rosse's regiment of dragoons, which were encamped near that place. On August 11th they arrived at Dublin."

His last entry under September, 1741, shows that there is

nothing new under the sun, and that the day of the cruise of the Rob Roy was anticipated :—

“In September, Captain Cheppis arrived in Cork from Dantzic in 30 days, in an open boat of six tons burden, being the long boat of a vessel he had sold, with only one boy. He made a former voyage of the same kind in a sloop from Barbadoes, with only one man, so that he seemed to bid defiance to the rigours of the wind and seas, and might justly claim Horace’s description for his motto—‘*Ill’ robur, Æs triplex.*’”

Tuckey has the following in his *Cork Remembrancer*. Was it the sea serpent ?

“June, 1738. The Charming Sally, of Bristol (Captain John Madden, commander), when within 300 leagues westward of Ireland, struck against a grampus of enormous size. The ship gave a terrible bound, and overset all the chests, etc., in the cabin and between decks. It was supposed that the fish was cut dreadfully, as the sea was stained with his blood. Shortly afterwards the ship began to fill with water, and upon examination it was found to have been much injured, and to prevent her sinking the crew stuffed pieces of beef and pork between the planks, and by continual pumping kept her above the water for five days, at the end of which period they met a sloop from Portugal, bound to Cork, into which they went, and thus arrived safe in this city in a few days.”



Ruins of the Castle of Kilcoleman, Buttevant.



Tomb of David de Barry, Buttevant.



CHAPTER XVII.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Cork at the close of the eighteenth century—The disturbed state of Ireland caused by the oppressive legislation of England—The Protestant bishop of Down speaks out boldly on this subject—Ireland was deprived deliberately and of set purpose of her manufactures—The evils of religious intolerance—Dive Downes' narrative—Catholics taxed by the Protestant minister for every domestic occurrence—A man's second best suit of clothes taken after his death for the Protestant minister, if his widow cannot pay a large fee—Presentments of the Cork Grand Jury—John Langley leaves it in his will that the Irish are to be well supplied with drink at his wake, so that they may kill each other, and the accursed breed be lessened—A curious pamphlet describing the state of Cork at this period—He divides the religion of Cork into Episcopacy, Presbytery, Quakerism, Anabaptism, Huguenotism, Hypocrisy, and Popery—His opinion of the butter merchants—He complains bitterly of the success of Papists in trade—Notes from Tuckey's *Cork Remembrancer*—Act concerning the harbour of Cork—1761—A stone bridge ordered to be built—The same year a shock of earthquake was felt—1764—The Red Abbey bridge opened—1765—The post-office removed—1768—No lamps—1779—The first fancy ball—The Catholics volunteer opposition to the sale of English woollen goods—Foundation of the new meat market—New building at Youghal—Curran's speech at a Cork trial—Arrival of the French fleet off Bantry—The Cork Catholics in rejecting the invasion join the Protestants.

THE details of Cork History from this period offer more of social than of general interest. There were no more revolutions in England, and the more peaceful state of that country, with rapid advance in commerce and arts, made Englishmen more satisfied at home and less disposed to seek fortune or excitement in other lands.

But many long centuries of misery left their indelible impress on Ireland—social, political, and religious. She was united to England politically much as a corpse might be united to a living body. She was not allowed to trade except under the most limited restriction. She was not encouraged

to practice the peaceful arts. Laws were made for her, not as laws ever should be made to protect and to foster: for until very recent years English laws were made for Ireland to repress, to blight, and to enslave.²

She was a burden to England and a perpetual trouble to English statesmen, but blind prejudice and a fatuous ignorance prevented the men who were wise in all other subjects from being wise when Ireland was in question. She was compelled to be an integral part of a great and prosperous empire, but she was strictly forbidden to share in the prosperity, while she was asked to honour the greatness. She was to be loyal; or, at least, if any earnest manifestations of loyalty were not asked, she was to be contented, thankful, grateful, to the beneficent power which permitted her to sit in sackcloth and ashes, and gaze from afar at the national prosperity and advancement of her sister country.³

Even men like Froude, who have denied facts and distorted truth, have been compelled to admit how Ireland was deprived—deliberately, systematically, and of set purpose—of every means of national advancement.

It was a sorry policy. Those who were linked together in physical ties had better have worked together in moral harmony. Conflict weakens even the victorious side, a fact which is not, taken into consideration as frequently as it should be in political economy. When two parts are in-

2. The Protestant bishop of Down spoke out boldly on this subject. See note at the end of this chapter.

3. Those who are not familiar with the parliamentary debates of the close of the last century do not know how earnestly some members, who were by no means allied to the national party, pleaded for Ireland and common sense, and what startling facts they brought before men whom no fact could convince, whom no misery could soften.

separably united, the weakness of one part necessarily affects the other. A selfish policy is not under any circumstance a wise one. It may afford a personal gratification to the stronger, who is able by force or fraud to crush whom he hates, but moral rectitude is the surest road both to individual and to national greatness.

The “wild geese” who fled in gloomy silence to another shore had their day of earthly vengeance at Fontenoy. The poor tiller of the soil who remained at home had to bear daily and hourly oppression, and if he bore it in silence, too, it was with a hope that a day would come when his wrongs should be righted on a day where right must win.

But there was yet more. If men were content to fight with their fellows on purely human grounds something might be said in excuse. In a purely human point of view, if William covets John’s garden let him fight for it; but there are other subjects which have been made a cause of quarrel with scarcely even the semblance of justice.

Those who profess to believe that each man should interpret the Bible, with perfect liberty of conscience, have been the very cruellest persecutors of those who did simply what they professed so strongly to recommend. Men who claimed as a first and fundamental principle of their religion perfect liberty of belief, can have no possible excuse for interfering with the belief of another in the very slightest degree.

The Catholic claimed to draw his religion from the Bible quite as much as the Protestant, and if there is to be such a thing as the right of private judgment, there can be no moral, and there certainly should be no physical, hindrance to its

exercise. To say that a Catholic is to be denied any of the rights of citizenship because of his religion is to arrogate an infallibility of judgment on the part of those who condemn his religion, and is to act directly contrary to the great Protestant principle of liberty of conscience.

Some curious details are given by a Protestant authority on this subject in connection with the county Cork. In the narrative of the Protestant bishop of Cork, Dive Downes, already mentioned in this work, we find what serious complaints were made if a Papist attempted to teach or to be taught, though there were many parishes in the county where not one Protestant could be found, when, notwithstanding fire and sword, the Catholic poor had remained faithful to their religion. He says :—

“In the parish of Ardnageehy, David Terry, Papist, gives the seventh part of his milk to the poor. In Abbeystrowry, the rector or vicar usually demands, besides his burying fees, when the man of the family or widow dies worth £5, the sum of 13s. 4d. as a mortuary ; if the man dies worth less than £5, they demand his second-best suit of clothes, or 6s. 8d. in lieu thereof.

“In Dromdaleague parish, Felix M’Carthy is priest ; he was here before the late troubles. A Protestant schoolmaster complains that Papists teach publick school in this parish. In Caharagh parish ’tis thought that there are forty Papists for one Protestant. William Guricheen, a very old man, is priest there. In Cannaway parish—no church, no Protestants—there are the ruins of a house in the churchyard ; there is a vault whole ; the priest built an altar in it about a year ago, when some person of note was buried. Denis Sweeny is Popish priest of this parish and Macroom.”

Of Durrus he writes :—

“St. Faughnan is the patron saint of this parish. Not far

from Bantry, by the sea-side, are the ruins of an abbey which belonged to the Franciscans. I don't hear that there were any other religious houses besides this in the baronies of Beer and Bantry. Humphrey Sullivan is Popish priest of this parish, and of Kilcroghan ; he has been here about twelve years. All the inhabitants are Papists. No Papists are allowed to live within the walls of Bandon. The Earl of Cork, in his leases, has obliged all the tenants not to admit Papists. In the parish of Skull there are about four Protestant families, and about four hundred Papist families. Daniel Carthy is Popish priest of the eastern part of this parish ; he has been here ever since before the late troubles. No glebe in this parish, no registry-book, nor Bible, nor Common Prayer-book. In Kilmoe there are the ruins of a chapel at the west-end of the town dedicated to St. Mullagh. The church of Kilmoe is dedicated to St. Briana, *alias* Brandon, whose festival is observed. In this parish there are about nine Protestant families, and two hundred Papist. Teige Coghlan is Popish priest of Kilmoe, and of the western part of Skull. He has been here about eight years. A young Irishman, a Papist, teaches school about the middle of the parish. In all the O'Sullivan's country they observe as a holiday St. Rooane's Day. At Kinneigh a high round tower stands in the south-west corner of the churchyard. 'Tis supposed this church was formerly a cathedral. A stone is in the south-west corner of the church of Kinneigh counted very sacred, which the Irish solemnly swear upon. The church is accounted by the Irish very sacred. There is a tradition that formerly in this churchyard there was a well that had great medicinal virtues, and that the concourse of people being very chargeable to the inhabitants, they stopped it up."

Yet the Catholic had to support both their own clergy and and the Protestant ministers—an injustice of the very gravest kind, and this not only in a general way, but as the Cork Grand Jury presentments show, fees were exacted from the Catholics for every domestic occurrence.⁴

4. In 1687 they present—"That the Protestant clergy, under colour of law, exact

In 1699 the English Parliament passed an Act to prohibit the exportation of woollen goods from Ireland, not only to England but even to any of the colonies, and by this means gave a blow to the manufacture of woollen fabrics here, from which it has never recovered.

At the same time the misery and confusion caused by the general confiscation of property was almost inconceivable. An idea of it may be formed from the simple fact that many of those who purchased confiscated lands did not even know where they were situated, and even the very men officially appointed to see that "justice" was done in this distribution, enriched themselves by obtaining vast estates and letting them out at exorbitant rents. A complaint was made to the English parliament, but with the usual result.

We get a curious picture of Cork history from a pamphlet which was published in 1737.⁵ The writer sketches his cynicism under a fictitious name, and alludes in caustic terms to the disputes of the corporation, who appear to have acquired, or, perhaps, inherited, the habit of carrying on their business with an under current of personality and an undue use of the

from the Roman Catholic subjects several sums for christening, purification, burying, and book money, and sue them in their spiritual courts, and commit them to prison, so dispeopling the country, etc., that therefore your lordship would favourably present the same to the government, or otherwise make such order that may hinder these in conveniences, and the rather because the like duties are not demanded in any other Christian country by the clergy, nor from any others but the Roman Catholics." The bitter hatred between Catholics and Protestants was terribly intensified by all this. As an example we may notice the will of John Langley, of Bandon, who ordered his body to be kept above ground for six days and nights, and to have fifty Irishmen invited to the wake, and well supplied with beer, "so that when they get drunk they may kill each other, and in this way do something towards lessening the damned breed." See *Bennett's History of Bandon*, where the genuineness of the document is vouched for; it is still in existence. It is simply horrible to think of any man going before his Maker in such dispositions. Langley was one of Cromwell's soldiers.

5. Remarks on the religions, trade, government, police, customs, manners, and maladies of the city of Cork, by Alexander the Coppersmith, 1737.

unruly member, a failing from which even the most worshipful corporations of the present day are not wholly exempt.

He is especially severe on the indolence of the Protestant merchants, and declares that the Papists will soon have the whole trade to themselves.

He divides the religion of Cork (as appeared from the public edifices for worship) into Episcopacy, Presbytery, Quakerism, Anabaptism, Huguenotism, Hypocrisy, and Popery. Of the first he says :—

" As the king, lords, and commons have agreed upon the first to be the most laudable mode of Christianity, I think every wise man must acknowledge that in obedience to an Act of Parliament we should be all of the Established Church."

He pronounces the persecuting zeal of Presbyterianism as bad as Popish cruelty. He tells us that as Quakerism wars against human nature, it can be of no duration ; and that Anabaptists, from the uncomfortableness of their dipping, can never rise into power sufficient to do mischief. He passes over the Huguenots, as he would not reproach a set of exiles in their misery. He then inveighs against the hypocrites, both Protestant and Roman Catholics.

He tells us that the views and interests of the five first conspire the ruin of the last (the Roman Catholics), whom they look upon as a monster that would devour their liberty, religion, and trade. He is amazed at the imprudence of the Papists, running openly into every branch of trade, and talking big upon 'Change, and permitting the importation of such cargoes of priests who swarmed about the city. He predicts that their bold monopoly of home and foreign trade would

create such popular clamour, that at last they would be controlled by an Act of Parliament.

As to their manner of carrying on trade, however, he speaks of it with abhorrence ; and in explanation of the means by which they engrossed it, he tells us that through wealth, pride, envy, mutual oppression, Protestant indolence, and Popish vigilance, the trade of the city had been forced from its natural course into another channel within a few years ; that the most considerable branch of our trade had been the export of great quantities of beef to our plantations to supply the French, with whom we trafficked in some uninhabited island, before Irish ships were obliged to touch first in England ; but that then the French, in galleys of four or five hundred tons, came hither themselves, consigned to a Popish factor, “whose relations and correspondents,” says he, “were abroad, and it may be whose union at home, and whose diligence being more, and luxury less than Protestants, will at last swallow up the trade, and suck the marrow of this city ; and, like the ivy, will grow to be an oak, and prove absolute in their power over the commerce of those on whom they should be dependent for bread ; and,” he proceeds, “as a certain baronet observed about four years ago, *‘how secure do men of that religion live in despite of the law, whilst Protestants look idly on, and by an easiness of temper peculiar to themselves suspend the execution of the laws which never required, no, not at their first making, a more severe execution than at this day.’* By running away with this profitable branch, not only the prejudice they do a Protestant trader, but the benefit arising to Popish dealers and tradesmen, is destructive of the Protestant interest of the city. From

the mutual kindness of all men under oppression, and a natural hatred of their oppressors, they deal with and always employ one another.”

This is perhaps as curious a specimen of intolerance as can be met with, and no doubt “Alexander” would have liked to see a law passed to compel Catholics to deal only with Protestants, and to insist that in such dealings they should pay double for all commodities. Indeed, he says:—

“The legs of that trade will surely have the cramp whose feet are kissed by a Papist; and the most growing factory, the minute it is mimicked and attempted to be carried on by them, I would instantly give up, pronounce its ruin, and without hesitation sign its death-warrant.”

He comes down on the butter merchants in no limited terms, and calls Mallow-lane

“A nursery of villainy, which should be suffered to continue no longer, but presented and removed as a nuisance; for when honesty was sick in Glenflesk she crawled to Mallow-lane to die, and gave her last groan among the butter buyers.”

The attorneys came in for censure too, and wonder at the patience of the mayors in bearing with them. The bailiffs he says:—

“Had above one hundred and fifty who paid them so much a week from fears of vile treatment, in case they should unhappily fall into their abominable paws hereafter; and not only those who had been, but those who feared to be in their merciless clutches, paid tribute to their cruelty and power. ‘With what impudence,’ says he, ‘will some of these fellows approach a merchant, and sneer familiarly in his face upon ‘Change; and they get more hats in walking the street than a mayor out of his time. If ever I see an honest man salute a bailiff in the street I will immediately pronounce him his pensioner.’”

He indulges in a fierce philippic against the ecclesiastical courts and their jurisdiction in cases of defamation.

"I have known," he says, "an honest and industrious tradesman reduced in this seminary of injustice to an ace of a beggar for calling a man in the height of his passion a dirty dog."

The following notes of current events are from *Tuckey's Cork Remembrancer* :—

"December 20th, 1719.—An act was passed, whereby, after reciting 'that it had been found by experience that all cities well furnished with public lights in the dark nights are much freer from murders, robberies, thefts, and other insolencies, than such cities as are not so furnished, and for want of them many accidents in the night time have happened, to the ruin of several inhabitants residing in such cities,' it was enacted, amongst other provisions for lighting several towns and cities, that William Maynard, Esq., Samuel Wilson, and Jeremiah Forster, merchants, their executors and administrators, shall have full power and authority, from time to time, during the space of twenty-one years, to cause public lights to be erected and maintained in the city of Cork and the liberties thereof.

"February 2nd, 1729.—The North and South Chapels were built, the latter was afterwards burnt.

"An act was passed for cleansing and deepening the harbours and rivers of Cork, Galway, Sligo, Drogheda, and Belfast, and for erecting a ballast office in each.

"According to the accounts of the collector of the duty on coals, from 1719 to 1729 there were about 6,000 tons of coal burnt in this city yearly.

"February 2, 1732.—According to a return made by the hearth money collectors in this and the following year, there were in the city of Cork 2569 Protestants and 5398 Roman Catholic families.

"December 26, 1740.—The corn market was built. During the summer of this year there was a great scarcity,

and numbers of the poor perished, though several were daily fed at a public mess in this city. There was a large pit dug at the back of the Green in Shandon church-yard, where several hundred indigent persons were buried, for want of money to purchase graves for themselves.

“ December 25, 1761.—An act was passed this year, which, after reciting that there were then only two public avenues to Cork, and that same were narrow and inconvenient, provides for the building of a stone bridge, not exceeding in breadth twenty-six feet, from the quay opposite Prince’s Street to the northern or opposite part of Lavitt’s island, and another from the southern part of said island to the Red Abbey Marsh, of the same breadth, with a draw bridge in its centre. This act also provides for supplying said city with water.

“ £4,000 was granted to the mayor, sheriffs, etc., towards clearing and improving the channel of the river Lee, from the Custom-house to Blackrock.

“ A shock of an earthquake was felt at Cork and Kinsale, especially between the gates of the former town. It continued about a minute, undulating from east to west, and *vice versa*; and in six hours after, near low water, the tide rose suddenly at Kinsale, about two feet higher than it was, and ebbed away in the space of four minutes, with great force, which was repeated several times, but the first time it rose highest.

“ April 15, 1764.—A great number of fellows were at this time in the habit of assembling in Hammond’s field, near Blarney, every Sunday evening, many of them armed with swords, etc., in open contempt of the magistracy, where they divide themselves into two parties in order of battle, and generally maintained a running fight for several hours, in which some of both parties seldom failed of getting broken heads; from thence some of their leaders, after their evening’s diversion, used to remove the scene of action to the city, and continue rioting the remainder of the night. Before the beginning of the previous war, when knocking down, street robberies, and sometimes murders were so frequent here, that the inhabitants were afraid to stir outside their doors after nightfall, it was in those same fields that the ruffians assembled.

“September 22, 1764.—The wooden centre at the Red Abbey bridge being finished, it was opened for passengers; and the same day being the anniversary of their majesties coronation, the troops on duty here marched hither and fired three volleys in honour of the day. This bridge opened a short passage from the South Mall to Cove-lane.

September 29.—An act was passed this year for re-building the bridge over the Blackwater, at Cappoquin, towards defraying the expenses of which, the lord lieutenant and council were empowered to raise any sum not exceeding £6000, out of the counties of Waterford, Cork, Kerry, and Tipperary, and the counties of the cities of Waterford and Cork.

“£4,000 was granted to the members of the county, city, and of the several boroughs in the county of Cork, or any five of them, to be applied towards re-building and repairing the bridges which were destroyed or damaged by the late extraordinary floods in the county.

“An act was passed, whereby, after reciting the act passed in 1761 for building bridges from Prince’s-street to Lavitt’s Island, and from said island to the Red Abbey marsh; and, also, reciting that it had been found that it would be more useful to the inhabitants of Cork that a draw-bridge, or portcullis, should be made in the place, where the former was appointed to be built, the mayor, sheriffs, and community of Cork were empowered to take down said bridge, and to build in the place of it a turn or draw-bridge, or porteauis bridge; and, also, to build a stone bridge of three arches in the place where the portcullis bridge had been appointed to be built by said act of 1761, namely, from Lavitt’s Island to the Red Abbey marsh.

“September 19, 1765.—The Post-office was removed from Bruce-street, on Dunscombe’s-marsh, to Watergate-lane, (or Hanover street), near Christ Church, in the house of Mr. Loane, the post-master.

“May 3, 1767.—A complaint was made in one of the Cork newspapers of fifty French vessels fishing for mackerel on the coast near Bantry Bay without interruption from the revenue cruizers.

“ Subscribers were served at their houses with the *Cork Chronicle* newspaper (which was published twice a week), at 5s. 5d. per annum, or by the single paper at one halfpenny each, in addition to which a *Mercury* was given every Saturday, when the English mails arrived.

“ April 11, 1768.—The several corporation in this city resolved to collect quarterage and regulate trade, as was formerly done conformable to law, though of late neglected here, for which purpose some of them elected masters and warders for the ensuing year.

“ As there were no lamps in the city at this time, it was proposed to fix a light at the old drawbridge, to prevent accidents.

“ November 22, 1770.—Since lamps had been ^{iv n} up in this city a number of persons were drowned, who in all probability might have been saved if that useful and well-appointed mode of lighting the streets had been continued.

“ September 26th, 1771.—The public were cautioned in a Cork paper of this date, as the long nights were approaching, to be careful how they passed over the old drawbridge at dusk, it being so old and out of repair as to be unable to be turned into its proper place.

“ October 8, 1788.—The mayor issued a proclamation stating that he would put the laws for the observance of the Sabbath strictly in force, in consequence of many persons presuming to exercise and follow their trade on the Sabbath day, particularly barbers and hairdressers, and in consequence of several publicans suffering idle, disorderly persons to continue drinking and tippling in their houses ; and also many persons exposing for sale greens, fruits, and other wares during the time of divine service.

“ January 1, 1779.—The first fancy ball introduced into this city by Lady Fitzgerald.

“ June 4, 1779.—This morning, about nine o’clock, Sergeant Christy, of the 81st Regiment, arrived at Glanmire bridge, after performing on foot a journey of one hundred miles in twenty-four hours.

" Being the king's birth-day, the morning was ushered in by the ringing of bells. At ten o'clock the different armed societies were reviewed in the camp field ; at noon they and the 81st, or Highland Regiment, assembled on the mall and fired three rounds. About three o'clock an express arrived to the commanding officer here from Major-General Flower Mocher, then at Kinsale, ordering the Highland Regiment to be ready to march at the shortest notice, as the general had received a report stating that a fleet, consisting of several ships of the line, and a great number of frigates and transports, supposed to be French, was seen in Bantry Bay. This communication threw the inhabitants into the greatest consternation. The commanders of the armed societies immediately ordered their drums to beat to arms, and in a very short space of time, the entire body collected again in the mall. At seven in the evening another express arrived from General Mocher, ordering the Highlanders to march immediately to Bandon, where he would join them with his forces from Kinsale, and repair from thence to Bantry. This order was immediately complied with. A great number of Roman Catholic gentlemen immediately offered themselves as volunteers to join with their Protestant fellow-citizens, and were well received. The care of the city in the mean time devolved on the governor. The mayor summoned a council to consider what was necessary to be done on so alarming an occasion. The gentlemen of the True Blue Society immediately took the guard, and 'kept the police' in the greatest regularity for the night. Early on the following morning the Highland Regiment returned to town, having received counter orders, as the express sent to Bantry had returned with an account that the alarm was groundless, the fleet having been found to be an English one, which had fired several guns in honour of the day. The lower classes of the people, between this and Bandon, showed their good wishes to the soldiers on their march, by offering them every provision their poor, but hospitable cabins, afforded. All the troops in Kinsale, consisting of upwards of 2,000 men, marched to Bandon, and lay all night under arms.

“ March 27, 1784.—Robberies had become very frequent in this city.

“ March 27, 1784.—The air balloon, which ascended near the Mardyke, at about 4 o'clock, in the presence of an unusual concourse of spectators, arrived at Cooper's-hill at 6 o'clock the same evening, a distance of 18 miles. It was discovered moving in a swift horizontal direction, near the earth, by one John Mynehan, an inhabitant of the above district ; who, having never heard of these curious productions of art, for some time thought it was the devil, and was partly conformed in this idea by the appearance of a tube at the summit of the machine, which displayed to his terrified imagination a lively representation of the horns attributed to his infernal majesty. Having grown bolder by degrees, he at length pursued at full speed, when a calm immediately succeeding, the fancied demon rested between two cocks, and was presently secured. The man brought it home, and at night the neighbours assembled to see this wonder of the world ; but some person having dropped a spark on the machine, it penetrated its slender covering, set fire to the inflammable air with which it was inflated, and produced an explosion equal to a clap of thunder. By this unfortunate event a man and woman were severely scorched, several fainted, and such as could conveniently escape by flight sheered off, fully convinced that Lucifer himself had got amongst them.

“ May 3, 1784.—This day having been appointed for the sale of a large assortment of English woollen goods by auction, between two and three thousand of the poor distressed manufacturers of this city assembled, and proceeded to the stores on the South Mall, where the goods were deposited, and declared that the auction should not go on, for that such sales would manifestly ruin them ; that they had helpless families, and that poverty stared them in the face ; that they could not get work to alleviate their distresses ; that many of them were ashamed to beg and would not rob ; therefore, for self preservation sake, they would, as far as in them lay, suffer no English manufactures in their

line of business to be vended in the city. The troops were marched down, but the timely interposition of the mayor and sheriffs, and their promise, with that of the proprietors of the goods, that the same should not be sold here, had the desired effect, and these poor creatures departed with seeming content.

"April 30, 1785.—The merchants of the city of Cork fitted out a vessel, well supplied with beef, bread, etc., to cruise off Cape Clear, for the purpose of relieving any vessels which the long continuance of easterly winds might keep at sea. The management of this expedition was entrusted to a confidential person, who went as supercargo, and was directed to relieve whomsoever he might meet with in distress, without consideration of the country to which the claimants belonged, or whither they were bound, and without taking any remuneration.

July 29, 1786.—A desperate skirmish took place between thirty of the volunteers and upwards of six hundred Whiteboys, near Inchigelagh, in this county, in which three of the latter were killed, two drowned in endeavouring to make their escape across the river, several wounded, and nine taken prisoners.

"July 25, 1788.—The foundation stone of St. Patrick's Bridge was laid; Mr. Michael Shanahan was the architect and contractor,

"August 1, 1788.—The new meat, fish, poultry, and vegetable markets were opened in the city of Cork.

"December 18, 1788.—The mall, in Youghal, was formed, and an elegant large square building erected thereon, at the expense of the corporation, consisting of an assembly, card, coffee, and billiard rooms.

"January 12, 1789.—At the trial of Captain Teightly, in Cork, which took place about this time, Mr. Curran, counsel against the prisoner, made use of the following expressions:—
‘He has acted, gentlemen of the jury, like a ruffian, and I will prove him to your satisfaction to have acted so; and I will affix infamy on his name, as close as ever the regimentals

stuck to his back.' These words, the gentlemen of the bar contended, that Mr. Curran was justified in using by the event (for the jury found him guilty of co-operating with a party of soldiers, who were also convicted of an attempt at assassination), and that no lawyer could be safe for a moment if he was obliged to fight every culprit whom his exertions had brought to punishment, as soon as he suffered the sentence of the law. On the other hand, the gentlemen of the army contended that the words were such as no man of spirit, no man who honoured the king's commission could possibly submit to ; that no event could justify or palliate antecedent expressions, which, however true they might be after conviction, were evidently at once premature and barbarous, and intended to bias the minds of the jury ; and that they were satisfied that Mr. Curran's influence and exertions did produce that effect, and that the verdict was clearly partial.

"Mr. Curran, however, refused to meet Captain Teightly, and considered the whole as a professional matter wherein the safety of every lawyer in the kingdom was involved, and determined to punish him with the utmost extent of legal severity.

"The newspapers of this date, in which the circumstance is mentioned, remarks : 'end as his affairs may, we trust it will be the means of stopping that torrent of low scurrility, which has much too long overflowed the Irish bar ; for we have no conception that, because a man wears a white wig, black gown, and speaks before a judge, he is, therefore, at liberty to violate every rule of good manners, every feeling of honour, and every decency of life.'

"October 11, 1795.—Sergeant Mulhall, of the 105th, and some others who had been concerned in the late mutiny, escaped from the bridewell of this city, previous to their undergoing the punishment they were to have received for the offence. It was said that the freemasons to which he belonged were concerned in his escape.

"April 28, 1796.—The foundation stone of a Roman Catholic chapel was laid in Bandon.

" December 14, 1796.—A French fleet, consisting of 18 sail of the line, 14 frigates, 5 large transports, and some small vessels, sailed from Brest with 25,000 troops. The signal having been given for sailing out through the passage de Raz, La Fraternite, frigate, with the admiral and General Hoche on board, and a few other ships succeeded ; but it was by the passage de Flotes that the greater part of the fleet bore out to sea, and the first division being unable to join them in consequence of a gale of wind coming on, the admiral's vessel was separated from the rest of the fleet. Several of the ships were wrecked. The remainder came within view of the Irish coast in three days, but having mistaken the Dursey for the Mizen Head, did not reach Bantry Bay until the 24th. On the morning of the 23rd the people of Cork were thrown into consternation by accounts which arrived of a large fleet having been seen off Bantry. The militia and fencible regiments were immediately despatched to this town, whilst the loyal Cork legion and the Cork volunteers got under arms, and a detachment of cavalry from both escorted the artillery to Bandon, and other parts of them went off to the different towns of Munster, to order in the military quartered there. All the citizens capable of carrying arms enrolled themselves amongst the yeomanry, and a determined resolution to resist the invader seemed to pervade every class of the population. On the 24th, the French fleet, consisting of seven ships of the line, and two ships *armée en flute*, beside frigates and transports, making in the whole seventeen sail, anchored in the bay. Lieutenant Prosheau, a French officer, with eight men, was driven on shore in a boat, in an attempt to leave one of the vessels which had been dismasted in the late storm. Being taken prisoners by the peasantry they were sent to Cork, and from thence to Dublin, to be examined before the Privy Council. The French fleet remained in the bay until the 27th, when they quitted their station without having made any further attempt to land, and on the 28th the last division sailed out of the bay. On the 30th four ships of sixty-four guns, three frigates, two razures, and two corvettes,

with some transports, sailed into the bay, and landed about 500 men on Whiddy Island, but not for the purpose of invasion, as it afterwards appeared that they were convalescent troops who were sent there for their health, and had paid for such provisions as they required.

"On the 2nd of January there were thirteen ships at anchor across the mouth of the bay from Beer Island to Sheep Head, of which two were line-of-battle ships, six other ships lay south-west of the island of Whiddy, and one a league from Bantry. At about two o'clock in the day a brig having worked up the bay from the principal fleet, made a signal to those ships, which was returned by a shot from one of them. They then set fire to a prize which they had taken, and five of them weighed anchor, and sailed down the bay, leaving the ships of the line behind them, which appeared to be disabled. On the 3rd none of the ships were visible, except these last mentioned vessels. Previous to their leaving the bay a council of war was held, and the troops had decided for landing, under the guidance of some Irishmen, who were with them, but La Fraternite, the admiral's ship, being still missing, and General Hoche being on board, they resolved to put to sea. On the 15th Paris papers were received, which announced the total failure of this expedition. The greatest loyalty was exhibited by the country people on this occasion. They received the troops who marched to Bantry in the kindest manner, sharing their provisions with them. In their absence the loyal Cork Legion and Cork Volunteers mounted their different guards in the city of Cork."

CHAPTER XVIII.

“NINETY-EIGHT.”

Cause and effects of the Rising of '98—Political clubs founded some years previously by Protestants—Henry Sheares, president of the Free Debating Society in Cork—Restrictions on Irish trade removed when it was too late—Landing of the French at Bantry Bay—What Pitt and his friends did—The French were entirely deceived as to the state of Ireland—The French fleet sighted—State of the roads—Mr. White gives the first notice to government, and gets a peerage—Account of public events from a pamphlet published in Cork at the time—Letter of the Catholic Bishop of Cork—The influence it has in preserving peace acknowledged by the government of the day—Cork theatricals—Popular songs on the invasion—Notes from Tuckey's *Cork Remembrancer*—Foundation of the Royal Cork Institution—Complaints of nuisances—State of “the third city in his Majesty's dominions”—New road between Cork and Kerry—What the Cork Mercantile Paper said of the chairing of Hely Hutchinson—Mr. James O'Brien lights his shop with gas, May 1, 1816—“Neatness and novelty” of the arrangement—Death of Curran—Notes to this chapter showing the state of the country, from parliamentary reports—Speeches of the Protestant Bishop of Down and others.

THE rising of 1798 was caused by the great distress which prevailed throughout Ireland, the result of long years of persecution and civil war, and of a steady suppression of every attempt made by the Irish to improve their condition.¹

For several years previous political clubs had been formed in different parts of Ireland, and the leaders and originators of these clubs were principally Protestants.

The Free Debating Society existed in Cork in 1772, and the president of the society was Henry Sheares, the father of the young men who took so prominent a part in the rebellion of '98. At a time when a leading statesman has put forward the extraordinary doctrine that it is impossible to be at one

1. See notes at the end of this chapter.

time Catholic and loyal, we may be pardoned for drawing attention to this notable and undeniable fact.

When these clubs had been formed for several years, and were in full working order, Catholics were invited to join them. Wolfe Tone, the founder and the animating spirit of the "United Irishmen," was a Protestant, but he declared "he would rather that France, Spain, the autocrat of Russia, or the Devil himself had the country, than England."

It is true that Catholics were permitted the wonderful boon of taking leases, and that in 1778 the repeal of the act prohibiting exportation of woollen goods was announced in Cork with ringing of bells. But the mere allowing of Catholics to exercise one of the most ordinary rights of citizens, while they were deprived of every other right, and the permission to follow a trade which had been carefully and deliberately ruined, could not be considered any very special boon. Even Protestants saw that they had gained but little by Protestant ascendancy. To some minds it was certainly gratifying to be able to look down on their fellow men as inferior beings because they happened to differ from them as to the way in which God desired to be worshipped. But there were men who could not find consolation in such contemptible intolerance, and who saw that trade and commerce was not one whit better under William of Orange and the House of Hanover than it had been under Charles or Mary.

The first landing of the French, known as the Bantry Bay Invasion, was in December, 1796. The fleet was a formidable one, but met the usual fate of foreign invasions of Ireland.

After a visit to America, Wolfe Tone proceeded to Paris,

well supplied with funds by his friends. Lord Edward Fitzgerald² and Richard O'Connor were already in secret communication with the French government. The summer of 1796 was occupied in fitting out the expedition, and so secretly was all accomplished that the English government had no suspicion of the project.

Hoche issued an address to the fleet the day before their embarkation, in which he says that the Directory was "emulous of giving liberty to a people worthy of it, and ripe for revolution;" and he declares that the ultimate object in recovering the rights of which they have been deprived "by the detestable government of England is, that they may afterwards proceed to London, and let Pitt and his friends know what they have done against their liberty".³

The French were entirely deceived as to the state of Ireland. There were certainly a number of revolutionary spirits, especially amongst the Protestants, who were ready at any time for revolt, but the majority of Catholics, as well as Protestants, were by no means anxious for an attempt which might end disastrously. Still there were a number who could not lose the recollection of past days, and who felt the weight of

2. Lord Edward's religion is now known, and that he was a Protestant. Mr. O'Connor was also a Protestant, and the nephew of Lord Longueville. He was the proprietor of *The Press*, a revolutionary newspaper, published in Dublin. We have some numbers of this paper in our possession, and certainly O'Connor was a master of vituperation. He tells one political opponent that he "would spit on him, every spitting on him would be taking notice of him."

3. The *Harp of Erin*, a Cork paper, published by John Daly, at 16 Parliament street, has the following squib:—

"Since many a tax has been laid on by thee,
The people to gull and perplex,
'Twould be well in return if they left out the T
And laid upon thee the ax."

present oppression, and they were as torch wood ready for the flame.

The fleet was first sighted by the Honourable Courtenay Boyle, who commanded the Kangeroo frigate. He immediately proceeded to Crookhaven to give the alarm, but the state of the weather was such they had the greatest difficulty in communicating with the main land. Connections were, however, effected, and the news despatched to Admiral Kingsmill, who was at the Cove of Cork.

Mr. Hall, of Leamcon, sent the news to Mr. White, of Seafield Park, who was the first to inform the Irish government, and who was rewarded by an elevation to the peerage as Lord Bantry.⁴

When the news arrived the Bishop of Cork took prompt action, and addressed the following letter to his flock :—

“ DOCTOR FRANCIS MOYLAN,
“ TO HIS BELOVED FLOCK,

“ The Roman Catholics of the Diocese of Cork.

“ At a moment of such general alarm and consternation, it is a duty I owe to you, my beloved flock, to recall to your minds the sacred principles of loyalty, allegiance, and good order, that must direct your conduct on such an awful occasion. Charged as I am by that blessed Saviour (whose birth with grateful hearts we, on this day, solemnize), with the care of your souls, interested beyond expression in your temporal and eternal welfare, it is incumbent on me to exhort you to that peaceable demeanour, which must ever mark his true and faithful disciples. Loyalty to the sovereign, and respect for the constituted authorities, have been always the prominent features in the Christian character ; and by patriotism and

4. The roads between Cork and Bantry are even now singularly wild and rugged, and a heavy fall of snow had rendered them almost impassable. Nevertheless Mr. White's messenger was but four hours going forty miles (Irish) on a single horse.—*Report of the Movements of the Irish Fleet in Bantry Bay*, by Edward Morgan, printed at Cork in 1797.

obedience to the established form of government, have our ancestors been distinguished at times, and under circumstances, very different from these in which we have the happiness to live. For, blessed be God, we are no longer strangers in our native land—no longer excluded from the benefits of the happy constitution under which we live—no longer separated by odious distinctions from our fellow subjects. To our gracious sovereign we are bound by the concurring principles of *gratitude* and *duty*, and to all our fellow-citizens by mutual interest and christian charity.

“ Under these circumstances, it is obvious what line of conduct you are to adopt if the invaders, who are said to be on our coasts, should make good their landing, and attempt to penetrate into our country. To allure you to a co-operation with their views, they will not fail to make specious professions that their only object is to *emancipate* you from the pretended tyranny under which you groan, and to restore you those rights of which they will say you are deprived.

“ You, my good people, whom I particularly address, who are strangers to passing occurrences, had you known in what manner they fulfilled similar promises in the unfortunate countries which, on the faith of them, they gained admittance, you would learn caution from their credulity, and distrust men who have trampled on all laws, human and divine. Germany, Flanders, Italy, Holland, to say nothing of their own, once the happiest, now the most miserable country in the world can attest the irreparable ruin, desolation, and destruction occasioned by French fraternity.

“ Be not deceived by the *lure of equalizing* property which they will hold out to you, as they did to the above-mentioned people; for the *poor*, instead of getting any part of the spoil of the *rich*, were robbed of their own little pittance.

“ Be not, then, imposed on by their professions—they come only to rob, plunder, and destroy. Listen not to their agitating abettors in this country, who endeavour by every means to corrupt your principles, but join heart and hand with all the virtuous and honest members of the community who are come

forward with distinguished patriotism, as well as to resist the invading foe, as to counteract the insidious machinations of the domestic enemies and unnatural children who are seeking to bring on their native country the train of untold evils that flow from anarchy and confusion. Obey the laws that protect you in your persons and properties. Reverence the magistrate entrusted with their execution, and display your readiness to give him every assistance in your power.

"Act thus, my beloved brethren, from a principle of conscience, and you will thereby ensure the favour of your God, and the approbation of all good men; whereas a contrary conduct will draw down inevitable ruin on you *here*, and eternal misery *hereafter*.

"I shall conclude with this simple reflection: if the sway of our impious invaders were here established, you would not, my beloved people, enjoy the comfort of celebrating this AUSPICIOUS DAY with gladness and thanksgiving, nor of uniting with ALL Christians on earth, and with the celestial spirits in heaven, in singing, '*Glory to God on high, and on earth peace to men of good will!*'

"F. MOYLAN, R.C.B.C.

"December 25, 1796."

The lord lieutenant notices the "useful impression" which was made by this "judicious address," in a despatch which was published in the *London Gazette* of 17th July, 1797; but we do not hear that any further acknowledgment was made of the bishop's services. This omission was not creditable to those who were ready to confer the highest honours on others for inferior services; but it mattered little to the bishop, who sought no temporal reward for his labours.⁵

No doubt the indifference shown by the Irish was the cause

6. At a meeting of the City of Cork Committee, held at the Council Chamber on the 5th of January, 1797, Sir Patrick O'Conor, chairman:—"Unanimously resolved—That two thousand copies of the Right Rev. Dr. Moylan's letter to his flock be immediately printed, for the purpose of being circulated through the respective baronies of this county."

of the utter failure of the expedition. Those who had been most alarmed soon came to laugh at their fears, and the Cork people were entertained with a dramatic piece called "*The Alarm.*" It contained a number of songs, one of which declared that the "invading dunder," whatever that may mean, would soon be driven

"Back to feed on frogs and snails."⁶

The rising of '98 had but little effect in Cork, but on the 16th of March, 1799, we find that General Lake gave directions for all persons in this county to put upon their door a list of the inhabitants in each house, and that no person on any pretext whatever should be absent from his house during the hours between eight o'clock at night and sunrise, and that any person not complying with these directions should be made prisoners, and immediately suffer whatever punishment a court-martial might adjudge.⁷

The following notes are from Tuckey's *Cork Remembrancer*, and give a good idea of the social state of the city and county :

"1803.—In this year the Royal Cork Institution, founded by subscription amongst private gentlemen of the city and county, for diffusing the knowledge and facilitating the introduction of all improvements in the arts and manufactures, and for teaching by lecture the application of science to the common purposes of life. The obvious usefulness of such an

6. See Croker's *Popular Songs*, illustrated, of the Irish invasion. Be it observed, however, in passing, that the commander of the expedition was by no means disposed to poverty of living. Mr. Teeling, in his account of the rebellion, attributes the failure of the expedition to the greediness of the commander. He used to send mounted escorts for miles to procure some luxury. The forces were wretchedly fitted out. Nine-pound shot was provided for six-pound cannon.

The invasion gave rise to a host of ballad literature, amongst which was the well-known *Shan Van Vocht*.

7. Wolf Tone called Catholic priests "rascals," and when asked by Hoche if he expected their assistance in the rebellion, said honestly that he did not.

institution recommended it to the favourable consideration of government, and in 1807 the proprietors obtained a royal charter of incorporation and a parliamentary grant of £2000 per annum. For several years lectures were annually given on natural history, natural philosophy, chemistry, botany, mineralogy, and other useful branches of sciences, but in 1830 the grant was withdrawn and the lectures consequently discontinued. On withholding the grant the government presented to the proprietors the old eastern house, a large building in Nelson Place, subject to a rent of £65 per annum, to which the crown was previously liable. There are at present belonging to the institution a museum of natural history and mineralogy, and a scientific and medical library, containing more than five thousand volumes.

“ April 3, 1805.—The following paragraph appears in the *Cork Mercantile Chronicle* of this date :—Our total indifference in this city to everything which concerns our public accommodation and credit has become a subject of wonder. Our nuisances seem to have a procreative power, and every day seems to show some vexatious instance of their abominable fecundity. The day traveller runs the risk of being blinded from the screening of lime; he is often intercepted in his way by the lagoons of water, which the obstruction of the public sewers retain in the streets, and if he be not rode over by the gallopers, who charge along the streets, or run over by the cars which are whirled along with no less rapidity, he may felicitate himself on his return home upon the cheap terms of such injury as he may receive in tumbling over a few of the many heaps of rubbish which principally occupy our public ways. If the traveller by night escapes drowning he has no right to complain, for what with the darkness of the lamps, and the naked and unfenced state of the quays, to survive a night walk is become a matter of family thanksgiving. Every stranger who approaches this, the third city in his Majesty’s dominions, does it at the peril of his life; and one of the least dangerous of the high ways into town is now through a canal of mud, and has been so

for a long time. It was but a few nights ago that the gulph and huge stones of Barrack Street had nearly proved fatal to an eminent officer of this garrison.

“September 4, 1805.—The grand jury of this city presented £100, to be applied to the construction of a new road, which was necessary to render the communication between Cork, Kerry, Mallow, and Kanturk easy and convenient.

“November 19, 1807.—The weather was uncommonly stormy, the wind was easterly, accompanied with heavy snow; the severity of the night totally disabled the lamp-lighters from doing their duty. Three of them were taken dangerously ill from severe falls, and the great cold and wet they experienced in endeavouring to light the lamps.

“September 2, 1808.—The son of the Marquis of Wellesley, Mr. Fitzaherly, and their respective suites, arrived this morning at the Bush hotel, on their way to visit the lakes of Killarney.

“August 14, 1812.—A numerously attended meeting was held in the north chapel respecting the Catholic claims.

“November 6, 1812.—The following is extracted from the *Cork Mercantile Chronicle* of this date, as illustrative of the style of a party provincial newspaper of this day :—‘Chairing of Mr. Hutchinson.—If an angel could envy the situation of a human being, elevated to the pinnacle of honour by the enthusiastic gratitude of his fellow beings, he would yesterday have envied The Honourable Christopher Hely Hutchinson. Never did we witness such a scene ! Never did the oldest person in our city hear from his progenitors the traditional description of such an exhibition in Cork, or its environs.

“February 13.—Dr. Moylan, titular Bishop of Cork, was buried in the north chapel with great pomp.

“May 1, 1816.—Mr. James O’Brien lit his shop in Tuckey-street with gas. The brilliancy of the lamp outside the house, the neatness and novelty of the arrangement, and the extent to which the light was conveyed through his manufactory and workshop, excited general admiration.

“May 1, 1816.—The Limerick mail coach travelled, for the

first time, the entire of the new line of road from Mallow to Cork, decorated with green boughs ; the country people, who lined the hills at each side of the road in great numbers, cheered it as it passed.

“September 1, 1816.—At nine o’clock this night, at his apartments at Brampton, died the Right Honourable John Philpot Curran. This distinguished advocate, orator and patriot, was born in the town of Newmarket, near Cork, of very humble parents, and entered upon life without a friend, but of his own creation, or a shilling which was not the hard earned produce of his own exertions.”

The following notes are taken from the Parliamentary report of debates, in the *Hibernian Chronicle*, Cork, 1798. They will show that there were at least some influential and intelligent Protestants who saw and deplored the infatuation which led a powerful minority to treat the Irish like dogs, and then turn on them with relentless cruelty if they resented such inhumanity.

The BISHOP OF DOWN, after replying in firm but courteous language to the attacks made on him, said :—

“ What is the crime which has provoked such asperity ? I am charged with having been amongst many highly respectable names who dared to petition our common sovereign, and lay before the father of his people the sufferings under which we labour. Of that measure I am proud. I am convinced from ocular and personal examination of the general state of that part of the country, from the general testimony of its inhabitants, and from the infallible proof which the aspect of the country exhibits, that its manufactures and its trade have suffered, almost to annihilation. The noble and learned lord, in a tone of confidence which is so peculiar to him, asserts that I went about soliciting signatures to this petition. I assert, in opposition to the learned lord, that the information which he has received on that subject is false. I deny the

fact, but were it true, I see nothing in it which either, as an honest man or a Protestant bishop, I should be ashamed of. Is this the conduct of one professing, as the learned lord does, such zeal for the support of the Established Church ? If such be his treatment of his friends, the Catholics have little reason to regret his friendship. But what is the impropriety in a Protestant bishop uniting with his fellow subjects in a petition to the Crown.

Again he says :—

“ The Chancellor, in that style of interrogatory which seems to imply so much, and which really means so little, asks whether your lordships will meet treason and murder and conspiracy with measures of conciliation, with Parliamentary Reform and Catholic Emancipation ? I answer, my lords, that these are the only remedies which in our present circumstances are likely to be effectual. Of Catholic Emancipation—a full and complete emancipation—an admission to all the rights and privileges which a subject can claim—I have always been a decided friend. I have always thought it was a measure not merely of sound policy, but of strict right. Nor has anything which has fallen from the noble lord to-night, or at any former time, tended in any degree to shake my confidence in that opinion. Equally convinced am I that a full and fair reform of the representation of the people is a measure of wisdom and necessity. I see nothing but this measure which can now restore in Ireland the blessings of tranquility and content. I have some property in this country; it is not a great deal, but it is sufficient to interest me in the safety and welfare of the State ; I have also my preferment in the Church. Both of these bind me to consult the peace and good order of the country ; and I declare it to be my firm belief, that unless these measures be adopted, my property, and that of every other gentleman in the country—nay, the country itself—is gone !”

Lord Dunsany said :—

“ I shall take leave, therefore, though it is with much

reluctance I enter on so painful a task, to supply, in a small degree, this omission, by recalling to the recollection of the house a few of the many enormities which your lordships must have known to be committed. In the county of Westmeath alone—and from the sufferings of this ill-fated county noble lords may, without fear of being mistaken, infer those of the other counties of Ireland exposed to military execution—in this county alone, it is an incontrovertible fact, that several villages were destroyed by fire, without legal inquiry, trial, or ceremony of any kind. Three men were dragged from their houses, and shot on the fair-green of Baltimore, equally without any form of trial whatever, and time being scarcely allowed them to make their peace with heaven by saying a few prayers. After the bodies of the unfortunate victims had been exposed all the day, no friend or relative daring to approach them, the military had them tied on a car, and brought at a late hour of the night to the house of the parish priest, whom they forced to get up, and threw the dead bodies into the house, as if the murder of the dead were too little, without adding to it such an outrage on the feelings of the living.

“Look now, my lords, to another frequent and favourite mode of summary execution. Is it not notorious that several hundreds of his Majesty’s subjects have been transported without any show of trial, or legal proofs of any kind? And are not these grievances? And will you, my lords, by your vote this night, countenance such cruelties, and become, by such countenance, accessories after the fact? If you do, consider how you are to answer it to God, your king, and your country.

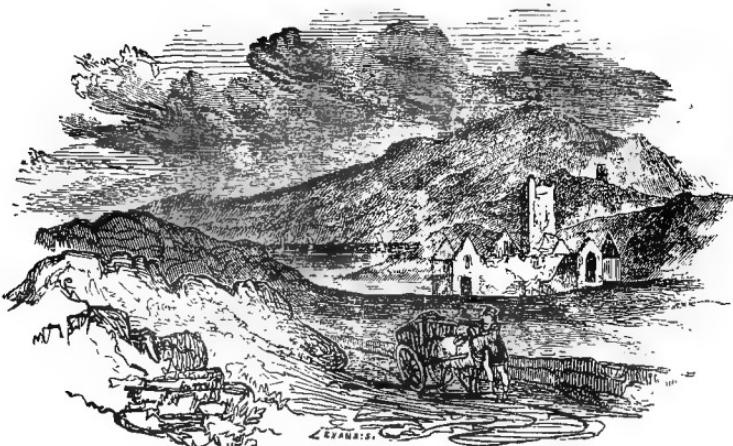
“The noble and learned lord on the woolsack has been pleased to say that a burst of loyalty took place in the south at the time the French were on our coasts. He does the Catholics of the south but justice in the observation, a justice that prejudice itself cannot deny them. Is it, then, for that burst of loyalty the noble and learned earl now opposes their total emancipation? This would be, indeed, a strange return for loyalty, a strange mode of strengthening attachment, and

invigorating affection. My lords, I must state it as my decided conviction, that if conciliatory measures are not immediately adopted, this country is inevitably lost."

"SIR L. PARSONS brought on his promised motion. He prepared by deprecating the most remote desire to say anything on this subject which could in the most distant degree increase the irritation which unhappily existed at present. Nothing could be more far from the wish of his heart than to add to that alarming discontent, which no man in the country could lament more sincerely or deeply than he did. On the contrary he was impelled to come forward on this occasion from the irresistible impulse of that duty which he felt called him to submit the measure he was about to propose, for the purpose of allaying that discontent, and introducing a system which should teach the people of this country they had a legislature who were capable and inclined to attend to other measures than those of punishment or extermination. But before he entered into any reasoning to prove the necessity of such a measure as he should propose to the House, he thought it necessary to vindicate the people of Ireland from the heavy charge which had been made on them, as if they were a people whom kindness could not attach, whom unlimited concession could not conciliate. The British Minister at that time (1778) governing Ireland, felt that there was a principle of discontent growing into vigour, which the usurpation of Great Britain had given birth to, and he thought it necessary to appease it, and how did he do it? By granting liberty to Ireland to cultivate tobacco, a plant which would not grow in the island. The people of Ireland, therefore, now began to complain that their manufactures suffered by the unequal terms on which they were obliged to contend with the manufactures of Great Britain, etc. It was remembered that while a yard of Irish cloth could not find its way into England without paying a duty of forty shillings, which amounted to a total prohibition, the cloth of Great Britain was admitted into the different ports of Ireland at a duty of only six pence. This inequality between the established manufacturer of



Rocky Island.



Innisherkin Abbey, Baltimore Harbour,
South Coast of Cork.



England and the languid infant manufacturer of this country was loudly complained of.

" What was the next measure of irritation to the people ? Some trivial disturbance had taken place in the west—disturbances, which, if they did exist, were excited by the recall of that nobleman—gave an occasion to government to send thither a military force, commanded by a noble lord, no longer in this country. What was the consequence of that measure. The laws were violated in every instance where there could be an example made. The gaols were delivered, not by legal trials of the prisoners, but by the visits of a military officer, who, when there was not sufficient proof against the prisoner to commit him, transported him on his own authority ; and mere suspicion of guilt was considered sufficient to transport a man for life from his country. Then for the first time (?) did the government of Ireland hold forth to the people the dangerous example of violating the law ; and from that time may be dated all the atrocities which have been since committed by the people, and brought a disgrace on the national character. It was then that the populace of Ireland were for the first time brought to believe they were not within the protection of law, (?) and then it was that they ceased to respect the law. Let gentlemen consult their own feelings—for the poorest peasant has his natural feelings as sensible and as strong as those of any gentleman who heard him—perhaps his social feelings are stronger, as he is not diverted from his family or his cottage by the distractions of dissipation. When the house of the peasant is burned, even if he be guilty of the crime charged—which is generally no more than that of having concealed arms—when his house is burned, and his decrepit parent is sent wandering for shelter about the country, what story does he tell ? Will not his appearance—his houseless poverty, and his grey hairs, speak at once his sufferings and his innocence ? Will not the impression which such an object makes, into whatever cabin he comes, be that of irreconcilable hatred against the government which inflicts sufferings such as these on harmless and helpless age ? If the lower

order of the people have as strong a sense of injustice, as deeply rooted an antipathy to oppression as the gentlemen of that house, will not the houseless children and forlorn wife of the suffering peasant rouse those feelings wherever they come, and create a wide-spread aversion of laws which show themselves only in such effects? What in fact has been the effect of these severe laws that have given occasion to such enormities? It is said the North is tranquilized—it may be so, but what kind of quiet have they introduced? They have smothered the flame, but they have not extinguished it. They have made the North a sleeping volcano, which is every moment ready to burst out and throw forth a torrent of destruction over the land. But if the North had been rendered quiet through the presence and immediate terror of a military force, what has happened in the other parts of the country? Until within these five months the south of Ireland had remained undisturbed. How was it now? If the enemy were again to appear upon the coasts, would the peasantry of the South now stretch forth the hand of affection to the king's troops—would they share their scanty food, and give up their bed to the weary soldier? Would they now, as they did when last the presence of the enemy called forth their loyalty and zeal, labour from morn till night in cutting through the frozen snow a passage for the artillery? Would they yoke themselves like beasts of burden, under the cannon, to accelerate the business and lighten the fatigues of the army?"

THE GEOLOGY OF THE COUNTY CORK.

THE county of Cork is the largest in Ireland. Its greatest length (from Dursey Head to Youghal) is 110 miles ; its greatest width, measured at right angles (from the Mullaghareirk Mountains to Dunowen Head), is 58 miles ; its area is 2,700 square miles. It constitutes the southern end of Ireland. Cape Clear, the extreme point, is well known as important to vessels sailing towards, or returning from, New York.

Of the system of parallel promontories in the S.W. of Ireland, stretching towards the W.S.W., four of the heads or capes lie within this county, viz.—Dursey Head, Muntervary or Sheep's Head, Mizen Head, and Cape Clear (the last is the termination of what is really a promontory, which has been a good deal cut up into islands). These parallel promontories, with their intervening bays, are part of a system of parallel ridge and valley conformation which extends the whole length of this county and outside it, towards the N.E. The principal of the valleys are traceable inland, even on an unshaded geographical map, by the courses of the rivers Blackwater, Bride, Lee, and the Bandon river. The ridge and valley lines are not quite straight ; whereas in the western part of the district they run, as above mentioned, W.S.W. and E.N.E., they curve gradually as we follow them eastward, until about Cork, Fermoy, and Youghal, they attain a W. and E. direction. This parallel shaping, though it gives an interesting general unity to the geographical conformation of the surface, is not in the least incompatible with equally interesting concomitant variety of that surface, on which depends the beautiful and diversified scenery of this county.

As might well be anticipated, even by a person totally unacquainted with physical geology, this superficial parallelism is not a mere unrelated accident ; it is both the expression of internal structure and the effect of certain different physical operation. A glance at the accompanying geological map (end of chapter) will show that the general trend

of the geological lines corresponds with that of the larger surface features, as above described. And a closer consideration will show that the connection of the two is even more intimate than this. The wider or narrower bands of Old Red Sandstone, marked in Indian red on the map, are ridges, more or less simple, and also anticlinal folds of the strata or beds of rock ; that is to say, the beds of O.R.S. slope downwards, or dip *away* on each side of those bands, and plunge beneath the limestone, etc., indicated by the other colours ; and those bands of limestone, etc., form valleys, more or less simple, and, with one very interesting exception along part of the valley of the Blackwater, synclinal folds, in which the beds have a general trough-like arrangement, and dip *towards* the middle part of the bands (Fig. 2). The wider bands, though anticlinal arches or synclinal troughs, are not simple ones ; they comprise subordinate, still parallel folds, some of which can be *deduced* even from our small geological map. Besides the general systematic folds of the strata, there are numerous minor irregular local contortions, crumplings, and faults, which do not betray themselves on our map.

Since these great parallel folds extend over the whole county, and since, moreover, with one exception, very trifling as to extent, the sedimentary stratified rocks which appear at the surface within this county, form one great succession of "conformable" (see below) groups, the general geological structure of Cork has, like the general surface shaping, very great simplicity and unity, which, however, by no means excludes great variety of geological interest, some of which, indeed, may be said to be of quite special nature.

The following account is drawn up almost entirely from the following sources, viz.—The maps and memoirs of the Geological Survey of Ireland, papers by various writers in the Journal of the Geological Society of Dublin, and of its continuation the Royal Geological Society of Ireland, and from papers in the Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society of London, and in the Reports of the British Association, etc. Messrs. G. H. Kinahan and J. O'Kelly, of the Geological Survey, and Professor Harkness, of the Queen's University, have also kindly afforded additional information.

Lower Silurian.—We will follow the historical order, and begin with the lowest and oldest formation that has a surface exposure in this county. It is the 'one exception very trifling in extent,' referred to above. If it were not for a little

portion of Lower Silurian exposure, only about four and a-half square miles in area, which happens to be enclosed by the northern boundary of the county, on the S.W. of the Galtee mountains, we should not be entitled to reckon this as one of the (visible) formations of the county of Cork. Its exceptional character, among the Cork stratified formations, makes us, however, glad to seize upon the opportunity of mentioning it. Whereas all the others are, as we have said, connected so far, as constituting one great succession of conformable deposits—this one lies unconformably beneath the lowest of those. We shall stop to consider and explain the signification of this. The Lower Silurian beds are generally much contorted, and thrown into irregular positions; but the overlying Old Red Sandstone beds will be found to stretch smoothly and evenly across their upturned, truncated edges, that is to say, "unconformably" (Fig. 1.) The inference is plain. The L.S. beds must have been laid down in the bottom of the sea nearly, at least, horizontally; the beds being, therefore, parallel with each other. After their deposition some great disturbing force threw them into confusion and crumpled them up; and, after that, some denuding agency removed a great portion of those beds, and wrought new surfaces across the edges of the remnant; and on those surfaces the beds of the O.R.S. were deposited with a stratification nearly, at least, horizontal (this is strikingly exhibited in Pigeon Rock Glen, outside the county). If the unconformability be great, as it is in the present instance, all this would involve a great interval of time between the two formations, and a great difference in the conditions under which they were respectively deposited (though conformability between two formations would not necessarily imply the opposite). The general description of the Lower Silurian rocks of this district is as follows:—They consist of hard quartzose grits, grey or yellowish, with slates, green, or purple, sometimes variegated; the cleavage in them being often very well developed. No fossils have been found in these rocks in this district, and, therefore, their age can only be concluded from their analogy with beds in neighbouring places, which are believed to belong to the Lower Silurian, and are similarly related to the Old Red Sandstone.

There are no means of determining the thickness of this formation in this neighbourhood, nor have any igneous rocks been found therein.

If this be—as it certainly seems to be—really Lower Silurian,

it is very interesting to find that, though in the Dingle Promontory, in Kerry, say only 80 miles distant, we find a thickness of about 5,500 feet of Upper Silurian, over which again come at least 10,000 feet of Dingle Beds, 15,500 feet in all, on which repose the Old Red Sandstone ; yet that here those great groups of strata are absent, and that the Lower Silurian is, as we have said, immediately overlaid by the O.R.S. (this indeed occurs also even in part of the Dingle promontory itself). This gives additional evidence of the great difference of age between these two formations, which are in contact in this district. The absence of the other formations may be owing to their never having been deposited here, or to their having been removed by denudation ; however this may be, the Lower Silurian itself has suffered great disturbance and denudation before it was overlaid by the

Old Red Sandstone.—The surface exposure of this formation occupies about one half the area of the county of Cork. The largest band of it stretches continuously from Dursey Head to Helvick and Mine Heads, in the county Waterford ; but we need not describe the outlines of this, nor of the smaller parallel bands, as a glance at the map will give a sufficient idea of them.

This formation can be separated into two divisions in this district, the O.R.S. proper, and the Upper Old Red or Yellow Sandstone. The boundary between the two is, however, rather indefinite, and it cannot be made out accurately. It is chiefly marked by a somewhat gradual general alteration of colour and material in the beds, and by a change from a very great dearth (almost absence) of fossils, below, to a less great dearth above. As to character of rock, the lower division of this formation includes every variety from compact siliceous grit and sandstone, with some conglomerates, to well cleaved clay-slate, and slates of purplish and greenish-grey and purple and green colours. The upper division has pale, yellowish-brown sandstones, yellow shales and purple slates, and sometimes whitish grits. The rocks of this formation are, in this district, harder and more affected with slaty cleavage than they are in S. Wales and Herefordshire ; showing that they have here been subjected to a greater amount of modifying influence.

The large mass (which includes the promontory of Iveragh and Dunkerron in Kerry) is, in the western part of the county, mountainous ; in the middle part it forms the high and

hilly ground, traversed by a depression, along which runs the railway between Mallow and Cork ; the hills decline in height to the eastern end of the county, but rise higher again beyond it. The O.R.S., though the oldest and lowest of the three conformable series of strata to be described, constitutes, as is most usual in such cases, the elevated ridges of ground which correspond with the anticlinal folds ; that is to say, when bands of other formations lie alongside of it ; but we shall consider this further in the section below on Denudation.

The O.R.S. proper, notwithstanding its great extent and thickness in this district, has not afforded any fossils, except a few obscure plant stems. In the Upper Old Red, however, have been found the following plants :—*Filicites lineatus*, at Inishbeg, below Skibbereen, and at Tracarta near Toe Head ; *Adiantites Hibernicus*, near Toe Head, on each side, and on the lower Glanmire road, one-and-a-half miles E. of Cork, and at Tallow bridge, just outside Cork, in Waterford ; *Sigillaria*, near Dunmanway, also at the north bank of the river Lee, E. of Cork, with *Lepidodendron* ; *Sagenaria Veltheimiana*, near Castletown Berehaven ; *Cyclostigma Kiltorkense*, at Tracarta ; with undetermined plant stems in several places, and the following animal remains—*Anodontia Jukesii*, near Toe Head, west side, and at the place above referred to on the Lower Glanmire road ; a fish tooth at Tracarta ; and fish scales near Tallow Bridge. It should be specially observed that none of these which have been determined are marine fossils. It would be, of course, unwise to build upon negative evidence resting upon so small an induction of instances ; yet it is worth remarking that this is, at least, in accordance with the position of Mr. Godwin Austen, which has been elaborately defended by Professor Ramsay, viz.—that the old red sandstone was deposited in extensive lakes and not in the sea. (N.B.—Mr. Jukes believed that the “Yellow Sandstone” of the south and of the north of Ireland are not the same ; though the former is Upper O.R.S., the latter is, as Sir R. Griffith ascertained, Carboniferous).

As to the thickness of the O.R.S. in Cork, it is impossible to make it out anywhere, except at the place mentioned above, where its base is met with, and the Lower Silurian appears from beneath it. In that neighbourhood it seems to be 4,000 or 5,000 feet in thickness ; but, as Mr. Wynne has observed, owing probably to great irregularities in the surface of the L.S., the O.R.S. seems to have been very unequally deposited

thereon ; that neighbourhood, therefore, will not enable us to estimate the total thickness of the O.R.S., although exhibiting its base. The greatest thickness that can be made out in this country is displayed in the neighbourhood of the well-known Pass of Keimaneigh, W. of the Lakes of Inchigeela. Sections about the southern part of the Pass give a thickness of 9,800 feet, and about three miles westward thereof a very continuous section gives 8,700 feet of strata ; the bottom not being seen in either case. Of these sections about 800 feet is to be given to the Upper Old Red. Thicknesses of 11,000 or 12,000 and 13,000 feet occur in Kerry.

The traps, or igneous rocks, in this formation in Cork, are of small extent, but of great interest. At Cod's Head there are beds and dykes of contemporaneous and intrusive green-stone ; the beds average 120 feet in thickness. We have the same again on the N. side of Dursey Island. About Crow Head there are intrusive dykes of the same rock. (The neighbouring Bere Island traps are mentioned in the next section.) The summit of the hill Carrigcleenamore, seven miles S. of Mallow, is composed of greenstone ash. (*Contemporaneous beds* of trap are flows of ancient volcanic rock poured out on the surface during the deposition of the sedimentary strata in which they occur ; they are of the same age as the strata with which they are immediately connected. *Intrusive dykes* of trap have been injected among the rocks in which they occur ; they are, therefore, of some age later than that of those rocks. *Trappean ash* is a stratified deposit of volcanic matter, derived either from the scoriæ of the eruption or from the destruction of trapean rocks, or both ; this is, of course, *contemporaneous* with the strata among which it occurs.)

In connection with the useful products belonging to this formation in Cork (reserving for the present the metallic *veins*), we must mention, first, the mechanically deposited copper ore which occurs in a set of beds lying either at, or just below, the base of the Upper Old Red. The *copper zone*, as this set of beds is called, can be traced over all the district stretching from Waterford into Cork and Kerry ; it includes a thickness of 300 or 400 feet, throughout which the particles of copper ore were deposited here and there in patches. The copper *debris* must have been derived from some older copper-bearing rock, perhaps Lower Silurian, as the rocks of that formation in S.E. Ireland contain copper veins which stop short at the junction with the O.R.S., and which must have been there

before the deposition of the latter formation. This copper, however, is only indirectly a useful product ; it would appear that it cannot be profitably extracted from the rock ; but it seems to have been the source whence most of the vein-copper has been derived. Good ochre occurs in many places, as well as a good many chalybeate springs, some of which were of much repute formerly. It is, no doubt, from the peroxide of iron which impregnates much of this formation that the ochre and the iron of the waters are derived. Tolerably fair slates are obtained in some places, as at Cappagh, near Schull, though not so good as in the next formation.

The Carboniferous Slate and Limestone.—This formation, which comes next in age and ascending order to the O.R.S., is often called simply the Carboniferous Limestone ; but as the greater part of the rocks belonging to this formation in Cork are not limestone, but slates and grits, and since, moreover, these constitute a very interesting and peculiarly important part of the formation, we introduce them into its title.

Wherever the slate and the limestone come together the former lies beneath. But, in a great part of south Cork, the slate occupies the whole of the formation to the exclusion of the limestone altogether, being directly overlaid by the next formation, the Coal Measures ; as may be seen at two spots near Carrigaline, and at another in the direction of Bandon, marked on the map, and, apparently, near the Old Head of Kinsale, west side, and on Whiddy Island near its northern end. And, moreover, although the sections may exhibit at one place, a great thickness of Carboniferous Slate as near Bandon, where it is at least 3,800 feet ; at another not far off, as at Macroom, only twelve miles distant, it may dwindle down to a very thin band, intervening between the O.R.S. and the limestone. (A similar great and rapid change occurs in passing from the middle part to the head of Kenmare Bay, or River, in Kerry). These circumstances led Mr. Jukes to perceive that the slate and the limestone portions of this formation must represent each other, to a great extent, and that they were principally contemporaneous, being composed respectively of deposits of sand, silt, and mud, on one hand, and of lime, on the other, which were being laid down at the same time in different parts of the sea ; just as dissimilar depositions are now taking place on different parts of the sea bottom.

The Slate shall be described first. The strata belonging

thereto have some variety of character. Below are bluish, occasionally dark grey, almost black, slates, with flags, sometimes interstratified with red slates. In some parts strong grits occupy a considerable thickness of the lower part; these are called Coomhola Grits. Above are found grey and olive grey and greenish and yellowish compact grits, with occasional calcareous bands, especially in the upper part. Sometimes, as near the head of Bantry Bay, there is no great change, at once, in passing from the last to the present formation, and no definite boundary can be made out. The cleavage structure is very prevalent, and, on account of the material of these strata, better developed than in the O.R.S. series; but we shall reserve this subject for a separate section.

This formation seems to present no marked peculiarity of surface; its materials having about the same durability as those of the O.R.S. It generally, indeed, forms lower ground than does that formation; though sometimes its hills, as Sheehy, 1,792 feet, six miles N.W. of Dunmanway, and Milane, 1,172 feet, four miles W.S.W. of the same town, rise higher than any O.R.S. ground in their neighbourhood.

The Carboniferous Slate is often abundant in fossils from top to bottom. It yields, especially in the Coomhola Grits, which are in the lower part of it, some land plants found in the Upper Old Red; but its shells, which are of *marine* character, and occur even in its lowest beds, separate it strongly from that formation. It contains many fossils of regular Carboniferous species, which circumstance, as well as that of its sometimes *representing* the limestone, clearly determine its position and relations among the stratified formations. It has also fossils peculiar to itself mingled with those mentioned; but this is only what we might have expected; as different kinds of sea bottom, in the same ocean, whether sandy, muddy, etc., attract and foster different forms of animal life. A list of the fossils would take up much space, and without illustrations, would be of no use, except to the practised palaeontologist. Those who wish to go into the matter should consult Mr. Baily's elaborate lists, with localities, etc., in the Memoirs of the Geological Survey, Exps to sheets 187, etc., and 192, etc., or Jukes' Manual of Geology.

The thickness of these rocks is, as we have said, remarkably variable; the greatest observed is near the Old Head of Kinsale, where it is not less than 6,000 feet. It is interesting to observe that the rapid thinning away of these

strata takes place in a S. to N. direction ; whilst a considerable thickness is maintained for a long distance in going from W. to E. Thus, near Kilmaki^loge harbour, in the middle part of Kenmare river or bay, they have a thickness of 2,000 or 3,000 feet ; in Bere Island, 4,000 feet ; eastward of Glen-gariff, 3,500 ; near Bandon, 3,800 ; diminishing gradually to 2,000 on the north side of Ballycotton bay. But in the latitude of Kilgarvan (at the head of the valley of Kenmare) Macroom, and Cork, only ten miles and less, northward, they are represented by the Lower Limestone Shale, which is there of insignificant thickness. It is evident, therefore, that the mud, silt, and sand, from which these rocks were formed, came from a source which lay to the southward of what is now the southern end of Ireland ; the maximum rate of deposition being much greater than that of the contemporaneous limestone, whose thickness acquired in the same time does not exceed in Ireland 3,000 feet.

The trap rocks of Bere Island and the adjoining part of the main land belonging to this formation are of great variety and interest. There are numerous both contemporaneous beds and intrusive dykes of both greenstone and felstone, with felstone ash. The igneous rocks occurring in the O.R.S. of this immediate neighbourhood have been already mentioned. It is most probable that some of the intrusive dykes in the underlying O.R.S., belong to the same eruption or eruptions of ancient lava, as have formed the contemporaneous beds in the overlying Carboniferous Slate. But, as we have seen, there are contemporaneous beds of trap in both formations, showing that there was volcanic activity in this immediate vicinity at two different geological periods. Near Mishells House, about one mile and a-half N.W. of Bandon, there are some rocks of greenstone ; but it is impossible to say how they are related to the surrounding rocks.

The principal useful products in this formation (reserving the metallic veins for a separate section) are slates for roofing, etc, sometimes of good quality ; such occur near Bandon, near Carrickbwee, on Inisherkin, near Cape Clear, at Dromdaleague and Curraghlickey (towards Dunmanway), near Glandore harbour, near Rosscarbery, near Gally Head, at Clonakilty, near Timoleague, near Kinsale, and at the Old Head of Kinsale, near Nohoval, and Ringabella Bay, and various other places. Brown ochre occurs near Bantry, and elsewhere. Some chalybeate waters issue from the rocks of this formation, as near Bandon, etc.

Where the Limestone part of the Carboniferous formation is well developed we usually have at the bottom the Lower Limestone Shale, which, in the absence of the Carboniferous Slate, rests directly on the O.R.S., and even seems to graduate into it. This evidently represents part of the Slate. Its beds consist of dark olive grey, or black shales, below, with thin sandstones generally in the upper part, along with beds of limestone. These strata are often highly fossiliferous ; they seem more intimately connected with the limestone than with the carb. slate ; for their contained fossils all range upwards into the limestone ; still the fossils form a peculiar group, distinguished by the special abundance or rarity of certain species. The thickness of the shale in this district is from about 250 down to below 100 feet.

The Carboniferous Limestone Proper.—We may disregard any subdivisions in this formation as such appear to be only of local application. The rock is generally a palish grey compact limestone, though sometimes it is dark in colour (it is sometimes variegated, as mentioned below under useful products). It was evidently formed from the *debris* of corals and crinoids. Irregular nodules of black chert, or Lydian stone, occur therein, in various parts of this district, as elsewhere. Sometimes, as around the city of Cork, masses of this rock have been converted into dolomite, or magnesian limestone. In such cases the stratification is often quite obliterated. The transformation seems to have been caused by the action of sea water containing sulphate of magnesia. Sometimes, as pointed out by Professor Harkness, the dykes of dolomite conform to certain perpendicular master-joints (the same phenomenon was noticed by the Geological Surveyors on the east of Kanturk and of Mallow). Sometimes, where the stratification is distinct, the dykes conform to it, as though in one case, the dolomitising water obtained access along the joints, and in the other, along the bed divisions, according to whichever happened, at any place, to afford the easier passage. Since lime can be dissolved by rain water, and by streams composed thereof, charged with carbonic acid derived from the atmosphere, limestone rock is liable to a special mode of denudation, besides the kinds of mechanical denudation which affect all sorts of rock. By this are produced the numerous caves and underground stream courses which occur in the limestone rocks of this and other districts. There is a cave, for instance, near Cloyne (which was named from the circumstance *Cluain-namhá*, the meadow

of the cave). There is another near Midleton, where there is also an underground stream. There are celebrated caves at the Ovens (this name being a corruption of *Uamhainn*, the cave) seven miles westward of Cork. These have winding alleys and crossing branches, sometimes broad enough for six or eight persons to walk abreast. They can be penetrated for about a quarter of a mile from the entrance. They are lined with stalactitic incrustations. The famous caves of Mitchelstown may be here mentioned, as some people imagine them to be in this county, the village from which they are named being within its northern boundary, though they themselves are just outside, in Tipperary. They are half-way between Mitchelstown and Caher. There are two sets of them : the western—that of Skeeheenarinka—has long been known ; the eastern and more remarkable, was discovered in 1833, by being accidentally penetrated by a limestone quarry. These caves consist of irregular and crossing passages which lead to several large chambers. Of the latter the Upper Middle Cave is probably the most striking ; it measures, in feet, 180 by 80, by 20 in height. The stalactites hanging from the roof and stalagmites rising from the floor are very beautiful and curious ; sometimes they join and form complete pillars supporting the roof. They form, also, other curious masses, some of which are named, as the "Organ," the "Table," etc. The Lower Middle Cave is less striking, but of greater height, viz., 35 feet. The Garrett Cave measures 255 by 50 feet ; its incrustations also are remarkable. The Kingston Gallery is perfectly straight, measuring 175 by 7 feet ; it has evidently been wrought out, like others of the parallel and crossing passages, along master joints in the limestone. The whole extent of the galleries and caves is 870 by 572 feet. No bones, etc., were found therein ; the caves having been inaccessible, until accidentally pierced, as above mentioned. Near Coachford, eastward of Macroom, are several large conical pits, some 20 to 30 feet deep, which have evidently been formed by the sinking of the ground into caves in the subjacent limestone, whose roofs have fallen in. The fact that the limestone always forms lower ground than the underlying O.R.S. and the overlying Coal Measures, is also the result of its solubility by rain water.

The characteristic fossils of this formation are pretty numerous in some localities in this district, although in others they are rather scarce. For reasons similar to those given above, we need not take up space by naming these fossils ;

more particularly as this well-known formation has no special character in this region.

The greatest thickness of the limestone in the county Cork cannot be well ascertained from want of suitable exposed sections ; but in the northern part of the county there is reason for supposing it to be 1,500 or 1,600 feet, which, however, may well be less than the actuality. Its maximum thickness in Ireland is about 3,000 foot. A bed of greenstone ash occurs in this formation at Subulter Hill, three miles east of Kanturk.

Among the useful products the first, of course, is the lime obtained by calcining the limestone ; this is generally of good quality. When the limestone is properly marked and coloured it forms ornamental marbles. There is marble near Churchtown and Doneraile (in the northern part of the county), black ; near Mitchelstown, well marked and taking a good polish ; at Castle Hyde, variously shaded, with fossils ; near Ballyclough, black, red, and variegated, these two last-mentioned places being near Fermoy ; near Cork, black, white, mottled white, light grey, or dove coloured more or less mottled, capable of a good polish ; on Little Island ; near Midleton, reddish and variegated ; near Castle Martyr, grey ; near Carrigaline, grey ; in the line from Cork to Ballincollig, along which runs a narrow seam of reddish marble, once much used ; near Kilcrea, and elsewhere. Ochre is obtained in this formation in the N.W. neighbourhood of Fermoy and near Buttevant. Some mineral waters rise through the rocks of this formation ; as chalybeates, near Castlemartyr, and elsewhere, and the thermal springs about Mallow. The temperature of The Spa, there, varies from 67° to $71\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ F., which maximum it reaches in November.

Before passing to the succeeding formation we must mention, very briefly, an important controversy connected with the Carboniferous Slate. We have purposely avoided the name Devonian, which is sometimes used for the O.R.S., and sometimes applied only to that part of it which is displayed, or generally supposed to be displayed, in Devonshire. The name is not only, for certain reasons, somewhat undesirable in itself, but in the present state of affairs it seems fraught with special inconvenience when considering the geology of Cork. Mr. Jukes wrote in 1853 (*Popular Physical Geology*) :—“ It is not unlikely that it is to the south of Ireland we must look for the ultimate complete arrangement and harmonizing of

the Devonian formation in the British Islands ; because we there seem to have both the Old Red Sandstone type of Siluria [South Wales] and Scotland and the slate and limestone type of Devon and Cornwall, and to have them in connection ; so that we can directly observe their order of superposition." The rock formations of Cork certainly do seem to supply the key by which those of Devonshire and South Wales may be explained and their relations made out. Mr. Jukes, some years afterwards, carrying with him to Devonshire his knowledge of the apparently typical district of South Ireland, came to the conviction that the rock strata of Exmoor, along the north coast of Devon, do not belong, as had been supposed, to the upper part of the O.R.S., but that they are nothing else than our Carboniferous Slate, and consequently equivalents, as to age, of the Carboniferous Limestone. He did not ignore certain difficulties connected with fossil indications, but pointed out how these were not decisive. We shall not presume to decide when doctors disagree ; we shall content ourselves with remarking, first, that his distinguished opponents laboured under this disadvantage, that they were fully acquainted with only one of the two districts in question, and *that* the one which was, for two reasons, the least suitable for determining the relations of the formations concerned ; and, secondly, that Mr. Jukes' conclusion has received confirmation since his removal from amongst us. If that conclusion be further verified, it will affect not only the "Devonian" rocks of north Devon, but also those of other countries, such as the Rhenish provinces of Prussia, etc. ; those formations will have to be regulated and determined by our South of Ireland strata.

Coal Measures.—This formation stretches conformably over the last, and is found lying directly, not only on the Limestone but also in the southward part of the district on the Slate ; this latter we have already referred to, as an important point. We now use the term "Coal Measures" in the wide sense in which it has been used by Griffith, De la Beche, Lyell, and Jukes, as including all the strata from the top of the Carboniferous Limestone to the top of the Coal Measures proper. Mr. Jukes, however, while so applying the name, pointed out (*Mems. of Geol. Surv. Exp. 137, p. 11,*) that if this formation in the south of Ireland were to be correlated with that of England, the flagstone-series part, lying beneath the coal-bearing part, would answer to the Millstone Grit of England. This is the opinion of Professor Harkness, who applies this

latter title to the rocks of South Clare. In the last edition of the *Student's Manual of Geology* Mr. Jukes says that the black shales below and the flagstones over them in all probability represent part of the Yoredale rocks and Millstone Grit of England. Professor Hull, the present director of the Survey, who has so extensive an acquaintance with these formations as exhibited in England, insists upon this correlation.

The strata now in question consist of alternations of olive-grey grits and sandstones and flags, with dark grey and black shales, etc.; the shales predominating below, the grits, etc., in the middle and upper parts; while in the upper part, or Coal Measures proper, appear beds of coal, fire-clay, and clunch. The shales frequently have a curious concretionary nodular structure, somewhat resembling the spheroidal formation which occasionally appears in basalt. The shales are often greatly cleaved, and the beds of this formation are much disturbed, sometimes to the extent of being inverted.

This formation makes a table land, with a well-defined escarpment running all round it; in the middle parts of its area it rises into monotonous undulating hilly moorlands, with many eminences approaching 1,341 feet, the height of Mullaghareirk, and 1,417 feet, the height of Mount Eagle. There are many parallel folds in this formation running E.N.E. and W.S.W., many of which are not perceptible on the map; others, however, are so. The three arms or promontories which run out to Mallow, Buttevant, and Charleville, are, as might be anticipated, synclinal troughs. An anticlinal fold runs between the last two to Castleisland, in Kerry; its course being marked by the limestone peeping up from beneath at Meelin and Taur; another runs in the same direction from Kanturk into Kerry, whose course is similarly indicated, though outside of our county.

There are many characteristic fossils found in this formation within this district; but, as with other formations, we shall not take up space by giving lists; particularly as there is no special interest in the fossils (as compared with those of other Coal Measure localities), as is the case, for instance, in Kilkenny. We shall merely note that sea shells are sometimes found in the lower shales and land plants in the upper parts of the series.

As to the thickness of these deposits which have been laid down in this district, it is impossible to ascertain its total

amount ; first, because we have no evidence that the top of the Coal Measures is anywhere to be found here, as no later formation comes over them ; on the contrary, as we shall see presently, the great probability is that much of the highest part of the formation is wanting ; and even if it were present, the great disturbance that these beds have undergone would make it impossible to get their thickness without sufficiently extended and very continuous sections. In the Mullaghareirk district, the lower or black shale series is 700 feet thick, the flag and grit series 800. In the southern part of the area, as is shown by a fine section made by the railway, N. of Mallow, these two series together give 1,600 feet of thickness, whilst what remains of the C.M.s. proper measures 700 feet.

The principal useful product is, of course, the coal, which is of three kinds, viz. :—anthracite, sometimes containing iron pyrites ; culm, which is a laminated coal, crumbling down on exposure to the air ; and pindy, a shale which is sometimes sufficiently carbonaceous to be used as fuel. Seams of coal have been worked in different places near the Mullaghareirk hills, and at Glencollin colliery, about a mile S. of King-williamstown. There are two lines of collieries beginning two or three miles S.W. of Kanturk, and running, for eight or nine miles, towards W.S.W. ; of these the Dromagh and Lis-nacon collieries are the most important. Several pits of culm have been worked near Gneeves and Ballyclogh, six or eight miles E.S.E. of Kanturk. Iron-stone and wavellite occurs in this formation, and some spas rise therein, as near Kanturk, etc.

We have now described all the geological formations of Cork, except the Drift ; but chronological order requires that we postpone the consideration of it for the present.

Parallel Folding of the Strata.—During the deposition of the long series of conformable deposits which compose the whole of those exposed at the surface in the county Cork, except the small area of Lower Silurian, above mentioned, this region must have been slowly and evenly, though perhaps not continuously, sinking ; and also, during this long lapse of time, there were some epochs of volcanic activity, as shown by the contemporaneous beds of two kinds of trap and strata of trappian ash (necessarily contemporaneous) occurring in two different formations ; with these exceptions, however, there was no disturbance in this district. But after the completion of the Coal Measures the great series of strata was thrown into the system of long parallel folds, to which we

have already referred. The character of the folding shows that the disturbance was not produced by pressures of upheaval acting from below along the anticlinal arches, as some might suppose on first thoughts. The distances of the axes of the folds are sometimes very small, relatively to the reasonably presumed minimum thickness of the earth's crust ; and it would be impossible that forces acting from below, along lines so close together, could produce a corrugation, on such a comparatively small scale, in such a crust, not to mention the difficulty of imagining how such forces could arise. Moreover, the foldings are generally violent, as shown by the steep dips of the strata, and sometimes so violent that some of the beds along the medial lines, or axes, of the anticlinals must be actually doubled up together (Fig. 2) ; and besides some of the folds have been pushed over, until the beds at one side have been inverted (Fig. 3) ; neither of which could have been accomplished by forces simply acting from below. We may here mention some of the inversions which have been ascertained ; there are, doubtless, many, the existence of which is unknown from want of sufficient evidence. Along the south side of what we may call the Cape Clear anticlinal the rocks dip the wrong way, viz., to N.N.W., from the end of Cape Clear to the root of Toe Head, a distance of 13 miles ; but this inversion extends, with the greatest probability, for at least 14 or 15 miles farther still ; since a little beyond, and inland of, Galley Head, in the same line, the Carboniferous Slate dips under the Old Red Sandstone ; the intermediate part of the inversion being nearly concealed under Rossscarbery Bay, etc. Also along the *south* side (again) of the Mizen Head anticlinal the Carboniferous Slate dips under the O.R.S., the inversion of the rocks extending for at least nine miles along their strike northward of Skibbereen (Fig. 3). An inversion on a much larger scale extends from the middle lake at Killarney, along the limestone valley marked on the map, to beyond Mallow, a distance of about 45 miles ; it is supposed that it may reach even to near Fermoy. Scarcely less than 15,000 feet of rock, including the whole thickness of the Carboniferous Limestone, have been slightly inverted ; in this case it is the *north* side of the great anticlinal which has been overturned. (We may mention that there is an apparent inversion on the south side of Dingle bay, in Kerry, this being again on the *north* side of a great anticlinal, which is, probably, a different one from that just mentioned ; the

north side also of the Clogher Head anticlinal, at the end of the Dingle promontory, has been inverted.)

It was evidently some tremendous pressure acting horizontally at right angles to the axes of the folds which crumpled the great thickness of strata into the condition in which we find them, sometimes even inverting them. The character of the folds, then, compels us to have recourse to this explanation. But we have further striking and interesting confirmation of it from two distinct phenomena, which prove that the very material of the rocks has been violently compressed in the same direction in azimuth as that just mentioned, and unquestionably by the same force. One of these phenomena, the cleavage of the rocks, is entitled to a section by itself (the next one); the other, the distortion of fossils, we shall now consider.

Distorted fossils have been found in various places in this district, as near Cork, in the Limestone; near Carrigaline, and near Ardmore Head, which is a little outside of our county, in Waterford, these places being in the Carboniferous Slate; and near the Old Head of Kinsale, in shales which possibly belong to the Coal Measures. These fossils have been squeezed or compressed in the direction mentioned, and drawn out in directions at right angles thereto. Professor Haughton (*Phil. Mag.*, 1856), by careful measurements of the fossils, and calculations founded thereon, has ascertained the amount of their distortion, and shews that if a spherical ball had been in the place of one of them, it would have been squeezed nearly into an oblate ellipsoid of revolution, with a polar axis considerably less than half the equatorial diameter; the proportion at Ardmore Head being 1 to 2.426, and at Carrigaline 1 to 2.144, (something like a circular *barm-brack*, with its upper and under sides similar whose thickness would be less than half its breadth). The amount of distortion at the Old Head of Kinsale is evidently similar; but the circumstances of the misshapen fossils (*Posidonia Becheri*) prevent its being as accurately determined. We beg leave to point out that another phenomenon, at the place last mentioned, is also the effect of violent compression, and that is the juxtaposition of crumpled and uncrumpled beds; arising from the interstratification of beds of different degrees of rigidity and capacity of resistance, and with different consequent modes of yielding to the tremendous compressing force. As we have said, the distorted fossils have

not only been compressed, in one direction, but elongated in others; we, therefore, cannot conclude from the above proportions that those fossils, and the containing rocks have been *condensed* to less than half their original volume. Still we may form some idea of the horizontal compression of the rocks at Carrigaline, for instance, which is within our district, and where the ellipsoid of distortion is accurately one of revolution. If the materials of the Carrigaline slates were absolutely incapable of further *condensation*, though squeezable, it is easy to calculate that, in their case, the polar axis of the ellipsoid would have been shortened from 1 to 0.601, and the equatorial diameter lengthened from 1 to 1.290. But, doubtless, there must have been some condensation, and this would make the actual shortening of the polar axis greater, and the lengthening of the equatorial diameter less, than these proportions. The cleavage planes are very steep in the Carrigaline district, sometimes vertical and generally dipping north; if we take the mean dip at 75° we shall be within the mark. Allowing for this, the horizontal compression of the slates has been from 1 to less than 0.623. When we combine these considerations with that of the generally so great sharpness of the folding of the beds and their usually so steep inclination, we may safely conclude that the rock formations, whose present surface is called the county of Cork, have been thrust together in the horizontal direction of W. of N., and E. of S., in some places, into one-third of their original breadth; though, perhaps, on the whole, into not less than one-half. The rocks on which the town of Kanturk rests, and those which form the end of the Old Head of Kinsale are now 45 miles distant; but before the compressing force came into action, they were, in all probability 90 miles apart.

Cleavage and Jointing.—Though the cleavage or slaty structure occurring in all the formations of this district, from the lowest to the highest, does not afford so *direct* evidence of compression as do the folding of the strata and the distortion of fossils, etc., yet it is unquestionably another effect of the same cause. It has been found by experiment that when a compressing force is applied to a yielding mass of suitable material, it produces in that mass a system of more or less well-defined cleavage planes at right angles to its own direction. Bearing this in mind, and having ascertained from two kinds of evidence that there has been a compressing force acting on

the rocks in Cork at right angles to the axes of the folds, we might expect, *a priori*, that if there were rocks there of suitable material, and in a suitable condition at the time, they would become traversed by a system of vertical or steeply-inclined cleavage planes, with a strike parallel to those axes. But this is what we actually do find, as was long since pointed out by Professor Harkness. The strike of the cleavage follows that of those axes, until in E. Cork it becomes E. and W., and the greatest compression of the fossils is at right angles to those planes of cleavage. The rocks of Cork afford, therefore, a peculiarly strong confirmation of what had already been concluded as to the cause of slaty cleavage. Cleaved and uncleaved beds and sets of beds are often found in this district, as elsewhere, interstratified. The reason has already been hinted at, which is that even though both should have been compressed (distorted fossils are found in both), yet they are not both of material capable of receiving the slaty transformation. The finer and the more aluminous, or clayey, rock matter acquires the more perfect cleavage. This explains the occasional presence of little patches of slate in sandstone, more particularly in the Upper Old Red ; these were, originally, balls of clay mixed with the sand of which the rock is composed, which afterwards became cleaved, in their present positions, by the pressure which has, of course, acted on the sandstone, though without cleaving it. There is another interesting circumstance connected with the material of cleaved beds, which is this, that the cleavage, when passing across a bed which is harder or more compact than its neighbours, will be refracted, and will cut more directly across that bed than the others.

The cleavage planes in this district are often vertical ; they are generally very steeply inclined, and their prevailing dip is towards S.S.E. There are very few instances of low dip of cleavage : but there are frequent exceptions in which the planes dip towards N.N.W., the strike being unaltered. This occurs in a narrow stretch of country running eastward from Glengariff, and again near Macroom, which is nearly in the same line ; it is the case also in the neighbourhood of Carrigaline, and in various other places, which need not now be mentioned. Sometimes there seems to be a connection between the dips of the cleavage and of the beds ; but usually none is traceable. Occasionally, in the case of a sharp minor bend of the strata, the cleavage planes will radiate outwards

on both sides from within the bend, so as to cut somewhat directly across the beds all round the curve, the strike being the same all the while. Since, with these exceptions, the cleavage will maintain a steady direction for considerable distances, while cutting through beds which are inclined in different directions, it is evident that the cleavage was not superinduced until after the folding of the strata, although these two were caused by the same compressing force. It is readily conceivable that the cleavage would require a longer time for its development and completion than the other. There is an interesting phenomenon to be observed at the S.W. corner of Mitchelstown Castle demesne, where there is a sharp and very regular bend in some limestone beds ; in this case the cleavage planes remain parallel to themselves throughout the sharply curved beds ; some of the beds have nodules of black chert ; these are lengthened in the direction of the cleavage planes. At first sight this might seem to be a case of distortion, similar to that of the fossils above mentioned, and such it may be ; yet it might also be accounted for in this way, viz.—that whereas the chert nodules, during segregation and growth, usually extend themselves rather in the direction of the bedding, as being that of least obstruction, they have, in this case, for the same reason, spread along the surfaces of cleavage. There is a curious phenomenon well displayed, for instance, on the east side of the hill Knockaphuka, beyond Schull, which we might call stepped cleavage. The cleavage planes have, at pretty regular distances, small oblique steps or shifts in them ; though there seems to have been no dislocation in the material of the rock. At some little distance, whence the cleavage cannot be seen, these steps will still catch the eye, and form very regular lines, running nearly at right angles to the cleavage lines. It seems difficult to account for this. It may be that the cleavage planes and the transverse planes of shift were not produced simultaneously, and that the latter were caused by an action which, under other circumstances, would have given rise to regular joint planes.

We now come to another quite different system of division planes, which has been, by Professor Harkness, referred to the same great compressing force as the cleavage ; and that is a set of master *joints* traversing both the Old Red Sandstone and the Carboniferous Limestone. These joints are vertical, and run N. and S., *i.e.*, nearly at right angles to the strike of the

cleavage. Mere shrinkage of the rocks will not account for these, nor for most other joints, as the peculiar smoothness of a joint surface indicates that it is not a mere crack or fracture. Professor Harkness shews that these joints are later than the cleavage. We can well conceive that, as the rocks were being more and more compressed and compacted, and as their particles were acquiring more completely the transverse position into which the pressure was forcing them, they, the rocks, would become more and more capable of withstanding further similar alteration, and at length refuse to yield any more, as they had been doing. When they had thus become no longer plastic, but practically rigid, relatively to the existing amount of pressure, they might still be compelled to acknowledge its power by taking a longitudinal structure under the still continuing stress ; and this structure would be emphasized by the subsequent shrinkage of the rocks, in drying, which would take place chiefly in the direction transverse to that in which the force had been acting, and perhaps scarcely at all in the direction in which the rocks were already so powerfully compressed. Perhaps we might venture to conjecture that the numerous faults in this district (which could not be inserted in the map without causing confusion), which run nearly at right angles to the axes of the folds and the strike of the cleavage, may be partly connected with the same horizontal strain, as being lines of fracture, or incipient fracture, produced thereby, like the joints just mentioned, and which were afterwards adopted and made use of by the movements which gave rise to the throws of the faults.

The great disturbance, of which we have been speaking, took place, as we have said, after the deposition of the Coal Measures ; since the folding and the cleavage which were produced by it have affected these strata, as well as those below them. But it would appear that it occurred before the complete (at least) formation of the succeeding Permian rocks ; since we find in the north of Ireland, as pointed out by Professor King, of Galway, that those rocks lie unconformably on the Coal Measures. This conclusion is consistent with that of Sir H. De la Beche, respecting the cleavage of Devonshire (occurring in the same formations), which is parallel as to strike with that of Cork ; and, in all probability, is contemporaneous therewith, viz., that it was superinduced after the time of the Millstone Grit, and before that of the Trias.

It is evident that the horizontally-acting compressing force

would have to thrust together and fold, to some extent, the underlying Lower Silurian, as well as the later rocks. It might seem at first sight that we have direct proof that this has been so in the facts, that the Silurian rocks in the neighbourhood of our district occupy the middle parts of the great anticlinal folds, which agree so well in direction with those of west Cork, at least; and also, that they are well cleaved in the same general direction as the other rocks. No doubt this may be partly the result of the same compressing action; but it seems highly probable that the Silurians were already cleaved, in the direction mentioned, before the deposition of the O.R.S.; for, in the first place, Sir H. De la Beche has recorded that in the south-west of Ireland cleaved pebbles of Silurian rock have been found in the O.R.S. conglomerates, the cleavage having been, as he says, evidently effected before those pebbles were detached from their parent rock; and, in the second place, it is most probable that the disturbance (or one of the disturbances, as there may have been more than one), of the Lower Silurians, mentioned in the section of that formation, which took place before the O.R.S. age, was caused by a horizontal compressing force acting nearly in the same direction as the later one which we have been considering did in west Cork and Kerry; for there are certain geological lines (outside of Cork) parallel to the axes of the great folds in west Cork, which must have had their present direction before the O.R.S. period. The later compressing force seems in west Cork and Kerry to have worked upon the already existing, nearly S.W. and N.E. lines, traceable in different parts of Ireland (and in Wales, west England, and Scotland), although in east Cork it has been able to assert its independence. It is a very interesting circumstance, and one deserving of consideration, that this region should have been at two widely separated geological epochs, acted upon by forces whose directions were nearly the same.

Metallic Veins.—The numerous metalliferous veins of Co. Cork occur in different formations; but there is no connection as to time between the veins and the containing rocks. At Ardtully, for instance (near Kenmare, in Kerry), the same lode can be traced back from the Carboniferous Limestone into the Old Red Sandstone. The metallic lodes of Cornwall were not filled until after the Coal Measure period; from which we might reasonably conjecture the same as to those of this district (although some copper veins in the Lower Silurian of Wexford are older than the O.R.S.). Mr. Kinahan concludes

even more, that the Cork veins were not filled until after the cleavage of the rocks was effected. This subject is, therefore, a distinct one in itself, geologically as well as economically, and it is entitled to have a separate section of this chapter to itself, and this seems the most suitable place for that section.

The metals found in this county, which are capable of being applied economically, are copper, lead, silver-bearing and otherwise, manganese and iron. *Copper* is worked in the Berehaven mines, at Allihies, and in the vicinity ; lead is found also in that neighbourhood. These mines are important and productive, and deserve to be mentioned first. Copper occurs near Glengariff ; near Bantry, and in different places out towards Sheep's Head (with green carbonate of copper or malachite) ; near Dunmanway, on the N.W. side ; in several places about Ballydehob and about Schull, not only on the mainland but on the islands (with green carbonate) ; about Crookhaven (with silver-bearing lead) ; near Three Castle Head ; near Castletownsend (with lead and antimony) ; near RossCarbery (with manganese) ; near Clonakilty (with lead) ; near Rathpeacon, two or three miles N.W. of Cork (traces of green carbonate) ; at Knockadoon Head, near Youghal ; and near Millstreet. *Lead* occurs at the following places, besides those just mentioned :—At White Ball Head ; near Bantry (but in a different locality from that above referred to), sometimes argentiferous ; near Leap (with iron) ; near Minane ; at Ringabella Bay, argentiferous ; near Carrigaline ; near Carrigtoghill ; on the coast just opposite Youghal (just outside Cork) ; and near Cary's Ville, about three miles eastward of Fermoy. *Iron* seem to have been extensively worked in various places in former times ; as at Coomhola, near Bantry Bay ; at Aghadown, near Roaring Water Bay, and at several other places on the coast ; at Dundaniel, on the Bandon River ; at Araglin, about eight miles north-east of Fermoy ; at Tallow, and elsewhere. The works were abandoned when the natural woods, which supplied the fuel, were used up. The metal, being smelted with wood, was of excellent quality, and esteemed equal to Swedish iron. In Bere Island there is specular iron ore ; in the Schull district iron occurs in nearly all the quartz veins and strings, generally micaceous ore or red haematite. It is found as mundic (iron pyrites) in some of the lodes in that vicinity, and also near Dunmanway. It occurs, also, as bog iron ore. *Manganese* is to be obtained at Leap ; Ross-

carbery, where it is especially abundant and pure; Castle Ventry; Nohaval, etc. The manganese "channel," near Ross-carbery, is very interesting, as shewing three periods of shrinking during the formation of the lode: there is first, a brecciated fault-rock; secondly, the iron ore, afterwards introduced; and, thirdly, the manganese ore, filled in last of all. *Sulphate of barytes* occurs near Schull, Bantry, Rosscarbery, Clonakilty, etc. The minerals have been, or are being, worked at nearly all the above mentioned localities; but, as is the case elsewhere in Ireland, although there is so much ore scattered about in many places, yet it is comparatively seldom that there is enough collected in one place to make the working of it remunerative.

It is very observable that all the above mining localities (except a few of those affording iron) are situated near the outgoing of the Upper Old Red Sandstone; whether the veins occur in itself, or in the O.R.S. proper, or in the Carboniferous Slate. Now it is near the bottom of the Upper Old Red that the copper zone, already mentioned, occurs; and this gives great probability to the opinion of Mr. Jukes that some, at least, of the copper of the veins was drawn from the copper ore *debris* scattered through that zone. Still the occurrence of lead, etc., at so many of those localities shew that other sources have supplied other kinds of metal in those places, and, therefore, very probably some of the copper itself.

Denudation.—We have already mentioned the great denudation suffered by the Lower Silurian rocks before the deposition of the Old Red Sandstone upon them; we now have to consider a denudation, also of very great extent, the chief part of which, at least, took place after all the above described operations.

The force which produced the folding of the rocks has had a great share in bringing about the *general* conformation of the surface; but only in this way, that it gave rise to certain conditions in the great mass of strata which largely determined the plan of action of other forces, viz., those of denudation; and it is these which have carved out the present shapes of the ground from the modified mass subjected to their action. If the work accomplished by the folding force had been left in its original condition the surface of the ground would have been quite different from what it now is. The Old Red Sandstone was, doubtless, entirely covered by the Carboniferous Slate or Limestone; and this, in its turn, was probably entirely concealed by the Coal Measures; all, as we have

said, in conformable sequence. The greater anticlinal folds, at least, appeared doubtless at the surface as ridges of Coal Measures ; or, perhaps, partly of Carboniferous Slate or Limestone. The upper parts of these ridges were removed by some denuding agency, which, in this case, was probably the sea, until the O.R.S. was laid bare, and itself much cut away along the crests of the anticlinal folds (Fig. 2.). This denuding agency may have begun to work, indeed, at the beginning of the disturbance of the strata ; it had, doubtless, accomplished some of its work before the age of the Permian formation ; it may have been laying down some Permian beds in this very district ; but if so, as the land was rising the sea was removing its own fresh deposits as well as demolishing much of the older strata. How much the sea may have done in this way it is impossible to say ; for afterwards another denuding agent came into operation, viz., the atmosphere ; and we cannot tell what proportion of the whole work of demolition was done by each. Still, considering the capabilities and mode of operation of each, it seems probable that the *rôle* of the sea was chiefly smoothing down the original ridges, and that the subsequent work of the atmosphere was to bring out the ridges again to some extent, and to form nearly all the surface shaping pretty much as we now see it. We have in this district strong grounds for this belief. Mr. Jukes, in his paper on the river valleys of this district, has drawn attention to the remarkable case of the river Blackwater, which, for by far the greater part of its course, belongs to this county ; although the phenomenon to be considered occurs outside, in Waterford. As will be seen by the map, the Blackwater enters, near Millstreet, a limestone valley, which valley, and the band of limestone, runs east continuously to Dungarvan harbour in Waterford ; but the river, having run along the valley for 54 miles, does not follow it on to Dungarvan, but turns at a right angle at Cappoquin, and its channel runs then directly south, across several Old Red Sandstone ridges, into Youghal harbour. This is explicable only on the supposition that the north and south part of the Blackwater represents the lower part of a stream which flowed south from the Knockmealdown mountains, before the west and east valley of the Blackwater existed. As this valley was gradually lowered by the atmosphere dissolving the limestone, its drainage flowed into the above mentioned north and south stream, which, with the increasing accession to its water, was able to cut down through the sandstone of the gradually brought out

ridges, as fast as the limestone of the valley was lowered by the atmosphere. The river Lee affords a similar instance. Instead of following the limestone valley on to Castlemartyr, etc., it leaves that valley at Passage and cuts across two sand-stone ridges to reach the open sea. There are some other, though less striking, cases, all of which are capable of the same explanation, which depends upon the principle that the shapes of the ground in this district have been chiefly wrought by the atmosphere. To this we may add that the present work of the sea on the coast of Cork is quite different from anything to be seen inland. A careful consideration of the conformation of a mountain district, such as that of west Cork, seems to lead unavoidably to the conclusion that its shapes have not been wrought by the sea. Even the bays of the present coast have not been formed by that agent ; they are the submerged lower ends of pre-existing valleys which run some distance inland. The sea, by its more powerful action on the exposed headlands, is escarping them into precipices, *i.e.*, wearing them away, leaving the inner parts of the bays but slightly affected, in comparison ; it is, therefore, tending to obliterate the bays. How could the ocean waves, by their own violence, work out a recess which shall be sheltered from that violence ? How could a "*Statio bene fida carinis*" result from the destructive action of the sea itself ? We are not slighting the tremendous force of the Atlantic waves on this coast, but only pointing out that they have their own peculiar work, which seems to be escarping higher ground into precipices and eroding lower ground into creeks, *cooses*, and channels. In some instances the effects of sea action, even within the historical period, are made very evident ; as in the case of Duneen Castle, near Rossscarbery, half of which, with the rock on which it stood, has been, in course of time, swept away ; a similar case is presented by Dunanore Castle, on Cape Clear Island. The narrow far-projecting Old Head of Kinsale has been tunnelled through by the waves, in one place : whence the recess on the eastern side of it is called Holeopen Bay. There are many fine caves on the coast which have been worked out by the sea ; as, for instance, near Rossscarbery. Some of them have puffing holes opening up to the surface of the ground above, through which the waves send jets of spray to a great height, after the manner of Mac Swine's Gun, in Donegal. There is one of these on the east side of the south entrance of Baltimore harbour, called Hell Hole. There are some great sea caves

on the outer side of Bere Island, and a very observable one in the Cod's Head promontory, and others higher up on the same side of Kenmare River in Kerry. But all this is, as we have said, very different from what we find inland, and corroborates the conclusion that the inland surface features are the work of another agent than the sea, *viz.*, the atmosphere.

But, however we may apportion the work done between the agents, the amount of the denudation effected by them has been enormous. To take a couple of clear and unmistakable instances—the now exposed Old Red Sandstone at Courtmacsherry, or Seven Heads promontory, must have been once covered with at least 5,000 feet of Carboniferous Slate, over which, in all probability, lay a considerable depth of Coal Measures, of which a patch has been left only sixteen miles distant. Again, the rocks at the north end of the Pass of Keimaneigh are 9,800 feet down in the O.R.S. ; that depth of their own formation has been removed from above them ; not to speak of the Carboniferous Slate or Limestone which must have overlaid that, and the Coal Measures which, in all probability, came over all. Where the Coal Measures proper still remain the denudation has been comparatively small ; yet even there it must have been considerable, as we see from the way in which the surface of the ground stretches across the edges of the steeply inclined, sometimes inverted, strata. The surface of the ground and the beds of rock never coincide but by accident ; although the greater surface ridges correspond with the greater anticinal arches and the valleys with synclinal troughs, yet the ridges are very gentle undulations compared with the great folds of the strata (Fig. 2) ; and most of the smaller undulations of the beds do not give rise to surface ridges. Sometimes, indeed, a ridge will even coincide with a synclinal trough of the strata. Such is the case with Mount Gabriel, near Schull, also with Sheehy Mountain, and with Milane Hill, both of which have been already mentioned as having their upper parts composed of Carboniferous Slate (Fig. 4.). This is entirely the result of the denudation having removed the surrounding country which once rose on each side higher than those prominences. The rocks in a synclinal curve present their edges to the denuding agent ; and this often seems to give them an advantage in resisting it. It is very necessary to realize fully the large amount of denudation that has taken place ; otherwise we may be led to form great misconceptions as to various phenomena connected with the rocks

which are now at the surface, but which were buried, perhaps, some thousands of feet deep, and therefore under conditions very different from their present ones, when those phenomena were produced.

The General Glaciation.—When the surface of the ground had nearly attained its present conformation, a different mode of denudation followed, which, though it has not effected much in the way of removal of material, yet has done enough to modify very perceptibly, in many places, the forms of the crags and rock surfaces, and to leave its peculiar unmistakeable traces thereupon. The rocks have been *glaciated*, that is, ground into rounded forms (*roches moutonnées*), and also grooved, scored, and polished, precisely as the rocks which have been exposed to the action of existing glaciers. Land ice, or glacier ice, is, therefore, capable of producing the phenomena in this district which we now have in view; and that it has produced them, all over the surface of Ireland, is proved to demonstration by the method of exclusion. We should not stop to prove this latter position, but that west Cork happens to afford such specially strong demonstration thereof. It is utterly impossible that any one who had examined for himself, and to a sufficient extent, the glaciation of west Cork could have recourse to floating ice, and slipping masses of mud as the grinding and scoring agents.

The traces shew that the glacial phenomena of west Cork were produced by some abrading *flood* (for such it was, though not of water) which came from outside the county, viz., from Kerry. The mountains of Killarney mark the position of the principal centre of dispersion, though there were other subordinate ones in connection therewith. Now it so happens that the mountain and hill ridges of west Cork run nearly at right angles to the *general* direction of the scoring flood in that district as it was moving away from said centre; and the scoring agent has moved up the near sides (to it) of those ridges, across their crests, and down their off sides—a fact which at once and utterly excludes floating ice as the agent, and also slipping mud, though for a quite different reason (these being the only two other proposed agents worth a moment's consideration). This can be well seen near Glengariff. Probably most tourists who have noticed the glaciation of the rocks about there have supposed that it was accomplished by ice descending from the hills around, which supplied what they have regarded as the Glengariff glacier. But the course

of the ice can be traced backwards, not only to the *col* pierced by the tunnel between Glengariff and Kenmare, but down the valley beyond, where the scorings will be seen running *up-hill* towards Glengariff. About five miles eastward of the tunnel, the ice has left its marks running from the Kerry side up the valley leading to the *col*, about 1,480 feet high, traversed by the Priest's Leap road. Similar instances can be found elsewhere. The scoring flood has left its strongly-marked traces running across the crest of this mountain ridge dividing Cork from Kerry, in many places, from the *col* at the head of the Coomhola valley to near Kilmakilloge harbour, a distance of seventeen miles, and no doubt, for a greater length. Its groovings are well seen on the top of the hill, 1,393 feet high, just beside the above-mentioned tunnel, on the east. This place is easily accessible, and any one standing there will see in a moment that the rock-scoring agent did not start from the hills above Glengariff. The glaciating flood has completely submerged the ridge, of which we have been speaking, at least within the limits mentioned ; it has swept over the southern Knockbwee, 2,321 feet in height, the most elevated point of that ridge, having left its marks in four places east and south-east of the summit, and only ninety feet below it. It has also overflowed Knockowen, 2,169 feet, near Kilmakilloge harbour (that is to say during its greatest development ; for afterwards the mountains there sent down their own ice northwestwards into Kilmakilloge harbour) ; and there is no reason to doubt its having submerged the head of Slieve Daid, or Hungry Hill, 2,251 feet high, near Adragole. We have not been on the summit to ascertain this ; but we have seen its scorings on the spur, running towards Adragole harbour, which shew that it flowed across that spur, close past the mountain itself. (The indications of enormous depths of land ice afforded by the above phenomena accord with what we find in the strikingly glaciated district of west Galway and Mayo, in North Wales, in Cumbria, and in Scotland.) The ice which entered the upper part of Bantry Bay proceeded to cross the bay, as we see from its traces on the east side of Glengariff harbour ; on Whiddy Island, and near Dunnamark (one mile north of Bantry). Some of it even turned, as at the head of the bay, to flow inland towards N.E. We find that at Ardnagashel it had already turned somewhat, but by the time it reached Snavy it got round into the direction mentioned ; this deflection, however, was only local, and caused by the general shape of the

ground in that part. The ice crossed the farther part of the mountain ridge of which we have been speaking, in an oblique direction, moving towards somewhat west of south; as we know from its traces, at a height of 1,100 feet on the east flanks of Slieve Miskish, observed by Mr. J. O'Kelly (it was still radiating from the centre of dispersion in Kerry). Having entered the lower part of Bantry Bay, it turned a little more westward, as shown by its marks, recorded by the same observer, and Mr. G. H. Kinahan, on Bere Island and the adjoining mainland. Mr. J. F. Campbell, author of *Frost and Fire*, also has lately described the glaciation of Bere Island, etc. That part of the ice-flood which crossed the head of Bantry Bay and the country above it proceeded onwards to S.E. It has left its marks in many places about Ballydehob and Schull, and on the islands near Cape Clear; also, as Mr. G. V. Dunoyer has recorded, all about the neighbourhood of Dunmanway. It was doubtless this agent that carried numerous blocks of the "Glen-gariff grits" south-eastward to near Clonakilty, etc. The indications of its behaviour near Schull are very instructive. Its scorings are to be seen just a mile and a-half north by east of the summit of Mount Gabriel, beside a road; also a mile and a-half E.N.E. of the same point, near the copper mines, very finely displayed. It was there flowing south-east by south towards the ridge of which Mount Gabriel is the highest point, and nearly at right angles thereto. It has left its traces on the crest of that ridge, viz., near the top of Mount Gabriel, at 1,200 feet, and on the summit of Knocknageeha, 708 feet, two miles southwestward; it has there moved down the lee side of that ridge, as can be well seen, for instance, about a mile and a-quarter north-west of Schull—a performance simply impossible for floating ice. We must not omit to mention the glaciation in the gap on the east side of Mount Gabriel. Sir H. De la Beche said it was as striking as anything of the kind he had seen in Switzerland. Mr. Dunoyer has well described the flutings as "architectural-looking mouldings." The precise phenomenon is, however, somewhat unusual; the ice happened to be moving directly along the edges of the beds in a vertical face of rock, and the softer beds have been ground away into shallow *cavettos*, while the harder ones stand out as *ovolos*; all being beautifully smoothed and striated. As we proceed towards the end of the promontory, Mizen Head, we find the traces of the ice pointing more and more westward, until, at length, they are directed towards S.S.W.—a change similar to

that observed on the promontory northward of Bantry Bay, and evidently to be explained in a similar manner. It is interesting to find that, at the lakes of Inchigeelagh, the scorings run west to east, still pointing backwards to the centre of dispersion. Some limestone, lately stripped of its covering of clay, etc., about a mile west of the city of Cork, was found by Professor Harkness to be beautifully glaciated about west to east. It is probable that in that neighbourhood the normal direction was towards south of east, and that the ice, being there in the bottom of a well-defined valley running in a direction not differing much from its would-be course, has been somewhat deflected thereby. Blocks of Mishells greenstone (already mentioned, near Bantry, see map) have been carried southerly and easterly towards Innishannon, etc.

We have no information, and therefore no *direct* knowledge, concerning the glaciation of east Cork ; this, however, is pretty certain that it was not swept by ice from Kerry, but from Limerick, though not *starting* therefrom. We shall not now go into the evidence for this, which is chiefly to be obtained outside of this county ; we shall only mention what appears within north Cork, though it is hardly sufficient by itself to prove the point. But this requires that another effect of the great ice flows be mentioned first.

The ice, moving along with tremendous pressure, was all the while grinding together the dislodged blocks and stones, and by means of them, scraping and rasping the rocks beneath. The product of this action was the Boulder Clay, a stiff, un-stratified clay, packed with more or less blunted (not rolled) and often greatly scratched stones and blocks. It is very similar to the moraine matter produced by the action of existing glaciers ; the difference being that its stones are generally more bruised and scratched. This *debris* was swept along the surface by the ice, so that materials of one kind of rock—say limestone—were often carried on to rock of a different kind—say sandstone—and the direction of this transportation of material, when it is thus observable, agrees, as we might have expected, with that of the rock-scorings ; often this Boulder Clay is left in great mounds and ridges, running parallel with the scorings ; but this is well exhibited only in the open plain country, of which there is none in Cork. Some of its materials have been rolled, washed, and swept into stratified gravels, to be mentioned again presently, and the whole has been sometimes loosely comprehended

under the term "Drift." Now the limestone drift of south Limerick and north Cork, and the blocks of Limerick traps have been everywhere carried southward both on to the Coal Measures, in the country west of Charleville, and on to the Old Red Sandstone east of the same town; and the sand-stone *debris* of the Ballyhoura hills (S.E. of Charleville) has, in its turn, been carried over the limestone south of those hills. In the demesne of Miltown Castle, a few miles westward of Charleville, the vertical beds of rock have their edges forced over to the south. This is a very frequent phenomenon in other districts, and wherever it occurs on level ground the direction in which the edges of the beds have been bent always agrees with that of the ice-movement in the neighbourhood. This phenomenon is unquestionably the effect of the ice, and it is to be taken as part of its traces. This ice, having passed the constraint of the Galtees and the Knockmealdown mountains (for these seem not to have been centres of dispersion), and probably now feeling the pressure of that from Kerry, would necessarily turn somewhat eastward, and cross east Cork, moving towards S.S.E. This is the direction of some scorings at the railway cutting near Fermoy, and we may venture to predict that the general course of the normal undeflected glacial striations in that district will be found to be in that direction.

Many of the large blocks of rock which are now perched in the hills, as well as low grounds, must have been moved by the land ice (though some, particularly the *far*-transported ones, must have been moved otherwise, as we shall see presently). There are many instances of these, too numerous to mention. There are two very large ones close to Dunmanway, one of which is called the White Horse Rock. The largest of all probably is the one standing beside the Ship Lough, two and a-half miles W.N.W. of Dunmanway; it is called the Ship Rock, and has a legend attached to it. Its measurement, roughly taken, is $40 \times 25 \times 16$ feet; its weight must be 1,100 or 1,200 tons.

Submergence of the Land in the Sea.—We have just now alluded to the fact that the boulder clay has often been transformed into water-arranged stratified gravel. The land was, therefore, beneath the sea after the time of the glaciation by land ice. The water has often rolled and washed together great collections of this gravel; as, for instance, in the glen hollows on the north side of Caherbarnagh Mountain, near

just north of Cork, near New Glanmire, near Midleton, and beyond Ballinacurra, near Castlemartyr, near Youghal, and in many other places. These gravels often contain an admixture of far transported materials, such as we do not find in the boulder clay. Fragments of sea shells, oysters, etc., have been found in this drift in this county by Mr. F. M. Jennings and by Mr. A. B. Wynne. In other parts of Ireland a considerable number of marine shells have been obtained in this formation. Mr. Du Noyer found gravel and sand at the height of 2,050 feet on Mullaghanish Mountain, nine miles N.W. by W. of Macroom, giving evidence of the great depth of the submergence in the sea (there is evidence of a similar subsidence in north Wales). In some places, but not yet in Ireland, Arctic shells have been found in these gravels. It seems to have been chiefly during the latter part of this submergence that the *far*-transported boulders were carried about, these are often found lying *on* mounds of gravel and sand; which circumstances proves that they were left there after the submergence had begun, and also that they must have been borne thither by floating ice. Any rush of water strong enough to leave, often very large, blocks on a mound of gravel, would have swept away the gravel before moving the block. A great many blocks of Galway granite have been found in many parts of this county, as far south as four miles north of Carrigtohill, near Midleton. Chalk flints may be found on the east side of Youghal Bay, not only on the shore but in the cliffs of drift, also in Ballycotton Bay. They have been found also on the shore of Inisherkin and Inishodriscol and the N.E. part of Roaring Water Bay. Mr. Wyley, who found them there, thought they might possibly have been brought by vessels in ballast. The nearest chalk with flints that we know of is in Antrim, in N.E. Ireland.

Re-emergence and Local Glaciers.—After the land rose again from the sea the climate was still much colder than at present; as we conclude from the remains of Arctic animals found in caves, etc., and from the tokens of small local glaciers to be found in many mountain hollows or cooms, or corries. These small glaciers were evidently later than the submergence, or, at least, than the earlier part of it; though the proofs of this are not so strong in Cork as in some other districts. The signs of them are here neither so frequent nor so striking as in Kerry. At least two of the Millstreet, nourished small glaciers. The well-developed

corry, or coom, containing Lough-na-m-Brack-dearg, near the head of Coomhola Valley, is a very interesting glacier-site, with well-marked moraine. There were evidently small glaciers in each of the hollows, Coomarkane and Coomadavallig, on the west side of Hungry Hill, between Glengariff and Castletown Berehaven; some other hollows have probably contained glaciers; but the traces are scarcely well enough marked to make them worth mention. All those referred to have little tarns in their bottoms. The latero-terminal part of the moraine of a corry glacier is usually the most striking and well marked.

The land rose after the submergence to a higher level than that at which it stands at present (this, though probably not indispensable, was one of the conditions which conspired to favour the production of the corry glaciers); of this we have direct proof in the submerged bogs to be found off shore in Cork and in many other parts of Ireland. Peat is cut from such bogs near Rosscarbery, and at Tralong Bay, two miles westward thereof, also on the west side of Courtmacsherry Bay. On the east side of Clonakilty Bay the surface of the bog is but little above the sea, but it has been probed to the depth of fifty feet. Such bogs, of course, could only be formed on ground standing above the sea. Another reason for inferring the greater elevation of the land, at that time, is this, that Ireland must have been united to England and the Continent after the general glaciation and subsequent deep submergence. In no other way than this can we account for the immigration of the greater part of the land animals into Ireland, some of which animals are now extinct; such as the Arctic Mammoth or Woolly Elephant (*Elephas primigenius*), whose remains have been found in a cave near Dungarvan, a short way out of this county, in Waterford, and the Irish Elk, as it is sometimes called (*Megacerus Hibernicus*), which was related to the reindeer, and would, probably, prefer a climate colder than that of Ireland is now, and whose remains have been found in this county a little to the S.W. of Charleville, in the townland of Rathmealey, near Cooliney. We may mention here the Polar bear (*Ursus Maritimus*), though not extinct, another Arctic animal, whose bones have been found in Lough Gur, Co. Limerick, outside the northern boundary of this county.

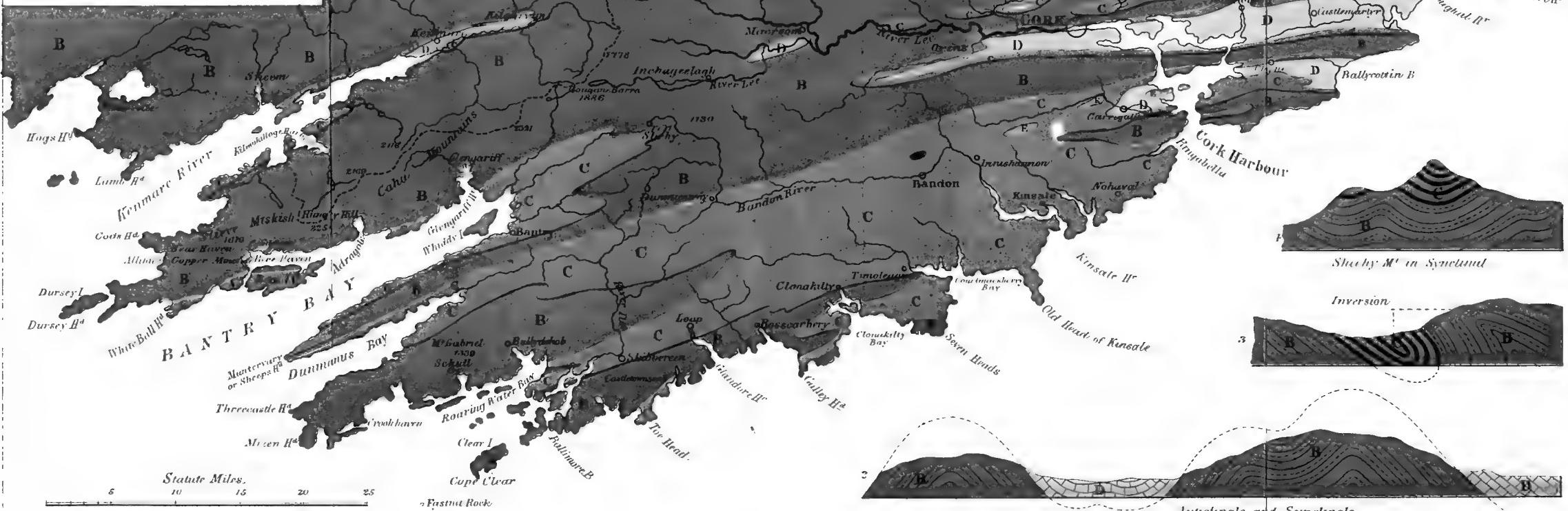
We have no record of stone weapons, etc., of human manufacture having been found, as yet, in the drift of this district.

GEOLOGICAL MAP OF CO. CORK.

From Jukes' Geological Map of Ireland.

TABLE OF COLOURS FOR MAP AND SECTIONS

*Unconform. Lower Silurian and O.B.S.
Some Principal heights marked in feet*



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Anticlines and Synclines

Forster & C° Lith. Crow St Dublin

The calcareous sand, which is dredged off many parts of the coast and extensively used for manuring the land, is a recent formation; the valuable part of it being the lime, which consists of the *debris* of corals and marine shells.

THE FAUNA OF THE COUNTY CORK.

WE are indebted to the well-known and eminent naturalist, Dr. Harvey, for the following account of the Fauna of the County of Cork. It was first published in book form after the meeting of the British Association in 1843, but valuable additions have been made for the present work.¹

MAMMALIA CLASS—CHEIROPTERA ORDER.

Pipistrelle, (*Vespertilio pipistrellus*)—common.

Long-eared Bat (*Plecotus auritus*)—common.

INSECTIVORA ORDER.

Hedgehog (*Erinaceus Europaeus*)—frequent.

Common Shrew (*Sorex rusticus*)—pretty generally distributed.

CARNIVORA ORDER.

Badger (*Meles taxus*)—not common. Woods near Bandon.

Otter (*Lutra vulgaris*)—not uncommon. Coast, Youghal, &c.

Stoat (*Mustela erminea*)—common.

This animal is universally known as the common Weasel. I have not seen a native specimen of *Mustela vulgaris*.

1. From the Preface to the Edition published for the British Association:—"Summary of the number of species in each class which have been found in the county, as compared with those of Great Britain and Ireland.

	Mammalia.	Birds.	Reptiles.	Amphibia	Fishes.	Total.
Great Britain	67	301	8	7	236	619
Ireland	31	238	2	5	159	435
Cork	24	197	1	1	95	228

"*Vultur fulvus* has only been met with in the one instance here recorded, in the British Isles: *Turdus Whitei Glareola pratincola*, and *Naucrates duxor* are likewise new to the Irish Fauna; and the only occurrence of *Sciæna aquila* as an Irish species, in Cork harbour within a few years.

" Since this catalogue was printed, a female Dotterel (*Charadrius morinellus* Linn) came into my possession through the kindness of Mr. Robert Olden, of Winthrop-street, in this city. A single individual, obtained in Tipperary about two years since, by Mr. Robert Davis, jun., was the only instance I had heard of its occurrence in the South of Ireland before. I have also received a fine specimen of the Cinereous Shrike (*Lanius excubitor* Linn) which was shot by Mr. John Travers, of Commines, near Carrigaline, a few days since.

" J. (R.) H.

" NOVEMBER, 1844."

The additions since made are incorporated into the following catalogue.

Pine Marten (*Martes abietum*)—(qu. young animal).

Common Marten (*Martes foina*).

I have met with specimens, answering to the specific descriptions of both of these, as well as with the breast in an intermediate condition. Mr. Eyton's opinion, that they are one species at different ages, is probably correct. Barry's Court, near Carrigtohill; woods near Bandon, Dunmanway, etc.—rare.

Fox (*Vulpes vulgaris*)—common.

Seal (*Phoca vitulina*)—common.

Grey Seal (*Haliechœrus gryphus*). Turbot Bank, Cork harbour, 1846, and seen usually about rocks in the open sea.

RODENTIA ORDER.

Field Mouse (*Mus sylvaticus*)—common.

Common Mouse (*Mus musculus*)—common.

Black Rat (*Mus rattus*). In old buildings in the northern parts of the city of Cork, near Garrycloyne, etc.—rare.

Irish Hare (*Lepus Hibernicus*).

Alpine Hare (*Lepus variabilis*).

Shewn by Mr. Thompson at the Meeting of the British Association, in 1843, to be the same species.

Rabbit (*Lepus cuniculus*)—common.

CETACEA ORDER.

Dolphin (*Delphinus delphis*)—common.

Porpoise (*Phocæna communis*)—common.

Grampus (*Phocæna Orca*).

Round-headed Porpoise (*Phocæna melas*). Frequently captured in large companies on different parts of the coast.

Spermaceti Whale (*Physeteridæ macrocephalus*).

One was captured at Clay Castle, near Youghal, about 70 years since, and one at Castlehaven.

Northern Rorqual (*Balaenoptera Boops*).

A whale 85 feet long, stranded many years ago at Crookhaven, and the jaws of which form an arch at the entrance of Aghadown (Colonel Beecher's), I presume to have been of this species.

Another individual, which, from the particulars kindly sent me by my friends George Armstrong and J. Fitz-Henry Townsend, Esqrs., I have little hesitation in referring to this

species also, ran in amongst the rocks of Glandore Harbour this summer (1844), and was taken. It was a male, and measured 74 feet in length and 30 in girth. Length of head about 18 feet; gape from point of nose to angle of mouth, 16 feet. The longest plates of baleen were two-and-a-half feet, the shortest six inches. Tail 18 feet from tip to toe. One small thick dorsal fin at a distance of nine feet from the tail. The colour was black above, and a mottled grey on the under surface. The skin of the belly and under parts was thrown into very distinct longitudinal folds. The pectoral fins were of enormous power, but their measurement is not given.

AVES CLASS—RAPTORES ORDER.

Fulvous, or Golden Vulture (*Vulture fulvus*).

Of the occurrence of this, the first individual either of the genus or species hitherto recorded in the British Isles, I have received the following particulars from my friend Mr. Ball, of Dublin, who obtained the specimen from the Earl of Shannon, and has deposited it in the Museum of Trinity College, Dublin. The bird, which was, until lately, alive at his lordship's residence at Castlemartyr, and was supposed to be an eagle, was recognized by Admiral Bowles as a vulture, and attention drawn to it in consequence. It had been taken about a year before on the rocks in Cork Harbour, and when brought to Lord Shannon's was in perfect plumage, and presented no indications of ever having been in confinement. From this it does not seem likely that it could have escaped from a ship; on the contrary, there is more reason for considering it a rare occasional visitant. Again, being a European bird, and extending its range as far as Switzerland, it was at least as likely to have occurred as the Egyptian vulture (*Neophron percnopterus*) which has been met with once or twice in Britain.

Golden Eagle (*Aquila Chrysaetos*). Breeds on the borders of Cork and Tipperary, and I believe also at Gougane Barra—resident.

Erne, Cinerous or Sea Eagle (*Haliætus albicilla*). Cliffs, not uncommon—resident.

This species I have uniformly found larger than the Golden Eagle; the contrary is generally stated in books.

Osprey (*Pandion Haliætus*). Lakelands, near Cork, October, 1848.

Peregrine Falcon (*Falco Peregrinus*). Cliffs on the sea coast—not uncommon.

Merlin (*Falco æsalon*)—resident.

Kestrel (*Falco tinnunculus*). More frequent than the last.

Sparrow Hawk (*Accipiter fringillarius*)—common.

Common Buzzard (*Buteo vulgaris*)—not common.

Marsh Harrier (*Circus rufus*). Blarney, Inchigeela, etc.—resident.

Hen Harrier (*Circus cyaneus*)—resident ; common.

There can be little doubt that the Kite (*Milous Ictinus*, Sav.) was a resident a century since. Smith (*Hist. Cork*, vol. 2, p. 321, 1750,) describes it as “common” under the name of *Melous candâ forcipata*, a description of which could only have applied to this bird. The Goshawk and the Gentil Falcon (which last is the young Goshawk) he probably confounded with the Peregrine Falcon. This bird is to be found at present in the same localities to which he referred them.

Long-eared Owl (*Otus vulgaris*).

Short-eared Owl (*Otus brachyotus*). A winter visitant. In low marshy grounds—not rare.

Barn Owl (*Strix flammea*)—common.

Snowy Owl (*Surnia nyctea*). An individual of this species was twice fired at by my friend Richard D. Parker, Esq., of Sundays Well, on Inchigeela mountain, in 1827, but was not procured.

INSESSORES ORDER.

Cinereous Shrike (*Lanius excubitor*). This bird has occurred but once, that I am aware of (in the year 1834) in this county. It was preserved by Mr. Dowden.

Spotted Fly-catcher (*Muscicapa grisola*). Regular summer visitant.

Dipper or Water Ousel (*Cinclus aquaticus*). Rocky mountain streams—resident ; not uncommon.

Missel Thrush (*Turdus viscovirus*). Breeds regularly here of late years.

White's Thrush (*Turdus Whitei*, Eyton).

An example of this rare bird (the first met with in Ireland) was obtained in December, 1842, by Mr. Splaine, at his residence near Bandon, in this county. It is in the possession

of Dr. Allman, of Dublin. Mr. Splaine thinks he has seen a second individual in the same locality.

Fieldfare (*Turdus pilaris*)—winter visitant; common.

Song Thrush (*Turdus musicus*)—resident; common.

Red Wing (*Turdus iliacus*)—winter visitant; common.

Blackbird (*Turdus merula*)—resident; common.

Ring Ouzel (*Turdus torquatus*)—summer visitant to the mountainous district.

Golden Oriole (*Oriolus galbula*). A rare occasional visitant.

One was sent to the Institution in 1823 by Lord Bantry; another was obtained at Castlemartyr some years since by Mr. Ball. A considerable number taken near Bantry in 1870.

Hedge Accentor (*Accentor modularis*)—resident; common.

Redbreast (*Erythaca rubecula*)—common.

Black Redstart (*Phoenicura tithys*).

Of this species five individuals were shot near Youghal by Mr. Ball in 1818 or 1819. One only was preserved. A bird supposed to be *P. tithys* was seen at Youghal in 1837. It has also been lately obtained in the neighbouring county of Waterford by Dr. Burkitt.

Stonechat (*Saxicola rubicola*)—resident; common.

Whinchat (*Saxicola rubetra*)—summer visitant; rare.

Wheatear (*Saxicola ænanthe*) summer visitant.

Sedge Warbler² (*Salicaria phragmitis*)—summer visitant.

Blackcap Warbler (*Currucà atricapilla*)—summer visitant.

This bird probably winters with us occasionally. I have known several instances of its occurrence at this season within a few years. In one case six were seen in a flock in December by my friend Mr. Robert Davis, jun., of Clonmel. I saw two together in November, 1839, both of which were taken. They were also seen in the winter of 1833, by Mr. Ball.

White-throat (*Currucà cinerea*)—summer visitant.

Willow Warbler, or Willow Wren (*Sylvia trochilus*); summer visitant—common.

Chiff-chaff (*Sylvia hippolais*); summer visitant—less common than the last.

I am inclined to believe that the Wood-wren (*Sylvia sibila-*

^{2.} *Salicaria locustella*, Mr. Davis informs me, breeds in the county of Tipperary.

trix, Bechst) is entitled to the place in the Catalogue of British Birds which Mr. Thompson doubtfully assigns to it, on the authority of a friend. This gentleman's observations as to the nest being lined with feathers, contrary to the account of it in the different systematic works, entirely coincide with those of my late friend and relative, Mr. Henry Fennell, of Ballybrado, in the county of Tipperary. This talented young gentleman, who was an ardent Ornithologist, closely observed, a few years since, a bird which appeared to him new, and he found both nest and eggs precisely answering the description of Mr. Thompson in the *Annals of Natural History*, vol. I., p. 22. The nest was "profusely lined with feathers," and the eggs (two of which are now in my possession) quite differently spotted from those of the Willow Wren, and much more densely covered. The bird was larger than either the Willow Wren or Chiff-chaff, and white underneath.³

Gold-crested Wren (*Regulus auricapillus*)—not uncommon.

Great Titmouse (*Parus major*)—common.

Blue Titmouse (*Parus cæraleus*)—common.

Cole Titmouse (*Parus ater*)—common.

Long-tailed Tit (*Mecistura caudata*)—rare.

Bohemian Waxwing (*Bombycilla garrula*). Once procured in 1920, at Castlemartyr, by Mr. Ball; and at Communes, Carrigaline, 1850.

Pied Wagtail (*Motacilla Yarrellii*)—common.

Grey Wagtail (*Motacilla boarula*)—common.

Both species permanent residents.

Tree Pipit (*Anthus arboreus*)?

Meadow Pipit (*Anthus pratensis*)—resident; common.

Rock Pipit (*Anthus obscurus*)—resident.

Sky Lark (*Alauda arvensis*)—resident; common.

Wood Lark (*Alaude arborea*)—resident; common.

Snow Bunting (*Plectrophanes nivalis*). Not very uncommon in immature plumage in winter. I have seen but one adult bird.

Common Bunting (*Emberize miliaria*)—resident; common.

Reed Bunting (*Emberiza schoeniclus*)—resident; common in low grounds, etc.

3. Mr. F. obtained both eggs and young of *Curruca hortensis*, *Curruca atricapilla*, and several others of our rarer visitors.

Yellow Bunting (*Emberiza citrinella*)—common.

Chaffinch (*Fringilla cœlebs*)—resident ; common.

Mountain Finch or Brambling. Occasionally in considerable numbers in winter.

House Sparrow (*Passer domestius*)—resident ; common.

Green Grosbreak (*Coccothraustes chloris*)—resident ; common.

Hawfinch (*Coccothraustes vulgaris*). One at Ardrum ; one at Cittadella.

Goldfinch (*Carduelis elegans*).

Siskin (*Carduelis spinus*). Not unfrequently seen about Ardrum, Inniscarra, etc., in winter for several years past. I have a specimen from the former locality.

Common Linnet (*Linota cannabina*)—resident ; common.

Lesser Redpole (*Linota linaria*)—winter visitant ; rare.

Mountain Linnet or Twite (*Linota montium*).

Bullfinch (*Pyrrhula vulgaris*)—not generally distributed.

Common Crossbill (*Loxia curvirostra*).

Large numbers of Crossbills made their appearance in different parts of the South in 1838-9. Some remained the whole year, and bred in the adjoining county of Tipperary, from whence young birds were sent me by the late Mr. Henry Fennell. A few were seen last summer in this neighbourhood.

Common Starling (*Sturnus vulgaris*). Breeds plentifully in the rocks at Reanye Bay, etc.

Chough (*Fregilus graculus*). On cliffs over the sea—not generally distributed.

Raven (*Corvus corax*)—resident.

Carriion Crow (*Corvus corone*)—resident.

Hooded Crow (*Corvus cornix*)—resident ; common.

Rook (*Corvus frugilegus*)—resident.

Jackdaw (*Corvus monedula*)—resident ; common.

Magpie (*Pica melanoleuca*)—resident ; common.

Jay (*Garrulus glandarius*)—resident. In woods—not common.

Creeper (*Certhia familiaris*)—resident ; not common.

Common Wren (*Troglodytes Europæus*)—resident ; common.

Hoopoe (*Upupa epops*).

Examples of this bird occur not uncommonly in summer. I have known of three within two years.

Common Cuckoo (*Cuculus canorus*)—summer visitant.

Roller (*Coracias gamela*). Shot at Knockduff, near Dunmanway, September, 1851.

Carolina Cuckoo (*Coccyzus Americanus*).

The first record of this species as a British bird was by Mr. Ball ; it was shot near Youghal in 1825. One since occurred near Bray, which is in the possession of Mr. Robert Davis, jun., of Clonmel.

Kingfisher (*Alcedo ispida*)—resident; pretty generally diffused.

Chimney Swallow (*Hirundo rustica*)—summer visitant; common.

House Martin (*Hirundo urbica*)—summer visitant; common.

Bank Martin (*Hirundo riparia*)—summer visitant; common.

Common Swift (*Cypselus apus*)—summer visitant; common.

Alpine Swift (*Cypselus melba*). A single example obtained off Cape Clear in the year 1838—a very rare visitant to Britain.

Nightjar (*Caprimulgus Europaeus*)—summer visitant; pretty common in the south generally.

RASORES ORDER.

Ring Dove (*Columba palumbus*)—resident; common.

Rock Dove (*Columba livia*)—resident; common on the coasts.

Turtle Dove (*Columba turtur*)—summer visitant.

The Turtle Dove has been shot at Castlefreke, in the west of the county, by the Rev. Joseph Stopford. It has also been frequently observed in two localities in the neighbourhood of Carrigaline, about ten miles south of Cork.

Red Grouse (*Lagopus Scoticus*)—resident.

Common Partridge (*Perdix cinera*)—resident.

Common Quail (*Coturnix vulgaris*)—summer visitant; not very common.

The Great Bustard (*Otis tarda*), was formerly found in Cork, according to Smith.—*Hist. Cork*, vol. 2, p. 329.

GRALLATORES ORDER.

Collared Pratincole (*Glareola pratincola*).

The Pratincole has not hitherto had a place amongst Irish birds, but I have no hesitation in admitting it into this catalogue on the authority of my friend the Rev. Joseph Stopford, who is well acquainted with our native birds. He informs me that he shot the birds a few years since in the

month of October at Castlefreke, the seat of Lord Carbery. The minute description which he gave me leaves no doubt as to his correctness. The specimen, I regret to say, was not preserved.

Golden Plover (*Charadrius pluvialis*)—resident; common.

Ringed Plover (*Charadrius hiaticula*)—resident; common.

Grey Plover (*Squatarola cinerea*)—winter visitant; not very common.

Smith (*Hist. Cork*, vol. 2, p. 300) enumerates the Great Plover (*Edicnemus crepitans*) amongst the birds of Cork. It has not been met with of late years within the county, but my friend Richard D. Parker, Esq., of Sundays Well, writes me that he met two of these “large solitary Plover” on the wild mountains of Iveragh, county of Kerry, in August, 1842. He had full opportunity of observing them, “for,” says he, “they seemed fond of perching on the rough knolls on the mountain; they allowed me to approach within ten or twelve yards of them, when they rose, and uttered a shrill whistle.” Both this gentleman, and his brother Mr. Adam Parker, are intimately acquainted with our native birds and their habits. In but one instance, so far as I know, had this bird been met with in Ireland before.

Lapwing (*Vanellus cristatus*)—resident; common.

Common Turnstone (*Strepsilas interpres*). I have seen this bird in different states of plumage in summer on the coast.

Pied Oyster-catcher (*Hæmatopus ostralegus*)—resident.

Common Crane (*Gous cinerea*). Four seen; three shot at Avon bog near Kinsale. I have one; two in Natural History Museum.

Common Heron (*Ardea cinerea*)—resident; common.

Little Egret (*Ardea garzetta*).

An individual was shot in Cork harbour in 1792. The specimen, I am informed, was sent to the Dublin Society's Museum. A fatigued bird, taken by Colonel Godfrey in Kerry, was sent some years ago to Mr. Dowden, at the Cork Institution.

Ardea Vallarous, Killeagh bog, May 1852.

Common Bittern (*Botarus stellaris*)—resident; rare of late years.

Little Bittern (*Botarus minutus*.)

An adult male, now in my possession, was shot in the summer of 1842, near Woodside, by Mr. Robert Parker. The Rev. Mr. Stopford once shot the bird also.

Night Heron (*Nycticorax Europœus*).

A fine male, with very long white crest, shot at Castlefreke a few years since by the Rev. J. Stopford. An immature bird, taken alive in a steamer near Cork harbour, in May 1873, in my collection.

Ring (*Ciconia alba*). Shot near Fermoy, May 1846.

White Spoonbill (*Platalea leucorodia*).

A very rare visitant. It has occurred but in a few instances. One was shot in the neighbourhood of Youghal, on the borders of the county, a few months since.

Common Curlew (*Numenius arquata*)—resident; common.

Whimbrel (*Numenius phœopus*). Occasionally in considerable numbers.

Red-shank Sandpiper (*Totanus calidris*)—common.

Green Sandpiper (*Totanus ochropus*). By streams in summer and autumn—not common

Common Sandpiper (*Totanus hypoleucus*).

Greenshank (*Totanus glottis*)—resident? I have seen and obtained specimens of this bird in August.

Recurriostra Avocetta avocet. A pair shot at Lakelands.

Black-tailed Godwit (*Limosa melanura*)—much less common than the next.

Bar-tailed Godwit (*Limosa rufa*)—winter visitant.

Woodcock (*Scolopax rusticola*)—winter visitant. I have not heard of its remaining during the summer so far south as this county.

Common Snipe (*Scolopax gallinago*)—resident; common.

Jack Snipe (*Scolopax gallinula*)—winter visitant; common.

Dunlin (*Tringa variabilis*)—resident; common.

Purple Selb (*Trianga mantaura*). Robert's Cove, May 1850. A young bird shot by Mr. A. Wood, October 1846.

Grey Phalarope (*Phalaropus lobatus*).

Individuals of this species appeared in different parts of the south in the winter of 1841-2. Two were taken on the same day on the river Suir, and another came into the pos-

session of Mr. Samuel Moss, of Youghal, about the same time.

Water Rail (*Rallus aquaticus*)—resident; not uncommon.

Corn Crake (*Crex pretensis*)—summer visitant; common.

Spotted Crake (*Crex porzana*).

Perhaps more common than is generally supposed. It has been shot by my friend Mr. Adam Parker in two or three instances within a short time. He and his brother (both ornithologists as well as sportsmen) have not unfrequently met with it for several years past. It has occurred also to Mr. Robert Davis, jun., in Tipperary.

Moor Hen (*Gallinula chloropus*)—resident; common.

Bartling Crake (*Crex*). Clay Castle, October 1845.

Coot (*Fulica atra*)—resident; not uncommon.

NATATORES ORDER.

Bean Goose (*Anser segetum*). In winter, occasionally plentifully.

White-fronted Goose (*Anser albifrons*)—rare.

The Rev. Mr. Stopford informs me that it has been shot at Kilkerran in the west of the county.

Common Bernicle (*Bernicla leucocephala*).

Brent Bernicle (*Bernicla brenta*). More frequent and in greater numbers than the last.

Cygnus (*Bewickii*) ?

Swans are occasionally seen, but I have had no opportunity of ascertaining with certainty the species..

Common Shielddrake (*Tadorna Bellonii*). Said to breed near Midleton.

Ruddy Shielddrake (*Tadorna Rutela*). Taken off Clonakilty, January, 1871.

Shoveller (*Spathelea clypeata*). Not unfrequent, particularly in immature plumage.

Gadwall (*Chauliodny strepera*). December 1849, on the Lee.

Common Wild Duck (*Anas Boschas*)—resident; common.

Pintail (*Querquedula acuta*). In winter, occasionally in considerable numbers.

Teal (*Querquedula crecca*)—common.

Garganey (*Querquedula circia*).

I have seen but one individual of this species taken in the county : it was an adult male.

Wigeon (*Mereca penelope*)—common in winter.

Black Scoter (*Oidemia nigro*)—not uncommon on the coast in winter.

Oidemia fusca—Youghal, March, 1850.

Common Pochard (*Fuligula ferina*)—winter visitant.

Scaup Pochard (*Fuligula marila*)—winter visitant; not uncommon.

Tufted Pochard (*Fuligula cristata*)—winter visitant; not uncommon.

Golden-eye Garrot (*Clangula chrysophthalmos*)—in winter; less frequent than some years since.

Goosander (*Mergus merganser*)—not unfrequent in winter.

Red-breasted Merganser (*Mergus serrator*)—winter; rare. I have got it both in adult and immature plumage.

Great Crested Grebe (*Podiceps cristatus*). This species I have seen in immature garb only.

Red-necked Grebe (*Podiceps onbricottis*). Bantry Bay, December, 1850.

Eared Grebe (*Podiceps auortus*). Muskery, 1847.

Little Grebe (*Podiceps minor*)—resident; common.

Northern Diver (*Colymbus glacialis*).

Red-throated Diver (*Colymbus septentrionalis*).

Both common in immature plumage in winter: adults are rare ; the latter especially.

Foolish Guillemot (*Uria troile*)—resident; common.

Black Guillemot (*Uria grylle*)—less frequent than the last.

Common Rotche (*Mergus alle*). I have seen this bird in Cork Harbour, but have not got a specimen. Three or four since.

Puffin (*Fratercula arctica*)—summer visitant.

Razor-Bill (*Alco torda*)—in the summer months common.

Common Cormorant (*Phalacrocorax carbo*)—resident.

Green Cormorant or Crested Shag (*Phalacrocorax cristatus*).

Gannet (*Sula bassana*).

This species breeds on the Skellig Rocks, off this coast;

adult birds are, notwithstanding more frequently seen than young.

Common Tern (*Sterna hirundo*).

Arctic Tern (*Sterna arctica*).

Both species occasionally appear in considerable numbers.

Black Tern (*Sterna nigra*). Has bred on a small lake in this county, according to Mr. Ball.

Black-headed Gull (*Lurus ridibundus*)—common.

Kittiwake Gull (*Larus tridactylus*).

I have seen this bird occasionally in winter as well as in summer.

Common Gull (*Larus canus*). This and *Larus redibundus* are our commonest species.

Ivory Gull (*Larus eburoneas*). Bantry Bay, 1852.

Herring Gull (*Larus argentatus*)—resident; common.

Lesser black-backed Gull (*Larus fuscus*)—resident.

Great black-backed Gull (*Larus marinus*)—not rare, especially in winter.

Iceland Gull (*Larus islandicus*). Cork Harbour 1848.

Ringmaster (*Larus glaucus*)—1850.

Pomarine Skua (*Lestrus pomarinus*).

Lestrus Parasitieus—Youghal 1850.

Richardson's Skua (*Lestrus Richardsonii*).

Cinereous Shearwater (*Puffinus major*).

This bird has been twice obtained in the neighbourhood of Dungarvan by Mr. Davis, of Clonmel.

Manks' Shearwater (*Puffinus Anglorum*).

On an evening in the Autumn of 1838, I watched for a long time a number of birds on the wing in Bantry Bay, which I have no doubt were of this species. We had no gun on board, or we should have had no difficulty in procuring several.

Stormy Petrel (*Thalassidroma pelagica*)—not common.

Fork-tailed Petrel (*Thalassidroma Bullockii*.)

This species occurs occasionally. I obtained a specimen a few years since through the kindness of Mr. W. T. Jones, of this city.

THE FLORA OF THE COUNTY CORK.

THE Flora of the County Cork having been already treated of at considerable length by the late Dr. Power, in the well known *Fauna and Flora of Cork*, I shall confine myself to the mention of such plants as have been since found, or which deserve especial notice from their rarity or peculiarity of distribution. The late Professor Edward Forbes (as is well known) distributed the Phœnogamic (or Flowering Plants) of Great Britain and Ireland over five distinct botanical provinces or "types," of which I need only notice the "Atlantic" or "Mediterranean" as bearing upon a supposed former geologic connection between Spain and Ireland. I do not myself adopt this rather startling theory, and am the more inclined to doubt its probability since the discovery of a distinctly American "type" in our island, the existence of which, hinted at in the botanical appendix to the *History of Kerry*, has been placed beyond all doubt by my own personal researches, carried on chiefly amongst the lesser Cryptogamia. All botanists know that the seeds of many plants are very light, allowing of their distribution by the wind, by birds, or by the ocean currents; as many seeds or nuts resist the action even of salt water for a long period. These seeds or *spores*, which in the lower order of plants (Cryptogamia) are almost imponderable, are conveyed, as I have just said, by various agencies from one country to another. Should the soil or climate be unsuitable, they do not germinate; but should the conditions necessary for their existence be present, they spring up in abundance. In treating this question, I cannot separate the Floras of Cork and Kerry, and shall therefore treat them (so far, at least, as the Cryptogamia are concerned) as one. The really astonishing fact that at Killarney, Glengariff, and many other places in the south-west and west of Ireland, there exist, in a truly native state, not only many Mediterranean or Pyrennean, and a few distinctly American Flowering Plants, and very many American and tropical Cryptogamia (which latter appear nowhere else in Europe), can only, I think, be accounted for

by the constant set of the Gulf Stream upon our western shores.

In the following list of Phœnogams I shall italicize the species discovered since Dr. Power wrote. I place an asterisk only before such plants as are supposed to have been introduced accidentally or by cultivation.

PHœNOGAMS (FLOWERING PLANTS).

Thalickum minus—Sugar-loaf Mountain. (T. Wright.)

Ranunculus Baudotii—Salt-marshes near Cork.

Armoraceæ amphibia—Near Fermoy; rare.

Subularia aquatica—Gougane Barra Lake. (The late Professor Harvey.)

Senebiera didyma—Frequent by the coast, but is supposed to have been originally brought with ballast from America.

Raphanus maritimus—Island in Roaring Water Bay. (Rev. T. Allin.)

Helianthemum gultatum—Still at Three-Castle-Head.

Atlantic type.

Viola canina—Hills near Blarney. (Mr. Mills.) (The common Dog-Violet is *V. sylvatica*.)

Drosera anglica—North-west of Co. Cork; rare. (Rev. T. Allin.)

Elatine hexandra—About Durrus, etc., *in flower*. (Rev. T. Allin.)

Silene anglica—About Skibbereen, etc. (Rev. T. Allin.)

**Geranium Pyrenaicum*—Near Cork. (Mr. J. Sullivan.) Castlemagner. (Rev. T. Allin.) I fear not wild here. It is frequent in Cos. Dublin and Kildare.

G. roteurdifolium—Common about Cork, but nowhere else in Ireland.

Erodium maritimum—One plant at Ringaskiddy many years ago. (I. C.) Very rare.

Trifolium scabrum—Sand-hills near Youghal. (Rev. T. Allin.)

Vicia tetrasperma—Very rare.

V. sylvatica—Copse, near Ballybrittain. (I. C.) Very rare.

Rosa micrautha—Frequent near Cork and Kinsale; also at Castletownroche and Doneraile, but I think nowhere in Ireland, except in Co. Cork.

**R. systyla*—Although stated by Dr. Power to be frequent near Cork, I never saw but *one* specimen, and that was gathered near a garden.

Myriophyllum alternifolium—Not rare in Co. Cork. (Rev. T. Allin).

Sedum Rhodiola—Hungry Hill and other western mountains.

S. dasypodium—This little stone-crop grows with *S. anglicum* on rocks near Midleton abundantly, to all appearance truly native.

Saxifraga umbrosa—Common in the west, rarer in the east. (*Atlantic type*).

S. Geum—Not rare in the west. (*Atlantic type*.)

(*S. hirsuta*—Gathered on Hungry Hill. Seems to me a hybrid between the last two species.)

S. stellaris L.—Hungry Hill, very large. (I. C.) Rev. T. Allin finds a *viviparous* state.

Carum verticillatum—Roadsides, Millstreet. (I. C., and Rev. T. Allin.) Very rare. (*Atlantic type*.)

Sium angustifolium. Near Ballycotton, Buttevant, etc. This is the plant named *Sium latifolium*, in Flora Cork.

Aenanthe Phellandrium—Frequent in the north of the county.

Anthriscus vulgaris—Cottage roof, Blackpool. (I. C.) Wall at Ballyvoodock. (Rev. T. Allin.)

**Galium erectum*—Fields near Midleton, probably introduced, but spreading rapidly. (Rev. T. Allin.)

Galium verum—This common plant must have been accidentally omitted by Dr. Power.

Valerianella auricula—Mr. Allin has found this rare plant in several localities.

**Petasites fragrans*—Sweet-scented Colts-foot. This American plant has quite established itself, and is becoming very common near Cork. It escaped originally from gardens.

Inula crithmoides—Refound lately near Castlefreke by the Rev. T. Allin. (*Atlantic type*).

**Senecio squalidus*—Very common about Cork; also found near Kinsale and Bandon, and is rapidly spreading. Another instance of an exotic establishing itself within a comparatively short time. This plant hybridizes freely with the common Groundsel (*S. vulgaris*).

Carduus nutans—I fear this handsome plant has disappeared from the Little Island. I have not seen it for many years past.

Hieraceum anglicum—Cliffs over Gurtaveha Lake, Millstreet. (A. G. More; afterwards I. C. and Rev. T. Allin.)

H. Iricum—Bantry Bay (Bab. Man). Base of Sugar-loaf Mountain, Glengariff. (I. C.)

H. pallidum—Dunemark Falls, Bantry. (I.C.) On Caherbarnagh. (Rev. T. Allin.)

H. cæsum—Rocks near Midleton. (Rev. T. Allin.)

H. gothicum—Dunemark Falls, Bantry. (I. C.)

Arbutus unedo—Strawberry Tree. Seems to be confined in our county to the neighbourhood of Glengariff. At Killarney it flourishes luxuriantly, forming a great portion of the natural forests on the lower ranges, as at Cromaglaun Mountain. This fine tree forms with *Saxifraga umbrosa*, *S. Geum*, *Pinguicula grandiflora*, and the Connemara Heaths (*Menziezia polifolia*, *Erica Mediterranea* and *E. ciliaris*), the most striking examples of the *Atlantic type*.

Cicendia filiformis—Rare, and confined to the extreme S.W. (*Atlantic type.*)

Gentiana Amarella—Near Doneraile. (T. Wright.) Hills by the Bandon River. (Mr. J. Sullivan, Rev. T. Allin.)

Solanum nigrum—Recently found in considerable quantity, and apparently wild, in a barren islet at the back of the Great Island, by the Rev. T. Allin.

S. Dulcamara—Very scarce, but still to be found near Midleton. (Rev. T. Allin.)

Antirrhinum Oronthium—Not rare in corn and potato fields near Cork, &c.

Linaria Elatine—Similarly distributed as the last.

L. minor—A weed in gardens near Cork and Glanmire.

L. repens—About Bandon, Innishannon, and between Bandon and Dunmanway.

Euphragia viscosa—This, with the common Chamomile (*Anthenis nobilis*) are amongst the most characteristic and abundant plants of West Cork. (*Atlantic type.*)

**Veronica Buxbaumii*—This pretty “weed of cultivation” has become quite common in many parts of our county, flowering all the year round.

Mentha sylvestris—Roadside near Timoleague. (Rev. T. Allin.) The *M. sylvestris* of Fl. Cork has been proved by authentic specimens to have been only *M. rotundifolia*.

M. piperita—Peppermint. In several places well established. This and the last, and *M. rotundifolia* (much the commonest of the three) are perhaps only escapes from cultivation.

Salvia Verbenaca—Plentiful at Clay Castle, Youghal.

Lamium amplexicaule—By the coast; very scarce.

Wahlenbergia hederacea—This lovely little plant is not rare in the Bandon district, and has been recently found near Macroom.

Pinguicula grandiflora—Common in the west of Cork and in Kerry; nowhere else in Great Britain or Ireland. A very beautiful plant. (*Atlantic type.*)

Utricularia intermedia—In the west, but rare. (Fl. Cork, and Rev. T. Allin.)

Statice occidentalis—Coast near Ballycotton. (I. C.)

Chenopodium rubrum v. *botrysorum*, with *Rumex maritimus*, by a small lake under Kilcoleman castle. (I. C.)

Atriplex littoralis—Hop Island, Cork. (I. C.) Very rare. *Obione portulacoides*—Ballycotton, and salt-marsh, Rostellan. (I. C.)

Rumex maritimus—By the same lake, or marsh, under the ruins of Spenser's Castle, Kilcoleman. Extremely rare in Ireland. The "Golden Dock" of Fl. Cork was *R. Hydrolapathum*, a species common about Buttevant, and near Ballycotton. (I. C.)

Polygonum minus, *large form*—Near Ballincollig Castle. (I. C.) This is, no doubt, Drummond's plant Habitat. Since destroyed by the railway embankment.

Euphorbia amygdaloides—Besides the original station in Castle Bernard park, Mr. Allin has gathered this rare Irish plant in woods by the river between Bandon and Kinsale.

Callitricha hamulata—Glanceskin, Kilworth. (I. C.) West of Cork. (Rev. T. Allin).

Salix ambigua—Dunboy, Berehaven. (I. C.) Readily distinguished from all the forms of *S. repens*, by its *erect* habit. It closely resembles the rare Arctic *S. myrtilloides*.

S. herbacea—Summit of Sugar loaf mountain, Glengariff. (I. C.)

Orehis pyramidalis—About Fermoy. (T. Chandlee). Little Island. (I. C.) Near Passage; abundant. (— Cooke). Derry-nane. (T. Wright).

Spiranthes Romanzoffiana (*Chamisso*) *Spiranthes gemmipara*. (*Lindl*) This extremely rare and curious plant, found at Castletown-Berehaven, and lately by the Rev. T. Allin in another western station, occurs nowhere else in Europe. It is, however, identical with Chamisso's specimens from Kamtchatka, and others since discovered in the Rocky Mountains of North America, *Spiranthes Romanzoffiana*, and *Eriocaulon septan-*

gulare are striking examples of truly American species, native in this country. (*American type*).

Cephalanthera ensifolia—Glengariff and Adrigole, very rare.
Allium Scorodoprasum—Fota Island. (Dr. Moore).

Juncus acutus—This rare plant has been found in several western stations lately by Rev. T. Allin.

Butomus umbellatus—Ballycotton, and plentiful near Buttervant. (I. C., and Rev. T. Allin).

Carex axillaris—Near Kinsale. (I. C.) Very rare.

C. pallescens—Not very uncommon, but overlooked.

C. limosa—Near Kanturk and Glengariff. Very rare. (Rev. T. Allin.)

C. punctata—Glengariff and Dunboy. (I. C.) Elsewhere in the west (Rev. T. Allin.)

C. filiformis—Glengariff. (Rev. T. Allin.)

C. paludosa—Dunsfort Bog, Midleton. (Rev. T. Allin.)

Kæleria cristata—Roadside, near Fermoy. (T. Chandlee.)

Festuca arundinacea—In Shaw's demesne, Monkstown. (I. C.) Near Cloyne. (Rev. T. Allin.)

Bromus commutatus—Near Cork and Fermoy, in low wet meadows ; not rare.

FILICES (FERNS).

Polypodium Phegopteris—Pass of Keim-an-Eigh and on Hungry Hill. (T. Wright.) Rocks, Gurtaveha, Millstreet. (A. G. More, Rev. T. Allin, and I. C.)

Lastreæ oreopteris—Very rare in our county. I have seen it in the only station recorded—the base of Hungry Hill.

Cistopteris fragilis—A specimen marked “Glengariff.” (Herb., late Miss A. Taylor). Rocks over Gurtaveha Lake (A. G. Moore).

Asplenium lanceolatum—Rocks and walls near Kinsale. (the late Mr. Joseph Woods, afterwards I. C.) Recently found in an old castle near Cahirciveen. (*Atlantic type*.)

A. acutum—A few localities near Cork and in the west of the county. A very beautiful fern, but probably only a very well-marked form of *A. adiantum-nigrum*. (*Atlantic type*.)

A. viride—On Hungry Hill, and over Gurtaveha Lake, Millstreet.

Trichomanes radicans—Killarney Fern. This lovely sub-tropical Fern, which only occurs in Europe in the S. and S.W. of Ireland ; is very scarce in our county. It ascends to over 1000 feet on hills near Kildorrery. (*American type*.)

Hymenophyllum Wilsoni—On several of our mountain-

tops, but hitherto overlooked, perhaps on account of its small size.

Isoëtes lacustris—Gougane Barra Lake. (I. C.)

Lycopodium inundatum—Near Enniskean. (Rev. T. Allin.)
Very rare in Ireland.

MUSCI (MOSES).

In treating of the lesser cryptogamia I shall be as succinct as possible, only mentioning the rarest species, or those which prove the existence of the American (or sub-tropical) type.

Dicranella crispa—Cork.

Cynodontium Bruntoni—Cork.

Grimmia orbicularis—Cork.

G. ovata—Cork; very rare. (Identical with my Icelandic specimens.)

Glyphomitrium Daviesii—Cork, Kerry.

Racomitrium ellipticum—Cork, Kerry.

Gymnostomum curvirostrum—Cork, Kerry.

G. calcareum—Cork.

Pottia Wilsoni—Cork.

P. crinita—Cork.

Didymodon recurvifolius—Kerry; nowhere else.

Didymodon luridus—Cork, Kerry.

Ditrichum pusillum—Cork; very rare.

Tortula Hornschuchiana—Cork; very rare.

T. Hibernica—Cork, Kerry.

Orthotrichum tenellum—Cork, Kerry.

O. rivulare—Cork.

O. Ludwigii—Kerry.

O. Drummondii—Kerry.

Phascum patens—Cork; very rare.

Physcomitrium fasciculare—Cork.

Bartramidula Wilsoni—Kerry; very rare.

Bryum polymorphum—Brandon, Kerry.

B. Donianum—Cork; very rare.

B. Tozeri—Cork; very rare.

Leptobryum pyrifonne.

This lovely moss, so common in the swamps of Lapland, etc., is scarcely ever seen in this country, except in green-houses, where it sometimes covers the surface of the flower-pots. I have, however, collected it in the cave under Blarney castle.

Daltonia splachnoides—Kerry; very rare.

Hookeria lætevirens—Cork, Kerry, Cape of Good Hope.
(The late Professor Harvey.) (*American type.*)

Hedwigidium inberbe—Cork, Kerry.

Pylaisia polyantha—Mucruss, Killarney.

Hypnum illecebrense—Near Queenstown : very rare.

H. Mildeanum—Cork ; rare.

H. demissum—Cork, Kerry.

H. micans—Cork, Kerry.

H. circinnatum—Cork, Kerry.

H. speciosum—Cork, Kerry.

H. Teesdalii—Cork.

H. fluviatile—Cork ; rare.

H. stramineum—Cork.

H. Cossoni—Near Fermoy.

Fissidens polyphyllus—Glengariff. (*American type.*)

Hepaticæ (Liverworts).

Not being well acquainted with the geographical distribution of these little plants, I shall merely give the names of those species which were overlooked by Dr. Power, or detected since he wrote. I may observe that the group of minute forms, recently named *Lejeunia* (*Jungermannia minutissima*, *hamatifolia*, *microscopica*, etc.,) belong to the *American type*.

Targionia Michelii—County Cork.

Jungermannia concinnata „

J. juniperina „

J. trichophylla „

J. setacea „

J. incisa „

J. curvifolia „

J. pumila „

J. exsecta „

J. resupinata „

J. ventricosa „

J. anomala „

J. lœvigata „

J. rivularis „

J. riparia „

J. stipulacea „

J. minuta „

J. decipiens „

J. Taylori „

J. scalaris „

J. minutissima „

- J. hamatifolia*—County Cork.
J. calyptrifolia "
J. cochleariformis "
J. barbata "
J. cypressina ", (*American type.*)
J. trilobata "
J. sphærocarpa "
J. Bantriensis "

LICHENS.

The following species belong to the *Atlantic type* :—
 Lecidea ochrophylla—Dinis Island.

Graphis dendritica—Co. Cork.

G. Lyellii—Cork.

Opegrapha leutiginosa—Co. Cork.

Stigmatidium circumscriptum—Kerry.

Arthonia aspersa—Kerry.

A. ilicina—Cork, Kerry.

A. ilicinella—Kerry.

Chiodecton albidum.—Kerry.

Melaspilea amota—Kerry.

M. ochrothalamia—Cork, Kery.

Verrucaria leptospora—Kerry.

Pyrenopsis lecanopsoides—Kerry.

Calicium populneum—Kerry.

C. eusporum—Kerry, Cork.

Gomphillus calicioides—Kerry.

Sticta Dufourei—Killarney.

Physcia flavicans—Cork, Kerry.

P. chrysophthalma—Cork, Kerry.

P. leucomela—Cork.

P. speciosa—Kerry.

The following belong to the *American or sub-tropical type* :—

Collema aggregatum—Kerry.

Leptogium tremelloides—Kerry—Cork.

L. Burgessii—Kerry.

L. chloromelum—Kerry.

Myriangium Duriae—Cork, Kerry.

Sticta intricata, v. Thouarsii—Kerry. (Also found in England and the west of Scotland.)

S. crocata—Kerry.

S. damæcornis. This fine lichen, common in the tropics, is only found in Europe near Killarney.

Parmelia tiliacea V. *sublævigata*—Kerry,

P. perforata—Kerry.

Thelotrema subtile—Kerry, Cork.

Lecidea mutabilis—Cork; Kerry.

L. homalotropa—Kerry; closely allied to, if not identical with, *L. urceolata* of Brazil.

Graphis Ruizeana—Cork; Kerry; also in New Granada.

Opegrapha diplasiospora—Kerry; also New Granada.

Arthonia Cascarillæ—Kerry. I believe this and *A. ochracea* of the S. of Europe are the same species.

Mycoperum sparsellum—Killarney; New Granada.

Vernucaria pyrenuloides v. *Hibernica*. This fine and very distinct species has a wide tropical distribution extending to S. America and Java.

Many of the following rare Lichens may belong to the Atlantic or American types, but their distribution is not yet known with certainty.

Collema chalazanum—Kerry; Cork,

C. plicatile—Kerry.

Leptogium Moorei—Kerry; Cork,

L. fragile—Kerry.

Calicium diploëllum—Kerry.

C. trichiale—Cork.

C. hyperellum—Kerry,

C. trachelinum—Cork.

C. curtum—Cork.

Cetraria Islandica—Very rare in Ireland. Summit of Mangerton. (Dr. Taylor, afterwards the late Admiral Jones).

Parmelia endochlora—Kerry.

P. astroidea—Kerry.

Pannaria microphylla—Kerry,

P. cheilea—Kerry.

Lecanora holophaea—Cork; Kerry.

L. rubra—Cork. (Rev. W. A. Leighton).

L. elatina—Kerry; Derricunihy, only British station known.

L. epanora—Kerry.

L. epixantha—Cork.

L. Dicksonii—Kerry.

L. ochracea—Kerry.

L. Lallavei—Cork.

L. Hutchinsiæ—Cork.

- Pertusaria multipunctata*—Kerry.
P. ceuthocarpa—Cork ; Kerry.
P. velata—Cork ; Kerry.
P. globulifera—Cork.
P. Hutchinsæ—Cork.
P. fastigiata—Kerry ; Cork.
P. sublactea—Kerry, Cork.
Lecidea lutea—Cork ; Kerry.
L. Salweii—Cork.
L. glaucolepidea—Cork.
P. fuliginosa—Cork ; Kerry.
L. dispansæ—Cork.
L. sympathetica—Kerry.
L. trochodes—Kerry.
L. flexnosa v. aeruginosa—Kerry.
L. sanguineo-atra—Cork.
L. panæola—Kerry.
L. tenebrosa—Kerry.
L. polycarpa—Kerry.
L. Taylori—Kerry.
L. leiotæa—Kerry.
L. phæops—Kerry.
L. gelatinosa—Kerry.
L. fusco-rubens—Cork.
L. scabrosa—Cork.
L. atro-albella—Cork.
L. Lightfootii v. commutata—Cork.
L. globulosa—Kerry.
L. atro-purpurea—Cork ; Kerry.
L. prasinoides—Kerry.
L. ascaridiella—Kerry.
L. melæna—Kerry.
L. Ederi—Kerry.
L. abietina—Kerry.
L. squamulosa—Cork.
L. pachycarya—Kerry.
L. citrinella—Kerry.
L. pulvinata—Kerry.
L. cupularis—Kerry.
L. scapanariæ—Kerry.
L. parasitica—Cork.
L. episema—Kerry.
Agyrium rufum—Kerry

Arthonia excipienda—Kerry.

A. spadicea—Cork.

A. punctiformis—Cork.

A. spectabilis—Kerry.

A. punctella—Cork.

Verucaria prominula—Kerry.

V. antecellens—Kerry.

V. cinerella—Cork ; Kerry.

V. micula—Killarney.

V. Taylori—Cork ; Kerry.

V. capnodes et var rhypontella—Cork,

V. Salweii—Cork.

V. consequens—Cork ; Kerry.

V. rubella—Kerry. (*Theolopsis rubella*).

V. glabrata et var dermatodes—Cork ; Kerry,

V. albissima—Cork ; Kerry.

V. platypyrena—Cork ; Kerry.

V. desistens—Kerry.

T. lucens—Kerry.

V. umbrina—Cork ; Kerry.

V. isidioides—Cork.

V. Carrollii—Cork ; Kerry.

V. theleodes v. inundata—Kerry.

V. pallida—Kerry.

V. hymenogonia—Cork,

V. haplotella—Kerry.

V. rimosicola—Kerry.

ALGÆ (SEA-WEED).

I only note a few species found since Dr. Power wrote. They are all from Cork harbour, or the neighbourhood. Three species—*Stenogramme interupta*, *Polysiphonia simulans*, and *P. obscura*—were not previously found in Ireland.

Stilophora rhizodes.

S. Lyngbyæi.

Ralfsia deusta.

Elachista fucicola.

E. scutulata.

Myrionema strangulans.

Ectocarpus Hinksiæ.

E. brachiatus.

Ptilota scricea.

Ceramium Deslongchampsii.

- Ptilota sericea.*
Ceramium Deslongchampsii.
C. fastigiatum.
C. flabelligerum.
C. echionotum.
C. acanthonotum.
Polysiphonia obscura.
P. simulans.
Corallina officinalis.
C. squamata.
Faria rubens.
Hildenbrandtia rubra.
Nitophyllum versicolor—very rare.
Stenogramme interrupta do.
Cladophora Macallana.
Conferva Melagonium.

FUNGI.

There is a tolerably full list of these plants in "Flora Cork." I have never made the Fungi an object of study, but may mention that *Tuber cibarium* (the Truffle) has been found near Cork, and the edible Morell (*Morchella esculenta*) near Fermoy.

ON THE BREEDS OF CATTLE IN THE COUNTY CORK.

BREEDS OF CATTLE IN THE COUNTY OF CORK.—The origin of the splendid stock of Cattle in this county was a small class of Mountain Cattle, adapted by nature, both in their forms and habits, for the wildness and asperity of their habitat. Though small, they are most perfectly formed, being the very *beau ideal* for accessories to a picture of mountain scenery. They are black, with shaggy hair, which crests their foreheads, and hangs like the mane of some wild animal between two long and graceful horns. There is a kind of quiet, yet determined expression, in their well-set little eyes, and the firm and stately plant of their feet as they walk, indicate plainly that the instinct of self-defence is strong in them. From this romantic little stock, by a judicious and careful admixture of Devon, Durham, and Guernsey, we have acquired a stock better adapted to garnish the butcher's stall than set off the artist's picture. Up to the year 1840 there was no appreciable change, for a speckled animal was rarely seen ; but since then the class of cattle has been gradually but surely progressing, until now it can bid fair to compete with that in England. Of course I allude here to the cattle for slaughter. And now let us glance at the prices, as by them, taking into consideration the comparative value of money, we shall arrive at a fair knowledge of the progress which has been made. The prices obtainable for the original stock were as follows :—Yearlings, 15 to 30 shillings ; fat animals, £3 to £7. Compare with the above the present prices of the improved stock :—Yearlings, £6 to £9 ; fat animals, £20 to £30. We have shown that there has been a decided improvement in the class of animals ; now let us enquire into the trade with England.

TRADE IN CATTLE.—In the year 1797 live animals were not shipped, but they were slaughtered and the carcases sent over. At that time King-street, which runs parallel to and at the back of the shipping quay, must have presented a lively spectacle. I have said lively, but deadly would be the fitter word. The whole length and breadth of King-street must

have been piled with vehicles containing these carcases, hurrying off to be shipped, and the air must have rung with Celtic exclamation, with now and then the language of the Sassenach babbled out by the Celt. Of this time I have not been able to obtain any reliable information, and must make a jump into 1814, when the one-masted sloop the *Mermaid*, of Newport, left this port for New Passage, with 140 pigs on board. She went to New Passage, which is about 12 miles from Bristol, to evade the harbour dues of Bristol. With this vessel there were other sailing vessels carrying on the trade, and it is computed that in every three weeks 600 head of cattle left this port. Seventy-two hours was the average time for the journey over, but frequently seven or ten days. And it has often happened that a vessel had been out three or four days, and has been obliged to put back. The animals were slung into the holds in any way as long as they were embarked, and on the other side were slung again into a tender which carried them on shore. Cattle died by wholesale from exhaustion, consequent upon hunger and thirst. Since 1860 these vessels have ceased to ply.

About 1825 the first steamer, *George IV.*, left this port, carrying 200 calves and 600 pigs. This seems a surprising number, but the pigs were small and would occupy about as much space as 100 would do at the present day. About this time we may estimate the trade in cattle to be about 600 every three weeks. I say three weeks, because this gives time for the vessel to go over, for the stock to be disposed of, for the dealers to return to purchase a fresh lot.

And now let us step into a more enlightened and advanced period when the St. George Company started their steam ships. The trade increased rapidly, but somehow the company fell as rapidly, and at length the trade came into the hands of Mr. Pike, a gentleman well known in this city. He beginning in the usual way with certain shareholders, started with a splendid and well-equipped fleet of boats, under the name of the City of Cork Steam Ship Company (limited liability). And now I come to the present on which I can speak myself. Every facility is given to the shippers of cattle, and a glance will show that they have availed themselves of it.

In the year 1682 we find that 29,000 cattle were shipped.

„	1863	...	30,000	„
„	1872	..	50,000	„
„	1874	..	60,000	„

So that in about ten years we find cent. per cent. increase, and increase it will be I suppose *sine die*. Cattle are now shipped to Bristol, Plymouth, London, Liverpool, Glasgow, and Wales.

DISEASES.—They are those incidental to the Bovine race, and call for no particular account; but with regard to contagious or infectious diseases the county is free as far as I am aware, and I am in a good position to know. This is certainly accounted for by the fact that we have no import cattle trade, and consequently Rinderpest, which caused such havoc in England, is not even known here to the cattle dealer. Since 1872 there has been no talk of these diseases, but individual cases do sometimes arise.

The following notes have been contributed by R. J. Gumbleton, Esq. :—

The County of Cork is in extent the largest in Ireland, consisting of 1,849,683 acres, and from the absence of manufactures, the people of all classes are more or less engaged in agricultural pursuits. The wealth of the county consists in the large flocks of sheep and herds of cattle, the staple produce is butter. The Cork brand on a butter firkin, being a sure guarantee in every market in the world as to quality. Indeed the County of Cork is peculiarly adapted for dairy farming, being intersected by many beautiful rivers. The Blackwater, Bride, Lee, Bandon river, besides many smaller streams, all having rich pasture lands by their banks. These natural advantages account for the number of cows in the county, and the quality of the butter. At this moment there are 181,262 milking cows kept for the production of butter. There are no particular breeds of cattle indigenous to the county of Cork. On the poor mountainous parts of the county that border the county Kerry, the breed of cattle is much the same as in the county of Kerry—small, light cows, giving plenty of milk, considering the size of the animals; but in the good pastures in the neighbourhood of Cork, Mallow, Fermoy, Bandon, some of the best bred animals in Ireland are to be found; and, indeed, the yearly improvement in the appearance of the cattle all over the country is something wonderful. There are a large number of country gentlemen, and wealthy farmers, who take a deep interest in agriculture, spread over the country, who spare no trouble or expense in importing from England and Scotland the best cattle that money can procure. This has been going on for the last fifty years. About that time large Dutch cows were thought most suitable, as they are heavy milkers, the people

always keeping an eye on the Cork Butter Market. Doubtless they were a great improvement on the old narrow-backed cow of the period. After a few years they went out of favour, still they left a mark seen to this day. Then Scotch Ayreshires were improved, a smaller breed of cattle with a stronger constitution, and very good milkers. For the last ten years or so the improved "short-horns" have been introduced, and the county Cork can boast of having three most valuable herds of these cattle, where the purity of blood is kept up by hired bulls, procured from the best English breeders. The change "short-horn blood" has made in the country cattle is surprising. Statistics prove that within the last few years the value of our Irish young stock has nearly doubled in the English market. For of course where so many cows are kept, many thousands of young stock are yearly exported to England, and they are also largely purchased by the county Meath and Limerick farmers, who hold perhaps the best grass land in the world. They come to the county Cork to look for well-bred animals that will come to full perfection in a short time on their splendid pasture. Sheep stand next to cattle, both in numbers and value. A considerable area of the county consists of light limestone soil, and therefore sheep and corn sometimes pay the farmer better than cattle and butter. Like the cows there is no indigenous breed of sheep. The English Leicester and their varieties being the favourites. Though the Black-faces from Shropshire have many admirers, and like the cattle of the county, the sheep are yearly improving. The total number of sheep in the county is very large, being 352,718.

Corn of the best quality both wheat, oats, and barley are extensively grown, and perhaps in no county in Ireland is agriculture of so mixed a kind, or so uniformly improving. Truly there is room for improvement. A stranger going through the county would be surprised to meet so many farmers with such superior stock, both sheep and cattle, and at the same time see the land in a very dirty state, full of weeds and badly fenced. In many cases the farmers know very well that things are not as they ought to be, and it is only the want of capital that they are so. He first looks to improve the breed of his stock, and then the appearance of his farm. Tillage farming a second-class land is up-hill work, requiring a very large capital, which many farmers have not got, but as a rule they are a most industrious moral class of men, and are quietly and steadily progressing.

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A TOPOGRAPHICAL GUIDE TO THE PRINCIPAL PLACES IN THE COUNTY CORK.

LOUGH ALLUA lies to the west of Inchigeela. The river Lee flows into this lake. It is three miles in length, and about half a mile in breadth. The scenery is wild and dreary. A new road has been made lately on the northern side.

ALLO.—The ancient name of part of the river Blackwater, and of a small river flowing into the Blackwater through Kanturk. (See Mallow.)

ABBEY MAHON is near Timoleague. It was founded by monks of the Cistercian order, and is situated in the barony of Ibane and Barryroe, and close to the bay of Courtmacsherry. It was endowed by Lord Barry with eighteen plowlands, but was confiscated at the suppression of monasteries. The property is now in the hands of the Earl of Shannon.

ABBEY STREWRY is situated in the parish of the same name, and lies to the west of Skibbereen, in the barony of Carbery. Nothing is known as to the foundation of this abbey. The name is derived from the stream which gives its name also to Bealnashrura (the ford mouth of the stream), a village at an ancient ford. *Struthair* is the root word.

ALTORE, a place near Inchigeelagh, is known as Altore Cross Roads. Altore—*Altoir*, an altar.

In *A Tour through Ireland by Two English Gentlemen* (Dublin), 1748, we read :—"The poorer sort of Irish natives are mostly Roman Catholicks, who make no scruple to assemble in the open Fields. As we passed yesterday in a By-Road we saw a priest under a tree, with a large assembly about him, celebrating Mass in his proper Habit; and though at a great distance from us we heard him distinctly. These sort of people, my lord, seem to be very solemn and sincere in their devotion."

Places of this kind are found all over Ireland, and many of them have given names to townlands, the existence of such a name in any particular locality indicates that the custom of celebrating Mass there must have continued for a considerable time.

Sometimes the lonely side of a hill was chosen, and the people remember well, and will point out to the visitor the very spot on which the priest stood, while the crowd of peasants worshipped below. One of these hills is in the parish of Kilmore, county Roscommon, and it has left its name on the townland of Ardanaffrin, the height of the Mass. Another in the parish of Donoghmore, county Donegal, called Corraffrin (*cor*, a round hill); a third in the parish of Kilcommon, Mayo, namely—Drumanaffrin; a fourth in Cavan, Mullanaffrin (*mullach*, a summit); and still another, Knockanaffrin, in Waterford, one of the highest hills of the Cummeragh range, which name is made Knocknafreeny, near Ardmore, in the same county.

Many other names of like formation are to be met with, such as Glenanaffrin, Carriganaffrin, etc. Occasionally the name records the simple fact that the Mass was celebrated, as we find in a place called Effrinagh, in the parish of Kiltoghert, Leitrim, a name which signifies simply “a place for Mass.” And sometimes a translated name occurs of the same class, such as Massbrook, in the parish of Addergoole, Mayo, which is a translation of the Irish *Sruðhanan-Aiffrinn*.

AWBEG, a river, three miles east of Kanturk. A ford on this river, Assolas, has given name to the townland, Assolas *Ath-solais*, the ford of the light, *i.e.*, where a light was kept to guide the traveller. Athsolais bridge crosses the Buingea river, four miles from Macroom.

AGHACROSS, a parish, the ford of the cross, took its name probably from some cross erected by St. Molaga to mark a ford.

“**AGLISHCORMICK**, a parish—the church of the sloe bushes. Mr. Joyce says :—Another term for a church is *eaglais* [*aglisc*] derived in common with the Welsh *eccluis*, the Cornish *eglos*, and the Armorican *ylis*, from the Latin *ecclesia*. This term was applied to a great many churches in Ireland ; for we have a considerable number of parishes and townlands called Aglish and English, the former being more common in

the south, and the latter in the north. There is a parish in Tipperary called Aglisclophane, the church of the cloghaun, or row of stepping-stones; another in Limerick, called Aglisch-cormick, St. Cormic's church, and a third in Cork called Aglischdrinagh, the church of the slow bushes."

BALLYBEG (small town).—The ruins of this monastery are situated near Buttevant, in the barony of Orrery and Kilmore. This house was founded by the Barrys also. It was dedicated to St. Thomas, and the monks followed the rule of St. Augustine. It was endowed in the year 1229. An equestrian statue in brass of the founder was placed in the church. The ruins of this abbey show that it had been originally a magnificent structure.

BALLYMACADANE is situated four miles from the city of Cork, on the Bandon road. Felim Mac Owen and other Franciscan friars were in possession, and dispossessed in the reign of Elizabeth. Cormac Mac Carthy founded an abbey here for Austine nuns in 1450.

BALLYNOE (new town), called Knocknoun, is in the barony of Kinnattalloon. The ruins here are extensive, and supposed to have belonged to Knights Hospitallers.

BRIDGETOWN ABBEY is situated on the lower Blackwater, in the barony of Fermoy; called also Ballynadroghid, from two bridges which formerly crossed the river. The ruins lie low and near the river. It was founded in the reign of King John by Alexander Fitzroche, and was supplied with friars from the friary of Newtown, in the Co. Meath. In 1375 it was evidently a place of consideration, for the Prior was one of those chosen to proceed on a special mission to the English court. The masonry is strong, and in wonderful preservation. There is a monumental tomb close to the high altar, which has a rude carving of an inverted shield charged with one fish. It is supposed to be the tomb of the founder. The present arms of the Roches are three fish. A silver pectoral cross was found here some years since. It is described in the *Kilkenny Archaeological Journal* as being of the twelfth or thirteenth century. The cross had been gilt, and was ornamented with four carbuncles, one on each arm, and in the centre a garnet cut in the shape of a parallelogram. The stones were of fine quality, but unpolished.

BLACKWATER.—This river is called *Abhoinn-Mor* (the great

river) in Irish. It was often called the great river by early Irish writers. Spenser calls it

“Swift Anniduff, which of the Englishmen
Is named Blackwater.”

Mr. Flanigan, in his most interesting work on the Blackwater, says :—

“In a charter of James I. it is described as ‘the river Blackwater, called otherwise Broadwater,’ and it has been plausibly conjectured the first name has reference to the waters in the upper course of the river, and that the latter name is descriptive of the widening of the stream as it approaches the sea. In a statistical account of the river, read at the fourteenth meeting of the British Association in Cork, I stated that the name ‘Blackwater was probably taken from the limestone pebbles and block flints which during the greater part of its course form its bed ;’ but in the discussion that ensued the Earl of Mountcashel attributed both the name and the colour of the water to the river having its source in a bog, and this I find to be the opinion generally entertained in the country.

“During its entire course, a distance of seventy-five miles, the Blackwater runs through a country rife with historic recollections, and diversified so agreeably as to offer an abundant field to the lover of the picturesque, whether he delights in the quiet landscape of wood and water—sunny slopes crowned by tasteful mansions—or prefers the bolder prospect of the rapid flood foaming around the base of the rock sustaining the solitary castle, the massive walls of which seem to mock time in their strength, and long destined to survive the names of those who reared them.

“At one place the banks are richly wooded—at another the river glides through a plain of corn and meadow land—now beneath frowning mountains, steep and barren—anon amidst fertile, smiling valleys. Memorials of the piety or chivalry of by-gone years are frequent along the river, and add to the natural beauty of the scene ; while populous towns or quiet hamlets mark the abode of men.

“The source of the Blackwater is in a bog, near the boundaries of Cork and Kerry. It runs in a tolerably direct course from west to east until it reaches Cappoquin, when it bends suddenly and runs due south to the sea. In its progress it has many tributaries. At Drishane it receives the Tin Aidn, or ‘White River ;’ and Racool, a rapid mountain flood which

runs down from the hills of Muskery. The Bantyre, having its source in the Boggra hills, joins it west of Clonmeen. The Clydah, which also rises in the Boggra, runs into the Blackwater, after forming the bounds on the east of the parish of Kilshanick. All these pour in their waters on the south side. On the north it receives the Oon Araglin near the ruined church of Cullen, and close to Kanturk the Oon Dalue, or "Double Rapid River." This washes the base of a hill yet bearing a mouldering ruin, called Ca'te M'Auliffe. At Bridgetown, a beautiful stream, the Awbeg, or 'Mulla' of Spenser, joins. Nearly eight miles further the Funcheon, a considerable river, falls into it underneath Mount Rivers; and about half a mile further east the Airglen, at a place called Ballyderoon, having the same signification as Messopotamia, i.e., the town between two rivers. These are its tributaries in County Cork. In the adjoining county, Waterford, it unites with the Bride, the Finesh (in Irish, *Fion Uisge*, or 'Fair-water'), the Owbeg, the Corish, and river Lickey."

Mr. Inglis says:—"The descent of the Blackwater is not surpassed by the Rhine, the Rhone, or the Danube. Every wave's length of the journey leads the traveller by sites of the deepest historical and antiquarian interest."

BALLINGUILE, the town of the Englishmen. The terminations *gall*, *nagall*, *gill*, and *quile* are very common in Ireland; the two former were of the Englishmen, the latter of the Englishman.

BANTRY, *Beanntraighe*, derives the name from *Beaun*, a son of Conor Mac Nesa, King of Ulster in the first century. According to the annals of the Four Masters, the monastery of Bantry was built by O'Sullivan, in the year A.D. 1320. The M.S. history of the Franciscan Order in Ireland adds:—"The building of the convent of Bantry, in the diocese of Ross, was begun about the year 1320, and it was reformed by Father David Harly in the year 1432. When persecution arose it was seized on by the English in the year 1508, two of the friars being killed, and the rest obliged to fly for their lives. Subsequently Daniel O'Sullivan, Earl of Berehaven, having driven out the English in the year 1602, partially destroyed it lest it should again become a stronghold of the enemy, promising at the same time to rebuild it as soon as possible. This, however, he never was able to accomplish, for he was obliged to fly into Spain, and there met an early death.

Bantry will always be remembered as the scene of the famous landing of the French in 1796. Bantry Bay is about 21 miles in length measuring down to Sheep's Head ; its breadth from two miles and a half to five miles ; and its shores are considerably varied and broken in their outlines. The principal islands are Bere and Whiddy. The former stands near the mouth of the Bay. Its surface is rocky and coarse, its length about six miles, and its breadth about one and a half, and, lying near the western shore, forms the capacious and sheltered harbour of Berehaven. Whiddy Island is near the town, and presents a fertile surface. It is about three miles and a half in length, from one mile to a mile and a quarter in breadth, and has about 450 inhabitants. Whiddy contains the forts erected for the protection of the Bay, and an old castle of the O'Sullivans.

BUTTEVANT.—It derived its present name from the war-cry of the Barrys—“*Boutez en avant.*” Its ancient name was Kilnamullagh. The peasantry of the locality understand Kilnamullagh to mean the “Church of the Curse” (*mullacht*), in connection with which they relate a strange legend ; but the explanation is erroneous, and the legend an invention of later times. In the year 1251 the Four Masters, in recording the foundation of the monastery, call it Cill-na-mullach, which O'Sullivan, in his *History of the Irish Catholics*, translates *ecclesiatumulorum*, “the Church of the Hillocks or Summits,” and the name admits of no other interpretation.

Spenser gave the derivation incorrectly as the Church of the Mulla, but he forgot that it was he who gave the name of Mulla to the river Awbeg. Buttevant is situated in the parish of that name, in the barony of Orrery and Kilmore, in a beautiful and fertile country, at the foot of the Ballyhoura Mountains, and on the banks of the Awbeg (*i.e.* little river], about twenty-two miles N.W. from Cork. Here, too, are the remains of a sumptuous ruin of the ancient Abbey of Buttevant, picturesquely situated on the steep bank of the river Awbeg.

In many documents, however, it is called Bothaum, and in Latin Bothonia. The annals of the Four Masters “fix with accuracy the foundation of the monastery for the Friars minors here, A.D. 1251, a monastery was erected at Kilnamullagh, in the diocese of Cork, by the Barrys ; and it was afterwards selected as the burying place of the Barrys.” Though Buttevant has now dwindled to a village, it was formerly a walled and

corporate town, and to judge from its ruins it must have been of considerable importance. The Barrys ruled here with regal splendour, and almost with royal power. Smith says :—“This whole town seems formerly to have been an assemblage of churches and religious houses” (*History of Cork*, vol. 1, p. 315), and it merited from Burlase the eulogy that “it was an old nest of abbots and friars.” Ward, in his MS. History, gives the following account of the Franciscan Convent of Buttevant :—“It was built in 1251, and was placed under the care of the Superior of Cork in 1260. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth the friars were several times driven away from it, and some of them were arrested and thrown into prison. All the buildings, with the exception of the church, were ruined, and that was preserved on account of the tombs of the nobility there buried, but all the images were broken. Still some of the friars continued to reside there—partly in the conventional buildings, or their ruins, and partly in the neighbourhood.” Wadding also writes regarding this place, Buttefanie, or Buttevanie :—“The town was formerly large and frequented, now it is reduced and poor. Two illustrious families—the Barrys and the Lombards—had their residence there. Some say that the convent was erected by the Barrys, others by the Pendergasts, but I think it was by the Barrys, whose magnificent tomb was erected in the middle of the choir, and whose family always evinced their piety towards our order. In the church are many sepulchres of nobles. It is wonderful with what care the friars have repaired some of the ruins of this convent. In the crypt is an immense collection of bones and skulls, which are probably supposed to be the remains of those who fell in the sanguinary battle of Knockninoss, on the 13th of November, 1647. Among those who were slain on this occasion are the famous Mac Alistair Mac Donnell, surnamed Colkitto. It is said, however, that a great portion of these human bones were brought to this church from the ancient abbey of Ballybeg, about half a mile distant, by a farmer who got possession of the abbey-land and graveyard, and who was justly solicitous to deposit such remains in consecrated ground.”

In the south gable of the transept is a slab with the inscription :—“Pray for the soul of Maurice Fitzgerald, Esq., of Castleishen, of the house of Desmond, who died the 16th day of September, in the year 1726; and Dame Helena Butler, his wife, of the house of Ormond, who died in the year 1721, whose bodies are deposited in this vault along

with their ancestors, until the resurrection of the dead with Christ our Lord." To the south-west of the friary, and about thirty yards from it, stands a square tower, which is described by Smith, as being called Cullin, and as having been built by an earl of Desmond. It is at present traditionally known as "Caislane Caoimhin," and appears to have originally formed part of the conventional buildings. It is now built into and connected with the Catholic parish church, which is deservedly reckoned among the handsomest parochial structures in the south of Ireland. Archdall says this chapter house was repaired by the Roman Catholics in the year 1604.

BRIGOWNE, *Bri-Gobhunn*, the hill of the south—a village near Mitchelstown, founded by St. Abhan. The Right Rev. Dr. Moran, in his editorial, writes to Archdall, and suggests that the etymology of the name may be *Brigh-Abhann*, the hill of St. Abhan. In the year 1720 a violent storm threw down the Round Tower of Brigowne, near Mitchelstown, leaving standing only of it a fragment or stump about fifteen feet high from the base. In that state it continued until about fifty years ago, when this fragment was taken down, and the stones used in the erection of a new glebe house or parsonage in its immediate neighbourhood. The key stone or lintel over the door, which had on it an inscribed cross, the workmen refused to take away, and that is either buried in an adjoining cemetery, or perhaps forms there now the footstone on an unknown grave. Archdall says that it was once a remarkable place and called a city.

BEARHAVEN from Beara, a Spanish princess, and wife of Mogh Nuadhat, or Owen More, King of Munster during the reign of Conn of the Hundred Battles.

BALLINCOLLIG, *Baile-an-Chullaigh*, the town of the boar. The village of Ballincollig is remarkable as a military dépôt and for its extensive gunpowder mills. The artillery barracks forms a large pile of buildings ; and the powder mills, which are near the barrack, occupy a great extent in the adjacent low grounds, space being necessary to the safety of the works. About a mile west of the village stands the ruins of Barrett's castle of Ballincollig, built in the reign of Edward III. It is situated in the plain, and consists of a square keep and enclosed bawn.

A mile above Ballincollig, the Lee is joined by the Bride,

and near the confluence the river scenery is very picturesque. The ruined church of Inniscarra is near the junction of the rivers.

BALLYHOOLEY.—A castle and village on the Blackwater, below Mallow ; it is called *Ath-ubhla* in the Book of Lismore. The present name is formed by the prefix Bally, and makes the town of the appleford. In many places, and especially in the north, the word *abhlia* is used in the sense of “ orchard,” as for instance, in Avalreagh in Monaghan, grey orchard ; Anna-haril, in Londonderry and Tyrone, the marsh of the orchard. Very much the same meaning has Oola on the Limerick and Waterford railway, which preserves exactly the sound of the Irish name *Ubhlia*, i.e., apple trees, or a place of apples.

The castle of Ballyhooly is an important feature in the landscape. There is a ruined chapel near it, and the village lies to the north.

BALLYLICKY, on the road from Glengarriff to Bantry in Cork, is called in Irish *Belatha-lice*, the ford-mouth of the flag stone, and whoever has seen it will acknowledge the appropriateness of the name. All the places called Bellanalack derive their names from similar fords.

When a river spreads widely over a craggy or rugged spot, the rough shallow ford thus formed was often called Scairbh (*Sarriv*), or, as O'Reilly spells it, *Scirbh*.

A ford of this kind on a small river in Clare gave the name to the little town of Scarriff ; and there are several townlands of the same name in Cork, Kerry, and Galway.

BALLYNACORRA, on Cork harbour—the village or town of the weir. A weir across a river, either for fishing or to direct a mill-stream, is called *coradh* in Irish.

BARRETT'S CASTLE stands about a mile south-west of the village of Ballinacollig.

This building forms an irregular quadrangle. It is built on an isolated limestone rock in the midst of a gently undulating plain, and consists of a large fortified bawn and a slender keep of about forty feet in height. This latter stands at the east side of the bawn, and is vaulted inside. The chambers are of uncommonly small dimensions, measuring in length five feet, and breadth four feet, each occupying the entire internal space.

The ascent is by a narrow and difficult stone staircase, which as it approaches the upper apartment becomes spiral

and more inconvenient. Of the enclosing walls of the bawn, that to the south was defended by a tower in the centre, and another at the south-east angle ; the latter being vaulted, and lit by loops. A portion of the north wall is perforated by a range of four windows of irregular dimensions, two are double headed lancets, one a single lancet, and a fourth an oblong loop. The buildings which these lit have disappeared. The castle is said to have been built in the reign of Edward III. In 1612 Andrew Barrett was one of the county representatives in parliament. In May, 1642, this castle was taken by the Lord President's forces probably about the same time that Barrett's other castle of Carrigrohan was taken. In the war of the Revolution it was garrisoned for James II.

BARRETT'S BARONY runs through Muskery, and takes its name from the ancient English family called Barrett, of whom it is said that O'Neil, Earl of Tyrone, anno 1600, when marching by Castlemore, near Mallow, on his progress to Kinsale to assist the Spaniards, asked who lived in that castle, and being told one Barrett, who was a good Catholic, and his family possessed of that estate above 400 years, O'Neils wore, in Irish, "no matter, I hate the English churl, as if he came but yesterday."

In the southern point of this barony (in the road leading from Cork to Bandon, four miles from the former) is a ruined abbey, called Ballyvacadane, founded by Cormac Mac Carthy Mac Tiege, surnamed Laider, for Austine nuns, about the year 1450. Part of the walls still stand. Ballincollig a large castle, not far distant, was an ancient seat of the Barretts, four miles from Cork. Anno 1600, William Barrett, of Ballincollig, submitted to the Queen's mercy, having been concerned in Desmond's rebellion. This castle was garrisoned by Cromwell, and in the late wars for King James II. It is built upon a rock and flanked with towers at each angle. The other chief seat of the Barretts was Castlemore, in the northern extremity of this barony.

BLARNEY.—This locality may especially be recommended to English gentlemen desirous of wooing Irish constituencies ; at least, if Millikin is to be credited,

" There is a stone there, whoever kisses
 Oh ! he never misses to grow eloquent.
 'Tis he may clamber to a lady's chamber,
 Or become a member of Parliament.

A clever spouter he'll sure turn out, or
 An out an outer 'to be let alone.'
 Don't hope to hinder him or bewilder him ;
 Sure he's a pilgrim to the Blarney Stone."

Unfortunately there is a doubt as to the identity of the stone, and the "real original" is as much disputed as the *Cia Fail* of Tara. Popular opinion, however, has taken an opposite line to that usually selected by antiquarians in the solution of their doubts. The more recondite the solution the better for the antiquary, but public opinion has identified the stone the easiest to reach.

Blarney is a place of very ancient fame. It was the seat of the great Mac Carthy family, and was a place of Druidical worship at a very remote period. It is mentioned by the Four Masters :—

" 1489.—Teige, son of Donald Oge the Mac Carthy More, killed Patrick, son of the Knight of Kerry.

" 1498.—Thomas Oge, son of Thomas the Earl (of Desmond), and Cormac Oge, the son of Cormac, son of Teige M'Carthy, went in pursuit of Owen M'Carthy to recover a prey, and slew the said Owen and others.

" 1504.—Tiege M'Carthy More, son of Desmond Oge, died.

" 1510.—Dermod, son of Donal, son of Donal M'Cluasack, died."

The great ancestor of all the Mac Carthys was Eagan Mor, son of Olioll Ollum, King of Munster, in the second century. The family name was derived from *Carthach*, whose grandson Dermot was king of Cork at the time of the English invasion.

" 1495.—Cormac, son of Teige, son of Cormac, Lord of Muskery, was killed by his own brother Owen, the son of Teige." (He was the founder of Kilcrea.)

His successor Cormac Oge Laidir had in the barony of Muskery ravaged and laid waste in 1521, by James, Earl of Desmond. Cormac, aided by Mac Carthy Reagh and other chieftains, overtook the earl near Mourne Abbey, between Cork and Mallow; and there at length, says the historian of the Geraldines, Father Rosario O'Daly, it happened, as if covered with a dark cloud, the splendour of the Geraldines was obfuscated, not more through the bravery of the enemy than their own rashness, for Thomas the Bald, uncle to the earl, to whom on that day the command of the horse was committed, whilst inconsiderately he rushed with too impetuous a violence on his adversaries, breaks the phalanx of his own

infantry, by which a way to victory is opened to the enemy, and rather yielding to necessity than the foe, he deserts 'the field.'

In 1563 Dermot Mac Carthy, the seventh chieftain of Muskerry, ("this lord died in 1536, was buried at Kilcrea"), again defeated the Geraldines under the command of Sir Maurice of Desmond, his father-in-law; the latter was taken prisoner, and he, whilst left in the keeping of four horsemen, was slain by his guard (but his preservation, say the Four Masters, would have been more profitable than any victory gained by his death, and the man who was slain was the high tempered steel of the Geraldines in dangerous conflict, the plunderer of his enemies, and the slayer of his opponents. The eighth lord was Cormac Mac Teige, "the rarest man that was ever born among the Irishry," according to Sir Henry Sydney. He was knighted by the Lord Justice of Ireland, and appointed sheriff of the county of Cork, in consequence of a victory obtained by him over Sir James, brother of the Earl of Desmond. The power of the Mac Carthys at this period was very considerable.

Cormac Oge, the ninth lord, died in 1640. He was succeeded by his son, Donogh, a name distinguished in the history of his times. He took an early and decided part in the unfortunate civil war, which broke out in 1641, and was appointed one of the leaders of the confederate Catholics, in which situation Lord Castlehaven assures us, he did all he could to bring back the whole nation to their obedience to the king and laws, and in this he was aided by his whole party—the O'Callaghans and other men of note in Munster. In the beginning of 1642 he appeared in Carbery, in the west of the county, at the head of a numerous host, led by his own feudataries, Mac Carthy Reagh, O'Donovan, O'Sullivan, etc., and with these prepared to lay siege to Cork.

Donough, the third earl, was educated at Oxford, under the Archbishop of Canterbury, and married Elizabeth, second daughter of Robert Spence, earl of Sunderland, after which he went to Ireland, where he continued a Protestant until the arrival of James II. Tradition attributes to him the erection of the mansion attached to the castle now dismantled and even more ruinous than that structure. On the landing of James Clancarty received him at Kinsale, and immediately joined his standard.

BARRYMORE ISLAND AND CASTLE.—This castle was the great

seat of the Barrys, and was destroyed some years ago by fire.

The Four Masters say, under the year 1581 :—“Barry More (James, the son of Richard, son of Thomas, son of Edmond, who was in captivity in Dublin,) died. This James was of the true stock of the Barry Roes. He was a man who had suffered much affliction and misfortune in the beginning [of his career], and who had [at first] no hope or expectation of obtaining even the title of Barry Roe. But, however, God bestowed upon him the chieftainship both of Barry Méal and Barryroe, and this was not all, but he was elected chief over the Barry Mores, after the extinction of those chieftains whose hereditary right it was to rule over that seigniory till that period. His son, David Barry, was afterwards called The Barry by the Earl of Desmond, and his second son was by law lord over the Barry Roes.

BEARE.—The barony of this as well as the adjoining barony of Bantry, and the four baronies of Carbery, formerly belonged to the O'Driscolls, but shortly after the English invasion a branch of the O'Sullivans settled in Beare and Bantry, so that O'Driscoll's territory was narrowed into small districts, comprising the parishes of Myross, Glambaraghane (Castlehaven), Tullagh, Creagh, Kilcoe, Aghadown, and the island of Cleare, in which is included notices of many other ancient Cork families.

PEDIGREE OF THE O'DONOVAN.

I. Eoghan Taidhleach, *i.e.*, Eoghan the splendid, otherwise called Mogh Muadhat. He is the great ancestor of the most distinguished families of Munster, and is mentioned in all the authentic Irish annals as the most powerful man in Ireland, next after Con of the Hundred Battles, with whom he contended for the monarchy of all Ireland. Con, however, at length forced him to quit Ireland ; and we are told that he sought an asylum in Spain, where he lived for nine years in exile, during which time he was employed in the king's army. In the fourth year of his exile, the king gave him his daughter, Beara in marriage. At length he entered into a confederacy with the king, by whose co-operation he was able to land a numerous army of Spaniards in Ireland. He put in at a harbour in the south of Ireland, to which he gave the name of Beara (now Bearhaven) in honour of his wife, and immediately on his landing was joined by his relatives and a numerous body of followers. He defeated Con in ten suc-

cessive engagements, and compelled him to resign all authority over the southern half of Ireland, over which he (Mogh Naudhat) was to be king independent of Con.

Eoghan Taidhleach or Mogh Nadhat had by Beara, his Spanish wife, two sons. First, Olioll Olum, the ancestor of all the subsequent kings of Munster ; and second, Leghaedh Lagha, a champion, much celebrated in Irish stories for his extraordinary strength, valour, and prowess.

II. Oilloll Olum.—He became king of Leath-mhogha, or the southern half of Ireland, after having conquered Lughaidh Maccon, the ancestor of O'Driscoll, in the battle of Ceann Feibhradh Sleibhe Caoin, in the year 237.

III. Eoghan.—He was the eldest son of Oilull Olum, and brother of Cormac Cas, ancestor of the O'Briens of Thomond.

IV. Fiacha Muilleathan.—He was declared king of Munster in accordance with the will of his grandfather on the death of his uncle Cormac Cas, which occurred A.D. 260.

V. Oilioll Flanbeg.—He was king of Munster for thirty years, and was slain in the battle of Corann by the men of Connaught, aided by Fothadh Conann, son of Maccon, the ancestors of the O'Driscolls. He had four sons namely—
1. Eochaiddh, king of Munster, whose race is extinct. 2. Daire Cearba, the ancestor of O'Donovan. 3. Lughaidh, ancestor of Mac Carthy, and his co-relatives. 4. Eoghan, from whom descended six saints.

VI. Daire Cearba.—He was king of Leath-mhogha, and distinguished himself at the head of the forces of Munster in repelling the assaults of certain pirates who invested the coasts of Munster.

VII. Fiacha Fidhgeinte—The second son of Daire Cearba.

VIII. Brian.—He was king of South Munster when Niall of the Nine Hostages was monarch of Ireland. He had seven sons, viz.—1. Cairbre Aebhdha, the ancestor of O'Donovan and Mac Eniry ; 2. Goll ; 3. Lughaidh ; 4. Daire, from whose grandson, Conall, descended the tribe Ui-Conaill, giving name to Conilloes in the county of Limerick, of whom was O'Coileain, O'Kinealy, O'Billrin, and other families, but not the O'Connell's as asserted by Dr. O'Brien in his Irish Dictionary, for the O'Connells of Kerry are of the same race as O'Falvy, *i.e.*, of the race of Conary II., monarch of Ireland ; and the O'Connells of Cork, as appears from the historical poem of Cathan O'Duinin, are of the same race as the O'Donohoes of Eoghanacht Locha Lein, in Kerry. 5. Fergus ; 6. Ross ; and 7. Cormac.

IX. Cairbre Aebhdha.

X. Eri, who had two sons, Lonan and Kinfaela. The former was chief of the Ui-Figeinte and contemporary with St. Patrick, whom he entertained (according to the Tripartite Life, published by Colgan) in the year 439, at his palace situated on the summit of the hill of Rea, near the mountain of Cam Feraidhaigh.

XI. Cinfaele.—Nothing is known of this chieftain except that he was the first of his race who embraced the Christian religion, about the year 439, and that the following generations descended from him :—XII. Oilioll Leanufada, XII. Laipe, XIV. Aengus, XV. Aedh, XVI. Crummael, XVII. Eoghan, chief of Ui-Figeinte, who was killed according to Tighernach, in the year 667; XVIII. Aedh Roin, XIX. Duvdavoran, XX Kinfaela, XXI. Cathal, chief of Ui-Cairbre Aebhdha; XXIII. Cathal, chief of the Ui-Figeinte, slain by the celebrated Callaghan Cashel, king of Munster. He had two sons Uainidh rex Coirprke, who died in 964, according to the old Annals of Innisfallen, and XXIV. Donovan, the progenitor, after whom the family name, O'Donovan, has been called. At this period surnames became for the first time hereditary in Ireland, for we find that many of the chieftain families in Ireland took surnames from ancestors who were living at this period. Cathal Mac Donovan Brian Borumha did not satisfy his revenge by the slaughter of Donovan and his people of Ui-Figeinte, together with their allies, the Danes of Munster. In the year 978 he marched a second time against the rival race of Eoghan, or Eoghanachts, and came to an engagement with them at Beelach-Leachta in Muskery, near Macroom, in the county of Cork, where he vanquished them and their Danish allies with dreadful havoc. After this defeat the race of Eoghan were more glad to give up their rivalry for the government of Munster, and to make peace with Brian on his own conditions. Accordingly, we find these two great races of the blood of Oilioll Olum at peace with each other for a period of thirty-six years, that is from the year 978 to 1014.

XXVI. Amhlaobh Auliffe, or Amlaff O'Donovan, XXVII. Murchadh O'Donovan, XXVIII. Aneslis O'Donovan.

XXIX. Raghnall Ranulph Randal, or Reginald O'Donovan, another name which bespeaks a Danish alliance. In the year 1201 the chief of the O'Donovans, Amhlaobh Aulaf, or Auliff, was seated in the now county of Cork, where he was slain that year by the O'Briens and De Burgos, but how he stood related to this Raghnall has not been proved.

XXX. Mailruanaidh.

XXXI. Crom O'Donovan Collins asserts that he was in possession of the great castle of Crom or Croom, on the river Maigne, in the present county of Limerick, and this was the tradition in the county in 1686, when the manuscript called *Carbriœ Notitia* was written ; but the editor has not found this fact recorded in any contemporaneous documents. *Cujus rei periculum veri ego ad me non recipio, penes famam veteremque traditionan esto fedes.* According to the Dublin copy of the *Annals of Innisfallen*, he was killed in, or immediately before, the year 1254 at Inis-an-bheil, now Pheale, near Iniskean, in the county of Cork, by O'Mahony's people. This Crom is the ancestor of all the septs of the O'Donovan family in the baronies of Carbery, in the county of Cork, and of several others in Leinster. He gave name to Gleann a'Chroim, in the parish of Fanlobus, which afterwards became the property of a branch of the Mac Carthys, who had their principal seat at Dunmanway.

XXXII. Cathal, or Cahell O'Donovan, the first son of Crom. This Cathal gave name to the territory of Clancahill, in the county of Cork, which is defined by an Inquisition taken at Cork on the 6th of October, 1607, as containing three score and seven ploughlands, and "extending from the sea on the south, to the river of Myalagh, and bounded on the north with the lands of Clandonell Roe, the lands of Glan Scime, and with the lands of Clanloghlin on the east, and the lands of Clandermodie and Clanteige Revoe on the west." This Inquisition also states that it contains two manors, viz., "the manor of Castell O'Donyvane, containing twentie and one ploughlands, and the manor of Rahyne." This Cathal never had any possessions in the original territory, Uí-Fegeinte, or Uí-Cairbre Aebhdha, in the present county of Limerick, but he seems to have acquired a considerable tract of mountain territory in Corea Luighe, the original principality of the O'Driscolls, to which newly acquired district he transferred the tribe name of his family, viz., Cairbre, which by a strange whim of custom, was afterwards applied to a vast territory, now forming four baronies in the county of Cork.

This extension of the name looks strange enough, as it was transferred since the year 1200, and as the race who transferred it did not remain the dominant family in the district. The fact seems to have been that, when Mac Carthy Reagh got possession of a part of this territory, in the latter end of the thirteenth century, the Uí-Cairbre More were the most im-

applied the name to the O'Donovan territory and to all the minor cantreds attached by him from time to time.

XXXIII. Tadhy, or Teige O'Donovan ; XXXIV. Murchadh Murrough, or Morgan O'Donovan.

XXXV. Conchobhar Conor, or Cornelius O'Donovan.

XXXVI. Raghnall, Randal, or Reginald O'Donovan. According to Duard Mac Firbis, he had a son Dermot, the ancestor of all the subsequent chiefs of the O'Donovans ; and Collins gives him a second son, Tioboid, the ancestor of a sept of the O'Donovans, called Slioch-Tioboid, who possessed a tract of land near the town of Skibbereen, where they built the castle of Gortnaclogh, the ruins of which still remain, and are shewn on the ordnance map on a detached portion of the parish of Creagh.

XXXVII. Dermot O'Donovan, the sixth in descent from Crom.

XXXVIII. Teige O'Donovan, chief of Clancahil.

XXXIX. Donnell I. O'Donovan, commonly called Domhnall-na-g-Croiceaim, *i.e.*, Donnell of the Hides. He was inaugurated chief of Clancahill by Mac Carthy Reagh about the year 1560. He was fostered by O'Leary at his castle of Carrignacurra (now called Castle Masters), situated in the parish of Inchageelagh or Iveleary, and it would appear that it was by O'Leary's assistance that he was enabled to set aside his rival Dearmaid-a'-Bhaire. He was married to Ellen, the daughter of O'Leary, at the church of Drumali, after having had by her Dermot O'Donovan, and other sons, who were declared bastards by the Lord Chancellor, Adam Loftus, in 1592. He had, also Donnell and Tiege, born after the solemnization of his marriage "according to the rites of holy church" (*i.e.*, of Rome). His eldest son, Dermot O'Donovan, was slain in the year 1581 at Lathach-na-n-Damh, by the illustrious warrior, Donnell O'Sullivan, who afterwards became the O'Sullivan Beare, as we learn from the *Annals of the Four Masters* (see note 5 under that year, p. 1752, Supra), and from *O'Sullivan Beare's Hist. Cathol. Iber. Compend.* He built Castle Donovan, according to Collins ; but others think that parts of this castle are much older than his time. He died in the year 1584, and was succeeded by his eldest legitimate son.

XL. Donnell II. O'Donovan.—He succeeded his father in 1584, and in 1586 he burned to the ground the bishop's house at Ross, which had been a short time before built by William Lyon, Bishop of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross. See *Harris's*

Ware, vol. 1, p. 565, and the manuscript entitled *Carbrise Notitia*, written in 1686. In February 1592-3, his brother Teige attempted to depose him on the score of illegitimacy, but failed.

XLI. Donnell III. O'Donovan, the tenth in direct descent from Crom, succeeded his father on the 13th of Feb. 1639-40.

XLII. Donnell IV.—On the death of his father in 1660, being left without any estates, he petitioned his Majesty Charles II. immediately after his restoration to restore him to his father's property.

XLIII. Captain Richmond, son of Colonel Daniel O'Donovan. He married, in 1703, Ellinor Fitzgerald, daughter of the Knight of Kerry, by whom he had three children. 1. Daniel, his successor. 2. Richard, who died unmarried, and some daughters; the eldest of whom was Elizabeth, who married Silvester O'Sullivan, head of the sept called Mac Fineenduff, of Derreenavurrig, near Kenmare, in Kerry, by whom she had numerous issue.

XLIV. Daniel V., son of Captain Richard O'Donovan.

XLV. Richard II., son of Daniel O'Donovan. He was born about 1764, and, in 1800, married Emma Anne Powell, a Welsh lady, by whom he had no issue.

XLVI. Richard O'Donovan, the sixth son of Daniel O'Donovan, who was inaugurated in 1584, and died in 1639; married Mary, who was the daughter of O'Sullivan Beare, and by her mother grand-daughter of Lord Muskery, and great grand-daughter of the Earl of Clanrickartt, and had by her—1. Daniel, who is mentioned in his grand-father, Donnell's, will of 1629, and in his uncle Teige's will of 1639, but of whose descendants, if he left any, no account is preserved. 2. Murragh, living in 1629, who left a daughter, Joane.

XLVII. Richard O'Donovan, Esq., LL.D., who is said to have studied for twenty-two years in the University of Toulouse, where he obtained the degree of Doctor of both Laws. He was elected member of parliament for the borough of Baltimore, but he resigned to Jeremy O'Donovan, of Rinogreany, chief of the Clann-Loughlin. This Dr. O'Donovan married Catherine Ronayne, of Ronayne's Court, near Cork, (the aunt of Mary Ronayne, the wife of Morgan O'Donovan, Esq., the ancestor of the O'Donovans of Monpellier, and had by her four sons.)

XLVI.—Let us now go back to the youngest son of the last portant tribe within it, and that he and his descendants

inaugurated O'Donovan, Readagh More, "a gentleman of great stature, bodily strength, and military abilities"—Collins. His descendants are now known in the county by the name of Clann-Keady Donovan.

BARRYROE.—*Dun-ui-Chobhthaig*, in this barony, still marks the site of the ancient residence of the family of *Ua Cobhthaigh*, now O'Coffey, Coffey, and O'Cowings. The name *Cobhthach* denotes victor, or the victorious; *Cobhthach Finn*, son of Dunghalech, twelfth in descent from Laghaidh Maccon, is the progenitor after whom the surname was called. The barony was anciently called *Trichen ahead Meadhonach*, the middle or central cantred.

The barony is studded with old castles, seven of which belonged to the Coffeys, Dundeedy, Dunowen, Dunore, Duneen, Duncowhig, Dunwarley, and Dungarley.

CAPE CLEAR, mentioned in the book of the genealogy of *Corca Laidhe*, thus:—"Lighain, daughter of Maine, who was the mother of Ciaran of Saighir: he was born at Fintracht-Clerc, and the angels attended upon her. The orders of heaven baptized him. Here was dwelling the chieftain who first believed in the Cross in Ireland, for Ciaran had taken Saighir thirty years before Patrick arrived, as the poets said:—

‘Saighir, the bold,
Found a city on its brink.
At the end of thirty pleasant years
I shall meet there and then.’

“It was then, too, he [Patrick] predicted Conall and Fachtna of whom he said:—

‘A son shall be born at Tulach-teann,
Good to us shall one day be his church;
Many monks and steady monasteries
Conall shall rule after him.’

“It was he [Ciaran] that predicted to the progeny of Eider-scel reign and chieftainship over their race for ever; and it was he that left to the King of Corca-Laidhe the eniclann of a king of a province for their having first believed in the Cross. And Ciaran is the senior of the saints of Ere, and it was he Ciaran that granted it [*i.e.*, the privilege] to them for having been the first to grant him Cill-Chearain.”

CILL-CHEARAIN, *i.e.*, St. Ciaran's Church. The ruins of this church are still to be seen near the strand of Traigh-Chiarain, on the island of Cape Clear. The Cross here referred to is

also still to be seen, sculptured on a pillar stone near Cill-Chiarain. For a curious reference to a similar cross sculptured on a stone near Ballina-Tirawley by St. Patrick.

CARRIGALICKEY.—There are extensive ruins here, which are supposed to be the site of the abbey of Maure (the clear spring), which was founded A.D. 1172, by Dermot Mac Cormac Mac Carthy, King of Desmond. The lands were confiscated in the reign of Elizabeth.

CORK from *Corcach*, a marsh, a low, swampy ground. The site of this city was known for many hundred years as *Corcach mar Mumhan*, the great marsh of Munster. The former part of the name only has been retained, and the city is still called Corcach in Irish.

Corkagh is the name of several places in other countries, while in the form of Corkery it is found in Antrim and Donegal. And we often met with the diminutives Curkeen, Curkin, and Carcaghan, little marsh. Corcas, another form of the word, is also very common, and early English topographical writers on Ireland often speak of the corcases or marshes as very numerous.

Windell says :—

“The city of Cork ought to be one of the best governed communities in the empire, having received no less than seventeen charters between the reigns of King John and George II. Of these, with the exception of the first, Smith has given excellent abstracts. We owe our knowledge of the charter of John to the research and intelligence of Richard Sainthill, Esq., who in 1828, when common speaker, discovered amongst the Harleian collections, in the British Museum, an ancient copy—the original we believe is lost—in Norman French, of which he afterwards published a notice. The following is the preamble of this charter. John at the time of its grant was only Earl of Morton, and Lord of Ireland :—

“John, the son of the King of England, Lord of Ireland, etc. greeting.

“I have granted and given, and by this my charter, confirm to the citizens of Cork and the ground on which the city now is, for my benefit, to increase the strength of the citizens. This is to them and to their heirs, to hold of me and my heirs, and to remain in frank burgage, by such customs and rents, as the burgesses of Bristol in England pay yearly for their burgages; and to secure my city of Cork all the laws,

franchises, and customs of freight in whatsoever sails. And firmly commanding that the aforesaid, my citizens of Cork and their heirs and successors, as is aforesaid, and have all the laws and franchises and customs of Bristol. And as those were wont to be used and written in my court and in my Hundred of Cork, and in all business. And I forbid that any wrong or hindrance be given to the aforesaid laws and franchises, which gifts from us are given and granted. In testimony, etc."

"The charter of Henry III., 26th of his reign (1242), grants to the Corporation in fee farm (in libro bargagis silicit per servitium landagabile) the city of Cork, within and without the walls to the right bounds of the city, at a fee-farm rent of 80 marks annually. This at the present day, it is supposed, would produce a yearly income of about £100,000; all that now remains of it is about £700."

"The next charters are those of Edward I. (1291), Edward II. (1319), and Edward III. (1330).

"The charter of Edward IV., '442, lays down the city limits, and notices that the city and suburbs had lately eleven parish churches to the same belonging, which churches and suburbs were then ruinous, waste, burned, and destroyed by Irish enemies and English rebels, and had been so for the term of fifty years and upwards. This charter shews what passed to the citizens under that of Henry III., and that the suburbs consisted of an ambit of an Irish mile around the city on every side.

"The sixth charter is that of Henry VII. (1500). It extends the franchise and liberties over the entire of Cork harbour, wheresoever the tide ebbs and flows. There are other charters of Henry VIII., (1537); Edward VI., (1541), and Elizabeth, (1571). The charter of James I., (1609), constitutes Cork a free city, and the mayor, etc., a body politic by the name of Mayor, Sheriffs, and Commonality, (the previous title of incorporation had been that of Mayor, Bailiffs, and Citizens); and that said city, and the soil and ground extending from the outward part of the walls thereof, by the space and circuit of three miles, should be the liberties and franchises of said city, and a distinct county of itself. Hence it appears that the county of the city is not a county by prescription, but a creation of the charter, and it was afterwards defined by an ambit, made in pursuance of it; by this charter the mayor is empowered to punish whores, scolds, and disorderly persons.

" By another of Charles I. the four dissolved religious houses are, for the first time, brought within the jurisdiction of the city.

" The final charter—that of George II.—gives licence to the Corporation to hold two fairs annually at a place called the Lough.

" Under these charters the government of the city was vested in a mayor, two sheriffs, a recorder, an unlimited number of aldermen, (persons who had served the office of mayor), and twenty-four burgesses, who formed the common council. The election of mayors and sheriffs hitherto had been vested in the freemen, under the title of the 'Friendly Club.' The election took place annually, on the first Monday of July, three months before entering on office. It was managed by a kind of lottery. The names of all the resident burgesses were thrown into hat in open court, five of which being drawn out by a charity-boy the senior in point of service was declared the mayor elect, and the selection was supported of necessity by the votes of the freemen.

" Smith (*History of Cork*, vol. i), mentions an older manner of election, as he found it in the council book. It took place in the King's Old Castle. But a still earlier form is noticed amongst the Roche MSS. in a document of the time of Elizabeth, which states 'that the Maior and both Ballives chose each a good able man, of which three the whole commons of Cork should elect one to be their governor, and Maior of the same.' Then it goes on to say 'that under this system one of Corke came to one of the Ballives, and delivered unto him a certain sum of moneye for the electing and choising of hym to that purpose; and so he did, and was made Maior,' but afterwards, the briber sought at law to recover the money so given. The opinion, however, of the judges of the superior courts was averse to his claim. Formerly on his entering into office the population enjoyed a day's saturnalia. They followed the mayor from the court, and flung bran upon him in hopes of an abundant year. Hence the phrase, 'bran new.' This custom seems to have been first discontinued in 1718. Another old pageant—that of riding the franchise—has also long fallen into disuse.

" In Smith's time, the mayor's salary was £500; at present it is fixed at £1,200 (1844), but it is intended henceforth to be reduced."

The first magistrate of Cork on record was John De Spenser,

who was provost in 1199. In 1272 the first mayor, Richard Morren, was appointed; he has been succeeded by a long line of 537 magistrates, unbroken to the year 1843, save during ten years of the war of the Commonwealth, when the city may be said to have changed its inhabitants. We have one ancient instance on record of royal interference in the choice of a chief magistrate: in the case of John Myne, whose election Edward III., in 1329, informed the citizens he had approved of and commanded them to accept him as their mayor, and deliver to him the desk, with the rolls of the Court of the Hundred, the books of green wax, the seal of the chief magistracy, and the keys and all other things belonging to his office. But the parties addressed seem to have either disregarded or evaded the mandate, for Myne's name does not occur in the list of mayors until twenty-four years after. A more modern instance brings us down to the year 1835, when the name of the mayor elect was rejected by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and a new election had to be made, in which a different person was chosen.

By the Municipal Act 3 and 4 Victoria, chap. 108, very extensive changes were effected in the corporation system of Cork. Its ancient style of "Mayors, Sheriffs, and Commonalty" was altered to "Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses." The election constituency was changed, and the power of electing vested in £10 householders. The Town Council constituting the governing authority was composed of a representative body of eight councillors for each of the eight wards of the city—64 members altogether; 16 of these having the greatest number of votes become aldermen. One-third of the council go out annually, and half the number of aldermen go out triennially. The mayor is chosen on the first of November in every year out of the aldermen or councillors of the borough. He is, as of old, an *ex-officio* justice of the peace, and by this statute is created the returning officer at elections of members to serve in parliament. In lieu of two sheriffs, as of old, the city now possesses but one, whose appointment vests in the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The jurisdiction of the corporation still extends to the old city boundary, whilst the criminal jurisdiction is confined within the borough limits. The first election of a town council under this enactment took place on the 25th of October, 1841, and the choice of the first mayor under the new system fell upon Thomas Lyons, Esq., who immediately after his election was chaired through the

city. In 1749 the city revenue amounted to £1,286 19s. 8½d., and the expenditure to £926 12s. od.

"In 1833 the commissioners of corporate enquiry found the income as follows :—

Fee farm rents	...	...	...	...	...	£320	0	3
Terminable leases ..	...	...	...	...	...	455	2	0
Paid by Harbour Board	...	...	...	...	...	379	4	9
Pipe Water Shares	...	...	...	...	...	125	0	0
Markets	...	...	...	...	...	4,976	0	0

"In that year the corporate debt was £7,247 17s. 9d.

"In 1842 the chamberlain of the reformed Corporation reported the revenues received for the last half-year to be, for

Rents	...	...	...	...	...	£839	18	6
Pipe Water Shares	...	...	...	...	...	150	0	0
Markets ...	...	...	...	...	...	1,725	5	11
Miscellaneous	...	...	...	...	...	37	11	7
						<hr/>		
						£2,642	16	0
The ordinary expenses at	...	...	...	...	...	3,441	1	10
The expenses consequent upon the Municipal Reform	...	...	...	...	...	2,425	2	3
						<hr/>		
						£5,866	4	1
And the Corporate debt	...	...	...	...	...	£10,484	18	0

In the abstract sheet of Borough Fund, General Purpose Fund, Improvement Fund, Pipe Water Fund, and Cemetery Fund for the year 1872, obligingly forwarded to us by the Town Clerk, we find the following totals :—

Borough Fund	...	...	...	...	...	£13,272	9	5
General Purposes Fund	...	...	...	...	...	20,415	0	3
Improvement Fund	...	...	...	...	...	29,527	6	4
Pipe Water	...	...	...	...	...	14,057	4	7
Cemetery Fund...	...	...	...	...	...	20,357	0	0
						<hr/>		
						£97,629	0	7

A mint was established in Cork as early as the reign of Edward I., but few of the coins are now known to exist. The Cork pennies of this reign are given in Simmond's work on Irish coins. They have the king's head within a triangle, and bear the inscription "Edw. R. Ang. Dns. Hyb." On the reverse the cross and three pellets in each quarter, and round it "Civitas Coracie."

In 1647, shillings and six-penny pieces in silver were struck at Cork, and are probably the last silver coins we have of Cork mintage. Some copper and brass pieces were also struck here about the same time; of these, two lately discovered are square, one of them bearing a castle on one side and "Cork" on the other, the date 1646. The second bears, in a small circle, the word "Corke," under a crown, the other side is without type or legend.

In a paper communicated to the *Kilkenny Arch. Journal*, we find the following inventory of the Insignia of the Cork Corporation which was found in the Sarsfield MSS.

The document is not dated, but from the writing it is inferred to be of the latter part of the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century. William Sarsfield was mayor of Cork in 1542 and again in 1556. Thomas Sarsfield in 1580; James Sarsfield in 1599; Thomas Sarsfield in 1603; William Sarsfield in 1606; Thomas Sarsfield in 1639. It was probably during the mayoralty of one of these that the insignia were purchased. It was Queen Elizabeth who gave the corporation the very beautiful collar of S.S. which they now possess.

MACES, SWORD, AND OTHER ENSIGNES OF YE CORPORACON :—

	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Two maces qt. 63 oz., at	5	3	16	10	09
Making and engraving at	2	6	07	17	06
52 oz. in Sherf's maces at	5	3	13	13	00
Making and engraving at	2	6	06	10	00
Pocket mace, 7 oz., at	5	3	01	16	09
Making and engraving at	2	6	00	17	06
Waterbayliffes oar, 14 oz., at	5	3	03	13	06
Making and engraving ...	...	...	01	15	00
City Seal, making and silver	...	...	01	15	00
Mayoralty Seal ...	...	...	01	05	00
Sword, 20 oz., at 5s. 3d.—£5 05s. 0od., mak-					
ing and engraving 2 <i>ii.</i> ; scabbard, 35s.; gild-					
ing, 3 <i>ii.</i> ; blade, 10s. ...	...	...	12	10	00
			£67	19	00

I have examined the present city of Cork muniments. They are in the custody of the town clerk, and are kept in a large safe, in a room under the court house. They are very modern, bearing the date 1738, and are decorated with the royal and city arms, and bear the names of the mayor and sheriffs for that city; so that they cannot be the insignia mentioned in the old list, which I presume was lost or destroyed during the siege in 1690. The present water-bailiffs' oar is the gift of William and Mary, as you will see by the drawing. The maces were much battered or broken when the present corporation got them, and they had to be repaired. The corporation sword is quite modern. The old one was sold (most illegally) by the family of the former sword-bearer. It was the most ancient thing the corporation possessed. I remember having seen it, and from the immense handle it had I have no doubt but that it was the one mentioned in our list. No person can tell where it is now. All the family are dead. I suspect it is in London."

The council books of the Cork Corporation contains the following entry, dated July 28th, 1690, which shows that Dominick Sarsfield, who was the mayor, was held responsible for their loss :—

“ Whereas Dominick Sarsfield hath made application unto this board for abatement in the price of sword and maces, and being put to the vote whether any abatement should be given him of the same, it was carried by the majority of votes in the negative that noe abatement shall be given him.”

The following are also of interest :—

“ 16 of 9^{ber}, 1669.—Whereas for decency every Ald^m. of this city ought to have a scarlett gound, and every burgess a black gound upon occasions to wait on Mr. Mayor, and the sword and maces ; and whereas many of our aldermen and burgesses want gounds, it is this day ordered by the unanimous concent of this present council yt every ald^m. and burgesse of this corporation by ye next assizes furnish themselves wth proper gounds, or if they shall refuse or neglect to do the same, in penalty of Forty Shillings fine for every default upon every publicke solemn occasion whereon it shall appear they were summoned.”

“ 21 January, 1703.—Whereas the Capp of Maintenance, anciently belonging to this city, was carried away with the sword and maces, upon the surrender of this city, or otherwise lost, so that there has been no such thing ever since. Now, for as much as the same was anciently granted as a badge of honour to this city, it is thought fit that a new one be bought, etc., the mayor having proposed to send for one to Dublin, is desired to direct that it be after the manner of that citty'e's, and that the charge thereof be paid by the chamberlaine out of the public revenue, and to be allowed the same in his account.”

“ It was ordered that the city chest be sent to the mayor's house, and all the grants, charters, counterparts of leases, bonds, books, and other papers of moment belonging to this corporation, in their own right, or in trust for the hospital of St. Stephens, together with the common seale, be forthwth put therein, and the three keys belonging thereunto be kept by the persons following, viz.:—One by the mayor of the city for the time being, one by Ald. Daniel Crone, and one by Ald. Wm. Goddard, and the chest to pass from mayor to mayor, and in regard it is conceived yt the present common seale, being made since the late warr is less than the former

seale, and therefore does not exactly agree therewith, wh^{ch} may hereafter cause a dispute. It is therefore ordered that a new silver seale, corresponding wth the said former seale in all points, be forthwth made, and put into the said chest, etc. ; that the present seale be broke, and the like in copper be made for the mayoralty seale, and kept by the mayor for the tyme beinge, to be made use of by him for attestations only, that ye charge thereof be paid by the chamberlain, and be allowed in his account.

“ 24 June, 1704, ordered that Mr. Edward Webber be paid five pounds nineteen shill. for the charge of the capp of maintenance out of the publick revenue of this city, and be allowed the chamberlain in his acct.”

Until the year 1610 we do not meet with the name of sheriffs. The officers who preceded them were called bailiffs. From that time there is a regular succession, excepting the ten years of Cromwell’s usurpation—from 1645 to 1656 inclusive—when there were no civil magistrates. As we have heretofore no mention of the sheriff’s wearing chains as an insignia of office, we may mention that the privilege commenced from the date of the following item :—

“ 30 January, 1735.—Ordered that a gold chain, with a medal at the end of it, on one side bearing his majesty’s arms, and on the other side the arms of the city be provided at the publick expense for each of the sheriffs of the city, to be by them constantly worn as a mark of distinction during their continuance in that office, and to be delivered over by them to their successors, and so on from sheriff to sheriff for ever, the said sheriffs to be accountable to the city for the said chain and medals.”

The following appears to have been the last public occasion on which the maces, procured after the loss of ancient ones, were used, as the next entry that refers to them mentions the intention of the corporation of having them recast, and the manufacture of those in use at the present day.

“ 5 December, 1737.—Ordered that Alderman Austen do cover the mayor’s galleries of the four churches with black cloth, not exceeding five shillings and six pence per yard, and the silver oar and sergeant’s mace be coved with cypress, as also the sword ; this is to be done against next Sunday, as mourning for her majesty Queen Caroline.

“ 1 September, 1738.—Ordered that the sum of nineteen pounds ten shillings be paid by the chamberlain of this city

to William Martin, silversmith, for new casting and gensing [graving?] the silver maces of this city, according to the report made by Mr. Augustus Carre."

Cork is the third city in the kingdom in regard to population, wealth, and commerce, and may lay claim to be the first for the intelligence, enterprise, and unbounded generosity of its merchant princes, and its warm-hearted and cultivated people. Nowhere, even in charitable Ireland, is charity more abundantly and ungrudgingly given, and the names of Cork men who have taken the highest place in literature are so numerous that, after some consideration, we have omitted mention of individual names, as a separate volume would be required to record their successful careers.

The foundation of the city by St. Finbar has been fully detailed in the historical part of this work.

The Grey Friary, or house of the Franciscans, was founded 1214, that order having been introduced into Ireland, and warmly received there. Amongst the number of those who suffered for the faith in Ireland, the Friars of St. Joseph are the most numerous, and not the least devoted.

Father Mathew, the apostle of temperance, belonged to this order.

Archidall gives the following account of the Grey Friary:—

"Dermot Mac Carthy Reagh founded this monastery, A.D. 1214, for conventual Franciscans, and dedicated it to the Virgin Mary. The founder dying in the year 1219, his son, Fineen, continued the work, and the Lord Pendergast, of Newcastle, was a great benefactor, having rebuilt this house in the year 1240, although other writers affirm that the Bourkes were the parents of the second foundation.

"A.D. 1244.—On the 15th of October, King Henry III. granted the sum of £20 to be paid on the feast of All Saints yearly, to buy one hundred tunics for the use of the Franciscan Friars of Dublin, Waterford, Cork, Athlone, and Kilkenny.

"1291.—A general chapter of the order was held here.

"1293.—King Edward I. granted to the Friars minor of Dublin, Waterford, Cork, Limerick, and Drogheda, an annual pension of thirty-five marks. Several liberates for the payment of this pension remain on record.

"1317.—The friars of this monastery complained that they were indicted and impleaded in the king's courts, contrary, as they alleged, both to the common and ecclesiastical laws.

" Philip Prendergast, a descendant of the founder, made a grant to this friary.

" 1500.—Before this year the Franciscans of Strict Observance had reformed this convent.

" Many illustrious persons were interred here, particularly Cormac Mac Donald, King of Desmond, in 1247 ; MacFinn, who was killed in the Lord Stanton's court in 1249 ; Dermot, surnamed the Fat, in 1275 ; Donald Rufus, in 1300 ; and Thady, the son of Donald, King of Desmond, in 1413.

" The Franciscans of this monastery were called the friars of Scandum.

" 26th May, 8th Queen Elizabeth, this friary, with its appurtenances and forty acres of land, in the town of Templemartyr, also a park, containing one acre and a half and a staulk, with seven gardens, parcel of the possessions of the friary, were granted to Andrew Skydie and his heirs, in capite, at the annual rent of 58s. 8d. sterling.

" This building, which stood on the north side of the city, is now entirely demolished."

Further, Francis Ward, in a MS. History of the Order, says :—

" The Convent of Cork, called also the Monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary, of Shandon, was founded in the episcopal city of Cork in the year 1214, and completed in the year 1229."

Father Wadding says that this monastery, on account of its strict observance of regular life, and the piety of its inmates, was formerly called "the mirror of all Ireland." It was erected into a custodia in the year 1260, in the general chapter of Narbonne. It passed to the Friars of the Reformed Observance previous to the year 1500, and remained in their possession till the year 1540, when heresy and persecution began to rage, and it was the first convent in all Ireland that was suppressed by the heretics. It remained desolate till the year 1600, when, in the provincialate of F. Maurice Ultan, a residence was erected in that city, and F. William Farris was appointed guardian, and from that time to the present day (1632) the friars laboured with great fruit for the salvation of the faithful and the conversion of the heretics. The first founder of the convent was Dermod Mac Carthy More, called Dondraynean, King of the people of Munster, and some provincial kings of his kindred were buried there in the habit of the friars' minors.

The most powerful family of the Mac Carthys also erected a mausoleum for themselves in that convent, till, in the course of time, they were divided into several noble families, each of which built a special convent for its own immediate members. Besides the tombs of the Mac Carthys, and of fourteen knights of Mora, the families of the Barrys and the chief nobles and citizens of that country, are buried there.

The Dominican Friary, called the Abbey of St. Mary of the Isles, was founded by the Barry family in 1229. The convent was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and from its insular site —being built on one of the great marshes of “the five-isled city”—was called “St. Mary’s of the Island.” The church attached to the convent is noticed in the history of the Order as having been magnificent—“Magnifica Ecclesia.” Soon after its erection, David Mac Kelly, dean of Cashel, took the habit of a Dominican in his house; in 1237 he was consecrated bishop of Cloyne; next year being succeeded in the chair of St. Colman by a brother Dominican, Allan O’Sullivan, he was translated to the metropolitan See of Cashel. Archbishop David introduced into the arch-diocese an affiliation of Friars-preachers from Cork, and built for his brethren a beautiful church and abbey, at a short distance from his own cathedral on the rock of Cashel. His name is celebrated in the works of many foreign and domestic writers. In 1245 he assisted at the first general council at Lyons, to the acts of which his name is subscribed.

A charter, confirmed by assent of King Edward II., was granted in 1317, by Sir Roger de Mortimer and his council, in favour of the Dominican community, by which the ward, or custody, of the gate of the lately erected city walls, nearest to the abbey of St. Mary’s, should be committed to the mayor, bailiffs, and other trusty men, and free passage to and from the city should be given to the friars, and for their sake to other good citizens.

Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March and Ulster, father of the Heir-Presumptive to the crown of England, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, when he came to Cork took up his vice-regal residence in the Dominican convent. He died in that house on St. Stephen’s day, 1381, and, as is supposed, was buried in St. Mary’s Isle.

A friar of the Order of Preachers from Cork, and thence called Fr. Joannes Corcagiensis, was Archbishop of Cologne in 1461.

In 1647 Father Richard Barry, a Cork Dominican, who

refused to accept his life on condition of stripping himself of his religious habit and assuming a secular dress, was condemned to be burned alive on the summit of the Rock of Cashel, and having heroically suffered in the flames for the space of two hours, was transfixed through the side with a sword.

In 1648 Dominic de Burgo, a young professed member of the Order of Preachers, and near relative of the Earl of Clanricarde, was made prisoner on board of the ship in which he had taken his passage to Spain to pursue his studies. He was thrown into prison at Kinsale, whence he made his escape by jumping from the top of the gaol wall down on the sea shore. For two days he lay concealed in a neighbouring wood, all covered with mud, without clothing, food, or drink. At length he found shelter under the hospitable roof of the Roches in that neighbourhood, probably of Garrettstown. He was at a later period of life the celebrated Bishop of Elphin, for whose head or capture the government offered a large reward, and to whom Oliver Plunket, the martyred Archbishop of Armagh, wrote from his dungeon warning him of the attempts of the Privy Council against this life. He died in exile.

In 1651 Father Eneas Ambrose O'Cahill, an eloquent preacher and zealous missionary in Cork, being recognised as a friar of a Dominican community, was rushed upon by a troop of Cromwell's soldiers, cut to pieces with their sabres, and his limbs were scattered about to be trampled under foot.

The following is taken from the *Cork Herald* for December 7th, 1871. It cannot fail to be of interest, both at the present time, and to the merchants of the future:—

CORK MARKETS.—CORN MARKET—DECEMBER 5.						Currency.			
Cwts.		s.	d.	s.	d.	s. d.			
113	White Wheat	...	...	10	9 to 11	0	...	—	
248	Red Wheat	...	...	9	0	10	0	...	—
66	Barley	...	...	9	6	0	0	...	—
1030	Black Oats	...	...	9	4	0	10	...	9 6
15	Tawny Oats	...	...	9	9	0	0	...	—
416	White Oats	...	...	10	0	0	0	...	—
17	Pigs, per cwt.	...	...	37	0	52	0	...	—
Lds. Tons.									
44	33 Hay, (Farmers)	...	...	65	0	95	0	...	—
6	6 Do. (dealers)	...	...	80	0	96	0	...	—
41	27 Straw (Farmers)	...	...	45	0	74	0	...	—
3	3 Do. (dealers)	...	...	65	0	70	0	...	—
4	4 Reed	...	...	70	0	73	0	...	—
29	22 Turnips	...	...	18	0	20	0	...	—
4	4 Carrots	...	...	38	0	0	0	...	—
23	19 Potatoes, per weight	...	...	0	8	0	9 ¹ ₄	...	—

Cwts. oats at lowest price, 34.

Delivered at stores—Red wheat, 8; barley, 66; white oats, 357.

No. of Cwts. at highest prices.—White wheat, 35; red wheat, 38; black oats, 20; pork, 1.

Total for week.—Red wheat, 904; barley, 602; black oats, 4247; pork, 34¹; hay, (farmers), 105; straw, do., 72.

PRICES OF BUTTER PER CWT. AT THE CORK BUTTER MARKET—
DECEMBER 5.

	ORDINARY.		MILD CURED.	
	Export.	Country.	Export.	Country.
1st Quality	153s.	—	150s.	—
2nd do.	139s.	—	136s.	—
3rd do.	124s.	—	121s.	—
4th do.	113s.	—	110s.	—
5th do.	105s.	—	102s.	—
6th do.	75s.	—	72s.	—
Number of firkins in market, 1,129.				
Currency.—	Ordinary butter	... ...	... ...	1/- less.
Do. —	Mild Cured	... ...	... ...	1/-,,
Sponged butter	... ...	... ...	... ...	2/-,,

FISH.—Codfish, 3s. 6d. each ; sole, 3s. 6d. to 4s. 6d. per pair ; haak, 1s. 4d. to 1s. 6d. each.

BUTTER AND EGGS.—Butter, (fresh), 1s. 4d. to 1s. 5d. per lb. ; do., (salt), 1s. 3d. to 1s. 4d. Eggs, (hen's), 1s. 5d. to 1s. 6d. per dozen.

BREAD.—White, 8d. per 4lb. ; household, 7d. per 4lb.

FLOUR.—PRICES AT LEE AND ST. JOHN'S MILLS, NOVEMBER 28.—Extra white firsts, 16s. 6d. to 17s. 6d. per cwt. ; extra American firsts, 15s. to 16s. ; extra Marignole firsts, 14s. 6d. to 15s. ; mixed firsts, 13s. 6d. to 14s. ; Ghirka firsts, 13s. to 13s. 6d. Indian meal, (fine), £10 5s. to £10 10s. per ton ; ditto, coarse, £9 10s. to £9 15s.

MEAT.—Beef, (roasting joints), 10d. to 1s. per lb. ; do., (soup), 5d. to 6d. ; do., (corning), 7½d. to 9d. ; do., (steaks), 1s. Mutton, (legs), 8d. to 9d. per lb. ; do., (loins), 9d. to 10d. ; do., (hind quarters), 7½d. to 9d. ; ditto., (chops), 1s. Veal, (fore quarters), 5d. to 6d. per lb. ; do., (hind quarters), 7d. to 8d. ; do., (cutlets), 8d. to 1s. do., (fillets), 10d. ; do., (loins), 10d. Pork, 7d. to 8½d. per lb. ; do., (middles), 8d. ; do., (loins), 7d. to 9d. ; do., (salt), 6d. to 8d. ; do., (sausages), 6d. to 8d. per lb. Hams, (Cork), 10d. to 1s. per lb. ; do. (Limerick), 1s. 1d. to 1s. 2d. Bacon, 10d. to 1s. per lb. Hams, (fresh), 6os. per cwt.

GAME AND POULTRY.—Chickens, 2s. 2d. to 3s. per couple ; geese, 6s. per couple ; turkeys, 7s. to 8s. ; ducks, 2s. 9d. to 3s. 6d. per pair ; hares, 1s. 8d. per brace ; rabbits, 1s. 4d. per brace.

VETEABLES.—Cabbage, 10d. per dozen ; carrots, 6d. per do. ; celery, 1s. per do. ; parsnips, 1s. 6d. per do. ; onions, 4d. per do. ; turnips, 2d. a bunch.

CATTLE FOR WEEK.—Pigs, 875 ; sheep, 287 ; cows, 211.

POTATOES.—Daily Return of Loads of Potatoes in Markets on Saturday, with price per weight of 21 lbs. :—Harpur's-lane, 15 loads ; Barrack-street, 6 loads ; North, 46 loads ; Blackpool, 12 loads—Total, 79 loads. Price, 8d. to 9d.

CATTLE FOR WEEK.—Pigs, 834 ; sheep, 241 ; cows, 151.

The following is from the *Cork Examiner* of the same date :—“ Weekly Sale of Fat Stock.—Messrs. William Marsh and Son held their usual weekly sale of fat stock on yesterday, which consisted principally of sheep, of which there were upwards of 120 at the Repository. Prices as follows :—Hogget ewes and wethers fetched from 30s. to 55s., and lambs from 20s. to 28s. There were in addition a number of store beasts disposed of, which brought from £10 to £15. The principal buyers in attendance were—Messrs. D. Twomey, Queenstown ; Charles Hayes, Francis Duke, T. Ahern, W. Bowen, J. Mintern, etc., etc.

CARRIGANAS CASTLE, about four miles from Bantry, on the road to Inchigeela, once a stronghold of the O'Sullivans.

O'Sullivan Beare mentions it in his History of the Irish Catholics, and calls it *Torrentrupes*, which is an exact translation of the Irish name *Carraig-an-easa*, the rock of the cataract, and it takes its name from a beautiful cascade, where the Ouvane falls over a ledge of rocks, near the castle.

There is another place of the same name in the parish of Ardagh, near Youghal, and another still in the parish of Lackan, Mayo; while in Armagh and in Tyrone it takes the form of Carrickanass, all deriving their name from a rock in the bed of a stream forming a waterfall.

CHARLEVILLE.—This town was founded by, and obtained its name from, the Earl of Orrery. He writes to the Duke of Ormond "that he would not allow either a Presbyterian or Papist or fanatic to plant here." Yet out of the 475 houses, which now form the town, only fourteen are in the occupation of Protestants. A charter school was established here, at which Barry Yelverton (Lord Avonmore) learned his classics.

There is a burial ground near Charleville, called Ballysah, but I am informed that a document left by a parish priest of Charleville, says that it should be called Holy Cross. An Irish poet, John Mac Donnell, is buried here. He was born in 1691, and his memory is still held in affectionate remembrance amongst the people.

CARRIGNAVAR, one of the strongholds of the Mac Carthys. In Irish *Carraig-na-Chfear*, the rock of the men.

CLOYNE, an abridgment of the ancient name *Cluain-uamha*, the meadow of the cave, a place and name of great antiquity. Archdall gives but very brief notice of this site, an evidence if it were needed of how utterly Irish antiquities had been neglected until a comparatively recent period, but this deficiency has been amply compensated by the Right Rev. Dr. Moran in his magnificent edition of Archdall.¹

According to the *Annals of the Four Masters*, St. Colman died in the year 600 (*i.e.*, 601 of our present computation), and the 24th of November is the day on which his festival is marked in all the ancient calendars, and on which it is still observed in the diocese of Cloyne. Our patron of Cloyne must not be confounded with another St. Colman, who was

1. This valuable work, full of topographical and antiquarian interest, is brought out by the spirited Dublin publisher, Mr. Kelly, of Grafton-street.

honoured on the same day. Both these saints are thus commemorated by St. Aengus, in his Felire, at the 24th of November:—

“With Cianan of Daimliac,
A beautiful ear of our wheat,
Mac Lenine, the most excellent,
With Colman of Dubh-Chuillenn.”

The martyrology of Donegal preserves the following quatrain from the ancient poem Nacemhsheanchus, on the Saints of Ireland:—

“Colman, son of Lenin, the full,
And Mothemneag, son of Corban,
Were of the race of two brothers—
Oilioll Oluim, and Lughaidh.”

—O'Curry's MSS. Annal. Inisfal.

The old Latin Life of St. Brendan passes the following eulogy on St. Colman:—“This Colman, the son of Lenin, was for learning and a holy life chief among the saints. He founded the church of Cloyne, which is at this day a cathedral, and famous throughout the province of Munster.”

Cloyne was situated in the territory of Ui-Lethain, and in that sub-division which was called Ui-Mocaille, a name that is still retained in the barony of Imokilly. It is distant nineteen miles from Cork, and “is seated in the heart of a rich and highly cultivated country, being embosomed in gently rising hills. It does credit to the choice of the ancient fathers who here took up their abode in very remote times.”—*Brash. Journal of Kilkenny, Arch. Society.* (New Series, ii. 253.) To distinguish this See from other churches of the same name—of which there were several scattered throughout Ireland—it was sometimes called by the name Cluain-mor, *i.e.*, “The Great Cloyne,” but more generally Cluain-uamha, that is “Cloyne of the Caves.” There are some very deep and interesting caves close by the old Cathedral. It is probable St. Colman or some of his religious lived in them in olden times; and it is the popular tradition that many of the clergy and people found a safe retreat there when the country was engaged by the Danes. The Protestant Bishop Bennett thus writes of the caves in 1813:—“The tower of Cloyne is situated on a small limestone eminence, gently rising in the midst of the valley, through which I suppose Cork harbour to have once communicated with the sea, and this eminence, therefore, was once an island surrounded with water. On this spot St. Colman, before the year 600, is supposed to have founded his

Church, and the security of it must have received no small addition from the circumstance of a cave, which is on the most elevated part of it, extending in various branches underground to a great distance. The cave is now in the field, called the Rock Meadow, forming part of the bishop's demesne, a little east of his garden wall, and they having been long neglected, and the drains from it choked up, it is generally full of water in winter. Yet there is a large arched passage, running some hundred yards, leading to another mouth in the shrubbery north of it. A third, but smaller opening, is also visible in the high ground above the pond, a fourth near the road to the Commons, and these, or similar entrances, gave the name to the whole of 'this land of the field of the caves.' Elsewhere he writes :—“The rock shrubbery ends at the mouth of a cave of unknown length and depth, which branches to a great distance under the earth, and is sanctified by a thousand wild traditions.” Brash further informs us that “it is generally believed that the caves at Cloyne and the great stalactite caves at Carrig-a-Crump, about two miles distant are connected, which is not improbable. The latter caves have never been thoroughly explored, though penetrated to a distance of one mile.

Cloyne, according to an ancient MS., was the favourite place of burial for the “best bloods of Ireland,” on account of the sanctity of the founder of the See. That it was so venerated we find from the will of Cormac Mac Cullenan, who desired to be buried here.

The Round Tower is thus described by Dr. Moran :—

“Nearly opposite to the west of the Cathedral, at a distance of thirty yards, stands the beautiful round tower of Cloyne. Its present height is a little more than a hundred feet. Its diameter at the doorway is nine feet two inches, with a thickness of a wall of three feet eight inches. At the upper floor the diameter of the tower is seven feet two inches, with a thickness of a wall of two feet nine inches. The tower is divided internally into storeys by seven offsets, taken from the thickness of the wall, so that drawn in section the internal line of wall would show a zig-zag outline. The tower was originally crowned by the usual conical stone roof, which is stated to have been destroyed by lightning on the night of the 10th of January, 1749. Bennett gives the following description of this storm :—‘A storm of lightning, with thunder, on the night of January 10th, 1749, passed through the country from west to east, after killing some cows in a field south of

Cork, struck the round tower of Cloyne. It first rent the vaulted arch at the top, threw down the great bell, together with three galleries, and descending perpendicularly to the lowest floor, forced its way with a violent explosion through one side of the tower, and drove some of the storeys, which were admirably well pointed, through the roof of a neighbouring stable. The door, though secured by a strong iron lock, was thrown to a distance of sixty yards, and quite shattered to pieces. A few pigeons that used to roast on the top of the steeple were scorched to death, not a feather of them being left unsigned. With the same bad taste which distinguishes all the works of our modern architecture, the vaulted stone roof of the tower was never repaired, but the height was lowered more than six feet, and a vile battlement in imitation of the worst English churches substituted in its stead.'

Wilkinson, treating of the "Ancient Architecture of Ireland," p. 171, states that "the material of this tower is reddish coloured sandstone of the country, in good preservation. Much of it is very carefully worked to the curvature of the tower with a chisel-pointed hammer; the masonry of the doorway is put together in a laboured manner, and finely chiselled, each stone being apparently worked as it was required. The stones are flat-bedded, and of considerable size;" and, subsequently he adds, "that the masonry of the doorway is so carefully put together, that a file alone would produce such careful work in the present day."

In a paper read twelve years ago before the Kilkenny Archaeological Society (new series, *i.e.*, 265), we find it stated that "the round tower at Cloyne is locally known by the Irish-speaking people as Grolceach, and the same term is locally applied to Ardmore; at Kineth, and at Ratto, in Kerry." Within the past few days this statement has been confirmed and further illustrated by the Rev. Richard Smiddy, in his interesting work on the "Druids, etc., of Ireland." At page 199 he writes, "the universal popular name of the round tower in Munster, Connaught, and the other Irish-speaking parts of Ireland is Cuilceach, or Culciheace; this name is from cuile 'a reed,' and theach 'a house,' that is the reed-house, or reed-shaped structure; thus the people have always said, with constant unerring accuracy, when speaking of these structures, Cuilceach Clinna, 'the round tower of Cloyne; Cuilceach Colmain, 'the round tower of St. Colman'; Cuilceach Deaglam, 'the round tower of St. Deelon,' at Lismore, and so on." To

explain the origin of the name, he further adds, "There is growing in the bogs and rivers of Ireland a large kind of cuilc, or reed, with a conical head, which in form and shape resemble the lines of the round tower, and which, I am sure, was originally taken as the model for it." The writer in the transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society, already referred to, also states, "I was never more struck with the poetic application of this term to our round towers than at Ratto in Kerry, when I stood on the ancient causeway opposite the tower, and heard the same name applied to the tall, slender, symmetrical pillar, with its perfect conical spire, as to the tall, graceful reeds, -with their spiral feathered caps; which lined the banks of the Brick and the canal, which runs up nearly to the base of the tower.

In the "Book of Rights," page 87, Cluain-uamha is mentioned as one of the royal residences of the kings of Cashel, and subsequently is added :—

"Of the rights of Cashel, in its power
Are Bruree, and the great Muilhead,
Seanchua the beautiful, Rosraeda the bright,
And to it belongs the noble fort of Cluain-uamha."

The following facts omitted by Archidall have been gleaned from our Ancient Annals and the "Wars of the Danes." :—

"A.D. 821.—Cucaech, abbot of Cluain-uamha, died."

"A.D. 822.—A party of marauders plundered Cork, Inis-temhni, Begery Island, in Wexford harbour, Cloyne, and Rosmaclain. The barren rock called Scelig Michel, *i.e.*, St. Michael's Rock, the abode of a solitary named Edgall, was also invaded by them, and as they found nothing else to take, they carried him off into captivity, in which he died in the following year. Keating says the invaders, on this occasion, were White-Lochiann, that is Norwegians."

A.D. 835.—Between the years 824 and 835 the greater part of the churches were the reputed repositories of wealth, as they were the centres of civilization throughout our island. They thus became the chief aim of the plunderers, and even at this early date the marauders made their way to the ecclesiastical establishments in some of the most remote parts of the country. The long list of the places plundered by them on this occasion ends with the names "Cell-Uasaille, now Killossy, or Killashee, near Naas, county Kildare ; Glendalough, county Wicklow ; Cluain-Uamha, county Cork ; and Mungairet, now Mungrat, county Limerick."

'A.D. 857.—Maelcobha Ue Faelain, abbot of Cluain-Uamha, died. Lynch's MS. gives us in this year the additional entry :—Robertechus Bonus, episcopus de Cluain-Uamha, obiit.

A.D. 884.—Reachtaedh, learned bishop of Cluain-Uamha, died.

A.D. 888.—Cluain-Uamha was again plundered by the Danes, and Fergal son of Finachta, its bishop and abbot, and Uanan, son of Cerin, its sub-abbot, were killed.

A.D. 1056.—Daighre O'Dubatan, anchorite of Cloyne, died at Glendaloch.

A.D. 1071.—A fleet, with Dermot O'Brien, sailed round Ireland. He devastated Cluain-Uamha, and took away the relics of St. Finnbar from Cill-na-clerich.

A.D. 1075.—O'Currain, archinnech of Cluain-Uamha, quievit in Christo.

A.D. 1094.—O'Molvain, bishop of Cluain-Uamha, died.

A.D. 1099.—Umnachan na-Mictire, comharb of Colman, son of Lenin, died.

A.D. 1137.—Cluain-Uamha and Ardagh of Bishop Mel were burned; both houses and churches.

A.D. 1149.—Aelneniah O'Mariertach, bishop, died. He flourished in 1140, as we hear from St. Bernard in *Vita, S. Malachiae*, who gave him the title "Episcopas Cluaïn-Vaniae," which in some of the printed texts is corrupted into "Duenvaniae." Bishop Nemiah is described by an old writer in *Tyndal's Vision* as a plain and modest man, excelling in wisdom and charity.

A.D. 1159.—O'Duberg, also called O'Dubrein, abbot of Cluain-Uamha, died.

A.D. 1162.—Diarmid Ua-Laighmen, lector of Cluain-Uamha, was killed. He is called by Lynch "Dermicius O'Leighnin, archedeaconus Cluanenses et Momoniae Doctor."

A.D. 1167.—Ua Flannain, bishop of Cluain-Uamha, died.

A.D. 1192.—Matthw O'Mougach, bishop of Cloyne, died. He was legate of the Holy See for Ireland at the time of the English invasion, and was succeeded in his legating authority by the celebrated Mathew O'Herlihy, archbishop of Cashel.

The *Piper Roll of Cloyne*, a document of no great interest, has been lately published.

CORCA LAIDHE, the original country of the Dairinne, or O'Driscolls, and their co-relatives, was originally co-extensive with the diocese of Ross, or Ros-ailethre, of which St. Fachtna

of this race, who flourished in the sixth century, was the first bishop. But on the increase of the power and population of the Deirgthine, or race of Oilill-Olum, the original territory of the Dairinne was much circumscribed. Long before the English invasion, the Ui-Eathach-Mumhan, or O'Mahonys, wrested from them that portion of their territory called Fonn-Tarthaerach, *i.e.*, West-land, otherwise Trahagh, comprising the parishes of Kilmoe, Scoole, Kilcrohane, Durris, Kilmaconoge, and Caheragh, in the barony of West Carbery; and after the English invasion various encroachments were made upon the lands by the English, and by families of the race of Oilill-Olum, then recently driven from their original localities by the English invaders. The Barrys encroached on the eastern side of their principality. The O'Sullivans (*Ui-Suileabhair*), who had been originally seated at Cnock Raffonn and Cluain-meala, (Clonmel), in the now county of Tipperary, were driven from thence in the year 1192, when they settled in the mountains of the now counties of Cork and Kerry, and finally wrested from the Dairinne, or Corca-Laidhe, the portion of their territories now comprised in the baronies of Beare and Bantry. About the same period the Cairbre Aeldha, or O'Donovans, O'Collins, etc., who had been seated in the barony of Cois Maighe (Coshma), and in the plain of the west side of the river Maigh (Maigue), in the now county of Limerick, were driven from thence by the Fitzgeralds, and they settled in the present county of Cork, and wrested from the Corca-Laidha a considerable portion of the northern part of their territory. This latter sept transferred their tribe name of Cairbre from the banks of the Maigh, to the south of the Bandon, where it is still retained, applied to an extensive territory, now the four baronies of Carbery. The Corca-Laidhe, though circumscribed, were, however, independent of their new invaders until the year 1232, when Gormac Gott, the third son of Mac Carthaigh Mor, acquired dominion over the entire region, now forming the four baronies of Carbery. This event is briefly noticed in the old copy of the *Annals of Innisfallen*, preserved in the Bodleian Library, as follows:—

"A.D. 1232.—Domhnall God Mac Carthaigh was taken prisoner by his own brother, Cormac Carthaigh, but he was set at liberty by him at the end of a quarter, and immediately after this Domhnall went at the instance of Maghnus O'Cobhthaigh and the daughter of O'Mercheartaigh (O'Moriarty) to commit an unneighbourly act against Muircheartach O'Mathghamhna

(O'Mahony), a thing which he did, for he slew the three sons of O'Mathghamhna and plundered himself, and in consequence of this Domhnall Cairbreach and his race remained in the south from that forth."

The surrounding tribes still continued to encroach upon the Corca Laidhe, until at length they narrowed their territory to the limits of the following parishes, which, according to the Regal Visitation Book of 1615, constitute the rural deanery of Colleymare and Colleybeg, viz.:—Myross, Glanbárahane (now Castlehaven), Tullagh, Creagh, Kilcoe, Aghadowne and Cleere. In this territory they built the castles Gleann Bear-chain or Castlehaven, Lough-Hyne, Ardagh, Baltimore, Dun-na-n-gall, Dun-Dunanvir in Cape Clear Island, Rincoliskey, and a castle and abbey on Sherkin Island. In 1636, the entire of O'Driscoll's country, as well as those of the O'Donovans, O'Mahony's, and several septs of the Mac Carthys, paid tribute to Mac Carthy Reagh.

"The O'Nunans or Nunans, some of whom have changed the name to Newnan and Newenham, are a clan of the Munster Milesians, and a branch of the same stock as the O'Briens, kings of Thomond. It is stated by O'Brien, in his Irish dictionary, at the letter U, that the O'Nunan's were hereditary or protectors of St. Brendan's church at Tullalais, in the county of Cork, and proprietors of the lands of Tullalais and Castlelissin, under obligation of repairs and all other expenses attending the divine service of that church, to which those lands had been originally given as an allodial endowment by its founder. This district, possessed by the chiefs of the O'Nunan's, comprised the present parish of Tullalais, partly in the barony of Duhallow and partly in that of Orrery, in the county of Cork, and also the lands of Castlelissin, or Castleishen, in the adjoining parish of Knock-temple. All situated between Charleville, Liscarroll, and Newmarket, in the county of Cork, and on the borders of Limerick. The lands possessed by the O'Nunan's amounted at least to twelve thousand acres, and were held by them in perpetuity or by allodial tenure. The O'Nunan's are numerous, and there are many respectable families of the name in Cork, Tipperary, and Limerick.

"The Murphys, O'Murphys, are descended from Feidhlim, son of Eana Cinsealach, King of Leinster, in the fourth century. There were two branches of the Ui-Feidhlema (sons of Feidhlim)—the northern and the southern. On the intro-

duction of surnames the principal family of the northern branch took that of Mac Murchadha Caemhanaigh, *Anglice* Mac Murrough-Kavanagh, now Kavanagh, without any prefix. The chief family of the southern branch took that of O'Murchadha, *Anglice* formerly O'Murrough, now Murphy; and the family multiplied so much that this is now the most numerous of all the ancient Irish tribes all over Leinster and Munster. This family numbers, in later times, the Right Rev. John Murphy, D.D., Catholic bishop of Cork, Serjeant Murphy, M.P. for the city of Cork, 1841—1846, and 1852; Nicholas Daniel Murphy, M.P. for the city of Cork, since 1865; and John Nicholas Murphy, author *Terra Incognita*, and other works.—See *Keating's History of Ireland*, page 11, Dublin, 1723; the *Book of Rights*, translated by O'Donovan, page 208, Dublin; *Celtic Society*, 1847; and Mac Geoghan's *History of Ireland*, page 168, Dublin, 1844."

CLUAIN.—Archidall fails to identify this place, but Dr. Moran says this is probably the place referred to in the following passage of the Irish life of St. Findbar:—

"After St. Barea had built the church of Achadh Duirbchon, near Cuas Barra, he crossed the Abhan Mor to Cell-Cluana, and he built a church there, and remained there for some time till, two pupils of St. Ruadan of Lothra, *i.e.*, Cormac and Baoithin, came to him, and soon after Ruadan himself came to him there. After this Ruadan's pupils came to ask him for a place for themselves, and Ruadan said to them, 'Go forth to where the tongues of your bells will sound, and it is in that place your resurrection will be on the last day, and remain in that place.' They then went forth till they reached Cell Cluana (the church of Cluain), where Barra was, and the bells sounded there, and the clerics became very much disheartened, as they did not expect to get this church or place. Barra saw this, and said to them, 'Be not disheartened, for I will give up this church and all the wealth and property that belong to it to God and to you,' and so Barra gave his church to them, and the above-named clerics remained in that church. And Barra built twelve churches more after this before he came to Cork, and gave them all in charity and love of God. And he was then led by the angel to where Cork is to-day, where he settled down in the seat of his resurrection."—*O'Curry's MS.*

DONERAILE, called *Dun-air-aill*, the fortress on the cliff, in the Book of Lismore.

FERMOY.—*Fir* or *Fearament*, called in Irish *Feara muighe Feine*, the men of the plain—an historical site of great interest.

The monastery of Fermoy was the head of the great religious institutions founded by St. Finnchua, in the beginning of the seventh century. This saint received the waters of baptism from St. Ailbhe, studied at Benchor, under its holy founder, St. Comghall, was subsequently abbot of that great monastery, but resigned that office to establish the great religious school in his native territory at Fermoy. He was remarkable for his penitential spirit, and towards the close of his saintly career made a pilgrimage to Rome. The ancient name of the place now called Fermoy was Magh Meine, and thus it was known till the siege of Drom Domhghaire, which is recorded to have taken place about the year of our Lord 220. Munster was at that time invaded by Cormac Mac Airt, who full of confidence in his Druids and in the valour of his troops, encamped at Drom Domhghaire, in the S.E. of the county Limerick, since called Cnoc Lóna (Knoclong), *i.e.*, hill of the encampment. In this emergency a famous Druid named Mogh Ruth hastened from his residence in Oilean Daire, now the Island of Valencia, to the aid of the Munster army, and through his skill and bravery a brilliant victory was achieved. The troops of the monarch, adds the ancient tale, were pursued by the men of Munster, led by their Druid, Mogh Ruth, in his chariot drawn by wild oxen, till driven beyond the borders of the province, and into Magh Raighne, in Ossory. The men of Munster now returned home in triumph, after having repulsed the invader, and called a convocation of the states and people of the provinces to give thanks to their friend and deliverer Mogh Ruth, after which they unanimously agreed to give and conform to him and his descendants for ever the possession of the plain and country then called Magh Meine (or the mineral plain) in reward for his great services.

Magh Meine was thus handed over to Mogh Ruth, and hence it was called Fearn Moga, or the land of Muga, as written in some old MSS. His tribe and family, who settled down in this territory, took the tribe name of Fer Mugai, *i.e.*, the men of Mugai, anglicised Fermoy; and the race of Mogh Ruth continue to inhabit there even to this day in the families of O'Dugan, O'Cronin, and others, in that and the neighbouring districts. The following extract from the MS. Book of Lismore further illustrates its name:—

“They then sent for the clay of Coomlehaillé Meic Con,

i.e., the caile (or land) of Mene, son of Erc, son of Deaghaidh, which is called Fir Mulghe, *i.e.*, Fermoy to-day. The reason it is called Caile Meic N. Eirc is because his sons dwelt there, namely—Mene, son of Erc, and Uatha, son of Erc, and Ailbhe, son of Erc. Another name for it was Fir Muighe Mene, so called because of the abundance of the minerals contained in the mountains around it, and because there are minerals in all the fields around it also. Another name for it was Corr Chaille Meic Con, because it was the patrimony of the Claun Daisine, and it is in Rossach-na-Righ, *i.e.*, Ross-na-Righ, is the ancient burial place of the kings of Munster, and it is there Mac Con was till the time of the battle of Ceann Abrath."

An ancient topographical note of great interest is still preserved, which gives minute details of the old political and ecclesiastical divisions of this district.

Archidall says:—"An abbey was founded here under the invocation of the Virgin Mary for Cistercean monks, who were brought hither from an abbey on the Suir, in the county of Tipperary; and a new colony was afterwards introduced from the abbey of Furnes, in Lancashire."

A.D. 1226.—Patrick, the prior, was made bishop of Cloyne, according to Sir James Ware; but from records it appears that W_____, then prior of Fermoy, was elected bishop of Cloyne, and received the royal assent.

A.D. 1248.—The abbot was fined in the sum of £10 for divers offences.

A.D. 1290.—Maurice le Fleming made a considerable grant to this abbey.

1301.—The abbot, Maurice Garton, fell from his horse into the river Funcheon, in the neighbourhood of this abbey, and lost his life. He was succeeded by Henry.

1303.—Maurice, Lord Kerry, died in this year, at which time Thomas, his fifth son, governed the abbeys of Fermoy and Odorney.

1311.—Deonysius was abbot.

1355.—David Rawyr O'Kyff was abbot.

1367.—Henry was abbot, and in the same year William Fleming was elected, who paid his homage as abbot of Fermoy to John, bishop of Cloyne, for the land of Kilconan.

1480.—The abbot, Nicholas O'Henese, was made bishop of Waterford in this year. 26th June, 33rd Queen Elizabeth, a grant was made to Sir Richard Grenville, knt., and his heirs, of

this monastery, containing three acres, with the appurtenances and a parcel of land, of the following denominations : Garricula, Ardevallegge, Aghavanester, Kilcroige, Coulevalinter, Venosige, Forraghmore, Downbahenie, Kilcoman, lying south of the Blackwater ; Ballymabene, Granesheagh, Ballinegehie, Corrow-harden, Carrigincroughere, and Glasiganishe, containing by estimation five hundred and fifty acres at £15 18s. 4d. Irish money.

The topographical tract, above mentioned, forms a part of the Book of Lismore, or as it should be called the Book of Mac Carthy Reagh, which was found in a walled-up recess in Lismore castle.

FINTRACT-CLERE, *i.e.*, the fair, or white, strand of Cape Clear Island, in the south of the county of Cork. This strand is now called Traigh-Chiarain. It is described as follows in *Smith's Natural and Civil History of Cork* :—

"A little to the east of the Castle of Dunanore, on the north-west point of Cape Clear Island, is a cove called Tra-Kieran, *i.e.*, St. Cierans strand, where we find a pillar of stone, with a cross rudely cut towards the top, supposed to have been the work of that saint. This stone is held in great veneration by an incredible number of pilgrims, who assemble round it every 5th of March, on which day the festival is celebrated. A church in ruins under the invocation of St. Kieran, adjoins this pillar.

The race of Eiderscel, son of Nathe, who was contemporary with St. Ciaran and his relative, as will appear from the following genealogical table :—

Aenghus.

Nathe Aengus.

Eiderscel Liadhain, or Siedania.

St. Ciaran Saighre.

The Ui Eidersceoil, or O'Driscolls, took their hereditary surname not from this, but from Eiderscel, son of Finn, the twelfth in descent from him.

According to the Irish genealogists, the ancestor of the Corca-Laidhe, was the paternal uncle of Milidh or Milesius of Spain. The Tuatha De Danann colony, the Clanna Mileadh, or Milesians, arrived in Ireland in the year of the world, 2737, according to O'Flaherty's chronology. Fir Bolg, supposed by some to be the same as the Belgæ of Gaul and Great Britain, preceded the Tuatha De Danann, and arrived in Ireland

according to O'Flaherty's chronology, in the year of the world 2627.

Of the doings of the O'Driscolls in later time, we get some amusing accounts in the Carew MSS. The following shows how they spent Christmas day in the year of grace 1413, and gives a good idea of old times in Ireland :—

" Symon Wicken, maior of the citie of Waterford ; Roger Walsh, and Thomas Saulter, bayliffs, in the first year of his maioralty, with a hand of men in armo^r, in a ship of the foresaid citie, went on Christmas Eve towards Ballintimore, and in nyght on Christmas Day, at supper time, landed his men, and in good order came to the gate of O'h-Idriskoll's greate house or castell, within the said haven, and called to the porter, and willing him to tell his lo^r that the maior of Waterford was come into the haven with a shipp of wyne, and that he would gladly come in to see his lo. Upon notice thereof given by the porter to O'h-Idriskoll, the gate was set open, and the porter presently taken by the maior and put aside, and so the maior walked into the great hall, where O'h-Idriskoll and his kinsman and friends sitting at boordes, made ready to supp, commanded O'h-Idriskoll and his company not to move or feare, for he would not, nor meant not, to draw no man's blood of the same house, more than to dance and drinke, and so to depart, with that the said maior toke up to dance. O'h-Idriskoll and his sonne, the prior of the friary, O'h-Idriskoll's three brethren, his uncle and his wife, and leaving them in their dance, the maior commanded every one of his men to hold fast the said powers. And so after singing a carroll, came away, bringing with them aboorde the said shipp the said O'h-Idriskoll and his company, saying unto them they should go with him to Waterford to syng their carroll and make merry that Christmas ; and they being all aboorde made sayle presently, and arrived at Waterford St. Steven's Day, at night, where with greate joy received they were with lights."

Reprisals were made, however, on another occasion, for we hear of "an overthrow given by the maior and cittizens of Waterford upon O'h-Idriskoll at Ballymacdare, in the countie of Waterford, the third day of June, A.D. 1461."

" The maior and cittizens of the citie of Waterford being credibly informed of th' arryvall of O'h-Idriskoll of Tramore, being trayned thither by the powers who always continued in their ranckor and malice towards the citie, the maior and the

cittizens prepared themselves in warlike manner, and sett forward themselves with good courage towards Ballimacclare, in the said countie, where they having mett with the said O'h-Idriskoll and the Powers, and so bickered together, when the maior and his companions had the victory of their side, and several of the said O'h-Idriskoll's company and of the Powers were slayne then by the said maior and his company, and some taken prisoners, and in especiall were taken then all prisoners O'h-Idriskoll Oge with vi. of his sonnes, which were then brought to Waterford with three of their gallyes."—From the *Carew MSS.*, No. 632, p. 255 b, per C. Nash.

GLANWORTH.—*Gleann-Amhnach*, the glen of the north. A Dominican friary was founded here by the Roches, and dedicated to the Holy Cross.

GLANMIRE.—*Gleann-Maghair*, the valley of the little fishes. A village near Cork, remarkable for beautiful scenery.

GYLEEN.—A village near Trabolgan, outside Cork harbour.

GOULMORE and GOULBEG, two mountains west of Glengariff, all from the same root *Gabhal-a-Cork*—Goulmore, the great; Goulbeg, the little Cork. Ladhar is another name for Cork harbour; Lyrenagreha, the Cork of the wind, a townland near Inchigeela.

INNISCARRA, near Ballincollig.—The Irish lives of St. Senan of Inis Cathaigh relate that on his return home from his great preceptor, St. David of Kilmony, in Alba, he came into this part of Munster, and having settled down in the place then called Orlean Arda Crick Leathain, now Barrymore Island, he remained there forty days, till admonished by an angel to go forth and to found a church for himself wherein to serve God with his followers. St. Senan went forward, we are told, directed by the angel, till he came to a place then called Tuain-na-mba, on the side of the river Linne (now the Lee), where he founded his church, and fixed his ecclesiastical residence. When the petty prince of this place came to hear that St. Senan had occupied his land without permission, he sent messengers to warn him off, and to demand rent and restitution. Subsequently he sent his own favourite steed to be maintained at the expense of the monastery, but the steed fell into the stream at the church, where she was drowned, so that no part of her remained to be seen but her carra, i.e., her quarters, and hence the place was called Inis Carra.

Tuaim-na-mba was its name till then. St. Senan thus maintained his position here, and left eight of his disciples in the church of Inis Carra, with St. Cillian, under the protection of Fechen, son of Faighe, King of Mus Craighe, who was also a disciple of St. Senan."—*Life of St. Senan.* chap. 3, p.p. 15 16.

St. Cannera was the holy virgin commorated by Moore in the following lines of his song of "Saint Senanus and the Lady":—

ST. SENAN.

"Oh, haste and leave this sacred isle,
Unholy bark, ere morning smile ;
For on thy deck, though dark I be,
A female form I see,
And I have sworn this sainted sod
Shall ne'er by woman's feet be trod."

THE LADY.

"Oh, Father, send not hence my bark
Through wintry winds and billows dark.
I come with humble heart to share
Thy morn and evening prayer.
Nor mine the feet, O holy Saint,
The brightness of thy sod to taint."

"The pious Cannera, a virgin saint of Beantraige (Bantry), in the south-west of Erin, who established a desert in her own country. A certain night after vespers, as she was at her prayers, she saw all the churches of Ireland, and a tower of fire rising out of every one of them up to heaven. The fire which rose out of Inis Cathaigh was the largest, the highest; and the most brilliant of all, and rose most directly heavenward. On beholding this the holy virgin exclaimed, that is the beautiful Recles (church), said she, and it is to it I will go, that my resurrection may be out of it. Oh Heavenly Spouse, said she, whatever church or holy place that is, it is there I wish my resurrection to be ; and she then prayed God that she might not lose sight of that tower of light, but like the tower of fire that led the children of Israel through the wilderness, so it might lead her into this place, and God granted her prayer. She set out forthwith, having no guide but the blazing tower of fire, which continued to burn without ceasing, both day and night, till she reached it. When she reached the water at Luimneach (Limerick), she went on foot over the water as if she walked on the dry ground, and reached the shore at Inis Cathaigh at early dawn next morning. St. Senan knowing this, came to the shore to meet

her, and bade her welcome. It is for that I came, said Cannera, and blessed are they who come in the name of the Lord. Go, said Senan, to my mother and my sister, who abide on that island on the east, and you will be entertained by them there. That is not what I come for, said Cannera, but to be received by yourself into this island, and to remain here in communion of prayer with you. Women do not abide in this island, said Senan. What is your reason for that? said Cannera. Christ did not come less to redeem women than to redeem men. Christ was crucified not less for women than for men. Women were serving and attending Him and His apostles, and women do not go less to heaven than men. You are speaking in vain, said Senan to the holy virgin; there is no distinction between their souls but not so with their bodies, and so women shall not reside in this island as long as I live, said Senan. And will you give me a place of interment and resurrection in your island, and communion and sacrament from yourself. You shall have a place of resurrection on the brink of the sea, said Senan, but I fear the tide will take away your remains. I fear not, said she, for my hope is in the Lord God, and I have confidence in your great sanctity that you will put a protection over my body. The holy virgin was standing in the water and her Troddau under her bosom, as if she had been on the dry land all this time, while Senan was conversing with her, and at last Senan permitted her to come in on the brink of the island, and Cannera scarcely reached the island alive. Senan then went into the church and brought communion and sacrament with him to Cannera, and she then died and was buried in the strand on the south side of the island, where her grave is. Any person in the state of grace, who goes to the stone which is over her grave, and who prays there with fervent piety, beseeching her intercession with the Trinity for him: if he be going on sea, he will return by the grace of God, and he will not be drowned in any part of the world."—*Life of St. Senan.* O'Looney MS., C.U.T., chap. 5, p.p. 30 31.

INISPECT, in the barony of Muskery. The Irish life of St. Carthach, or Mochuada, bishop of Rahan and Lismore, contains the following account of this place:—"A certain king of Munster, namely, Cathal, son of Aodh, was in the land of Cuircere afflicted with various dreams so that he was deaf, dumb, and blind. And Mochuada came to where he was, and the king and his friends prayed him to cure him. Mochuada

prayed to God for him, and he put the sign of the cross on his eyes, and on his ears, and on his mouth, and he was cured of all diseases and blemishes. And Cathal gave extensive lands to God and to Mochuada for ever, namely, Cathal Island and Ross bay, and Rossmore, and Pick Island, now Spike Island. And Mochuada sent holy brothers to build a church in Rossbey in honour of God. And Mochuada himself commenced building a monastery in Pick Island, and he remained a full year in it. Mochuada then placed three of his disciples, namely, the three sons of Naseann, *i.e.*, Bishop Goban and Straphan, the priest; and Laisren, the saint, in these churches, and it was the holy Bishop of Ardomain that gave holy orders to those three persons in the presence of Mochuada, and it is he that was appointed to direct and to preserve them in the way of righteousness, and he left two score more of his brethren in the monastery of Pick Island in place of himself. And Mochuada then returned to Rahan; and that Island which we have mentioned, *i.e.*, Pick Island is a most holy place, and most pious people reside in it perpetually."—*O'Curry, MS., C.U.I.*

KILCREA. five miles out of Cork, in the barony of Muskery. Archidall says :

"St. Cyra, or Chera, was abbess here, where her feast is celebrated, October 16th. A Franciscan monastery was founded in this town under the invocation of St. Bridget, by Carmac M'Carthaigh, the Great Prince of Desmond, in the year 1465. He was murdered by Owen, his brother, and was buried here, in the middle of the choir, with the following inscription on his tomb :—

"Hic facet Marmacus, fil Thades, fil Cormaci, fil Dermilis Magni M'Carthy, Duns de Musgraigh Flayn, ac istius conventus primus fundator, an. Dom., 1494."

Thomas O'Herlihy, Bishop of Ross, was interred here in 1579, and the Roman Catholics repaired this house in 1604. A great part of this building still remains, with the nave and choir of the church. On the south side of the nave is a handsome arcade of three Gothic arches, supported by marble columns, more massive than those of the Tuscan order. This arcade continues to form one side of a chapel, being a cross aisle. In the choir are some old tombs of the family of Clancarty, etc. The steeple, a light building about eighty feet high, and placed between the nave and the choir, is still entire and supported by Gothic arches. From the gateway, on either

side to the high road. are high banks, entirely formed of human bones and skulls, which are cemented together with moss ; besides these, and a great number strewn about, there are several thousands piled up in the arches, windows, etc. The river Bride runs near this ruin. The lands were granted to Lord Muskerry, but after the wars of 1641, Oliver Comwell gave them to Lord Broghill.

KINSALE.—(*Keannsaile*)—The head of the brine. Archidall says :—

“ Kingsale, in the barony of Kerrycurrihy and Kinnalea, is a corporation town, sending two burgesses to parliament, and is well known for its excellent harbour and strong fortifications.

“ Inquisition, 31st August, 32nd Queen Elizabeth, finds that the Spittal or Lazar House in this town was endowed with lands to the annual value of 12*d.* Chief Rem.

“ Priory of Regular Canons.—St. Gobban, a disciple of St. Ailb, was patron of the monastery of Kingsale, and in the sixth century we meet with St. Began of Kinnsaile. St. Senan lies buried here ; he presided over the Church of Cluan, between tho mountains Crot and Mairge, in Munster. White Friars.—We have no information about the foundation of this house ; but Stephen Prene, the Prior of it, obtained in the year 1350 a quarter of land in Lischan, from Robert Fitz-Richard, Balrayne. Part of the ruins of this monastery still remain in the north end of the town.

“ In an inquisition taken in the town of Rosscarbery on the 8th of April, in the reign of James II., we find it set down that the town of Kyngsale was wont to appoint an admiral for the fishing season, and then he and the lord did join in setting the order for the fishing, and keep admirals court every Monday, and all pecuniary punishments for treating the orders agreed upon were to be equally divided between the lord and the admiral.”

Kinsale is one of the oldest corporate towns in Ireland. The citizens got a charter from Edward III. as a reward for the loyalty and the power of chosing a mayor or sovereign. In more ancient times, as we have related in the historical part of this work, it was famous as the seat of Irish royalty. Kinsale, however, was not always loyal, and was eventually deprived of its greatness. The fisheries of Kinsale, like all the other Irish fisheries, have suffered seriously from the utter neglect and indifference of the English government. The

misery which has been caused by the destruction of this branch of industry, so important for Ireland, has afforded a subject of amusement for an English statesman, but the unhappy victims can scarcely be expected to join in his hilarity. In the great calamity of the famine, for which certainly the Irish race were in no way responsible, the trade was ruined ; for when the dire calamity pressed there was no one to stretch out the hand of assistance to those who were utterly unable to help themselves, and who would have repaid help, had it been given with the gratitude which is a special characteristic of the nation. Those who have known much of the habits and wants of the poor, who have seen the English peasants who live on the seaboard of that country supplied with a cheap and abundant diet from the waves, and who knew how the coasts of Ireland abounds with equal or superior wealth, in sight of the half-starved people, cannot but feel strongly on the subject.

If those who consider the question a matter of indifference would put themselves on a diet of dry bread or badly cooked potatoes for several months, and at the end of that period try the effect of the addition of even the very poorest of fares from the ocean, they might, perhaps, learn some practical appreciation of the bitter sufferings of the poor, and of how great a luxury what might seem almost a necessary of life is to them. What government should do and will not, must be done by private benevolence, and it is pleasant to find that a truly generous English baroness is assisting in the efforts so nobly made to assist the Irish fishermen.

The decline of Irish fisheries is even mentioned by Smith, who certainly had no sympathy with any but the higher class of his native land. He says :—“ A few years ago when the pilchards frequented this bay (Bantry) it was a very thriving town, but for want of employment it is again fallen into decay.”

KANTURK, *Cean tuirc*, the hill of the boar.—The ruins of Kanturk castle are remarkable ; they consisted of a parallelogram 120 feet long by 80 feet wide, flanked with four towers. The building was never finished, for the erection was stopped by the command of Queen Elizabeth, as it promised to be a place of great strength and importance. The O'Keeffes had a fine castle in this neighbourhood, now in ruin.

KILLBEREHERD.—The whole district, says Mr. Brash, abounds with crumleacs, stone circles, pillar stones, raths, and

holy wells." A remarkable Ogham stone was found here in 1826.

He describes the stone thus:—

"The stone is at present 3' 2½" in height, 11" by 9" at bottom, and 13" by 8½" at the widest part, and 4" by 7½" at the top; it is of a hard, fine-grained clay slate of a buff colour.

The first inscription commences on the left angle, close to the bottom, and runs round the head, finishing at the right hand angle at the top. Another and a different inscription is to be found on the right hand angle, commencing within 4" of the bottom, running to the top, and there being not room enough at the side to complete it, three vowel dots of the last letter are cut on the lateral angle of the top at the same side. With a few exceptions, the inscription is in fair preservation, the letters being broadly cut as if with a rather blunt punching instrument.

The inscription on the left angle reads as follows:—

O TIMA Q IMAQIRITE,

This reading plainly gives "Ot Maqi Maqi Rite," *i.e.*, "Ot, the son of Mac Rite."

The name of the individual commemorated is a very singular one—Ot, being of a type found in our Bardic histories, as "Ir," "Un," "Ui"—all names of but two letters. The frequent occurrence of names of this type on Ogham monuments is a strong evidence of their antiquity. That the above letters form the proper name "Ot" we have corroborative evidence in the Tullig inscription, now in the Royal Cork Institution, in which we have the same name spelled with a double T; we have it also entering into the composition of another proper name "Ottin" on a stone at Lomanach, county of Kerry.

Another Ogham stone was found in a Rath called Lisheenagreine, on the townland of Gurranes, and parish of Templemartin, county of Cork, and one quarter of a mile north of the parish church. My first information of its existence was received from the Rev. John Lyons, C.C., Newcestown, Enniskane, who informed me that a stone bearing marks, which he believed to be Oghams, was seen by him in the locality above-named. Being convinced from Mr. Lyons' description that it was a veritable Ogham inscription, I took the earliest opportunity of visiting the spot, which I did on December 16th,

1868, and found it to be a rough, irregular-shaped flag of hard clay slate, the almost universal material of these monuments, being in length 5' 10", and 15" by 18" in the centre, but of lesser dimensions at either end. The inscription commences as usual on the left angle at 2' 6" from the bottom, and runs round the head and down the opposite angle on the same face. The angles are very irregular, and show several flakes off, to the injury of the characters, particularly the vowels; the perfect letters are broadly and deeply cut, and in their original state were executed with care.

CASSITTASMAQIMUCOI.

It reads "Cassitt as maqi mucoi Calliti, i.e., Cassitt here, the son of the Swineherd Calliti." This is a very interesting inscription; it gives us two new names of that remarkable type generally found on these monuments.

The whole of the district between the rivers Bandon and Lee is full of earth works and megalithic monuments.

KILCOLEMAN.—The name of Coleman occurs sixty times in *O' Cleary's Calender of the Irish Saints*. There are seven parishes and twenty townlands in Ireland called Kilcoleman. The castle belonged to the Desmonds, but was granted to the poet Spenser in the reign of Elizabeth. His own misfortunes ought to have taught him some compassion for those of others, but neither the rare beauty of Irish scenery nor the kindness of Irish hearts had power to soften his bitterness against the land where he found a home.

KNOCKNABOHILLY—the hill of the boys.—There is a place of the same name near Kinsale, and Knockanenabohilly, in the parish of Kilcrumper. These names indicate the joyous festival assembly in the good old times.

MALLOW (*Magh Ealla*).—The plain of the river Allo. The river also gives name to the barony of Duhallow—*Duthaigh Ealla*—the district of the Allo. There was a Preceptory for knights templars here, founded in the reign of King John. It is situated in the barony of the Barrets, and many of that family and the Irimlaus were buried in its graveyard.

MIDLETION.—An abbey was founded here, A.D. 1180, by the Fitzgeralds, or, according to others, by the family of Barry. It was supplied with monks of the Cistercian Order from the Abbey of Nenay, or Magio, in the county of Limerick, and

was called the Abbey of St. Mary of Chore, or of the Chore of St. Benedict.

Midleton was a corporate borough, and was disfranchised at the Union.

MITCHELSTOWN.—Remarkable for its caves and holy well. The caves are situated between Mitchelstown and Cahir. The stalactites depending from the roof of several of these caverns are exceedingly beautiful, assuming every variety of form and every gradation of colour, in some places uniting with the stalagmites rising from the floors, and forming beautiful columns of spar, and in others spreading into thin transparent surfaces, resembling elegant drapery, tastefully disposed in the most graceful folds. In some of the chambers the stalagmites rise in the form of massive pyramids, ornamented at the base with successive tiers of crystallizations of the most fanciful forms, and in others resembling those of the Giant's Causeway.

In several places are small pools of limpid water between large masses of rock. The extent of the cavern, including the various chambers, is from 700 to 800 feet in length, and about 570 in breadth, and the depression of the lowest chamber, beneath the level of the entrance, about 50 feet.

The holy well is dedicated to St. Fachna, and has been an object of pilgrimage for many centuries.

MUSKERY, Barony of, obtains its name from Cairbre Musc, the son of Conaire Mór, monarch of Ireland, in the beginning of the third century. According to O'h-Uidhrin's topographical poem, there were six Muscraídhes, all in Munster, namely—1, Muscraighe Mitine, the country of O'Floinn ; 2, Muscraighe Luachra, the country of O'h'Aodha, along the Abhainn Mhor (Blackwater) ; 3, Muscraighe Tri Maighe, the country of O'Dounagain ; 4, Muscraighe Treitheirne, the country of O'Cuire ; 5, Muscraighe Farthair Feimhin, the country of O'Carthaigh ; 6, Muscraighe Thire, the country of O'Donghaile and O'Fuirg.

Miscraighe ui Throinn, now comprises fifteen parishes, in the north-west of the county Cork.

The Rev. E. Barry, C.C. Glanturkin, says :—"In a note to pages 44, 45 of the *Book of Rights*, Dr. Donovan makes Muscry Donegan (Muscraighe-in-Maighe) part of the present barony of Barrymore and chastises, Dr. O'Brien, a former bishop of this diocese, for asserting that it was the barony of Orrery, and would draw your attention to page 12 of *Rotulus Pipæ*

Clonesis (the rent-roll of the diocese of Cloyne in the 14th century)."

Redditus domini Episcopi Clone ad mancium et castrum de Kylmaclenyn, pertinentes in partibus de Muscrydoggan facti per omnes tenantes infrascriptos tempore venerabilis patris domini Johannis de Swafham tunc Episcopi Clone, Anno domini millesima c.c. sexagesimo quarto.

Rents of his lordship the bishop of Cloyne, pertaining in parts of *Muscry Donegan* to the manor and castle of Kilmaclenine, paid by all the undermentioned tenants in the time of the venerable father, the Lord John de Swafham, then bishop of Cloyne, A.D. 1364. Here follow a list of tenants, their lands and rents. The lands were Bothon, (Buttevant) Coulhenery, (Coolincy), Kilbrogan, Lakyn, (Lakeen), Brochoyn (Churchtown, Kilblan (Kilbolane), all parishes wholly in the present barony of Ossory, and partly in Fermoy, Cloncourth (Colman's Well) the part which was anciently in the county Cork, and now either adjoins, or is included in Shandrum, in Orrery. Tullales (Tullylease) Kilcorcoran, Kilbrin, Subulter, and Clonmyn (Clonmeen) parishes, in the present barony of Duhallow, and adjoining the barony of Orrery, on the south-west. From this it is clear that Dr. Donovan was wrong in making Muscry Donegan part of Barrymore barony, and Dr. O'Brien almost right in making it Orrery. Other reasons could be given in confirmation of this. As to Killede, the 3rd cantred granted by Fitz-Stephen to Philip de Barry, a range of hills to the south of Cork, and bordering on Barry Oge's country of Kinlecka, is called the Killeady Hills. Killede may be an *alias* for Kinlecka (cinel-Aeda).

POBBLE O'KEEFFE, a district in the barony of Duhallow, the country of the O'Keefes or of O'Keeffe's people. The O'Keefes are an important southern sept.

The ancient sept O'Keeffe derives its lineage from Aengus, who was King of Munster at the close of the fifth century, and from whom all the great southern families are descended. The *Four Masters* record the death in 1603 of Ceallagh O'Ceamh, and at 1135 they record a battle, in which Fingrisne O'Ceamh, lord of Glennamnach (Glanworth, in Fermoy barony), was slain. In 1161 Hugh O'Keeffe, tiarnach (lord) of Fermoy, was slain. During these centuries, and up to the English invasion, this family was territorially possessed of Pobble O'Keeffe, which extended over what have been since

denominated the baronies of Fermoy, Orrery, Kilmore, and Clongibbons. By the native annalists they are sometimes styled Princes of Fermoy, and were hereditary marshals and chief military leaders in Desmond. In the latter capacity it is recorded that Donogh Mac Keeffe, Prince of Fermoy, commanded the Irish forces of Munster in 924 ; and at their head, pursuing the Danes into Ulster, obtained a signal victory over them at Dundalk.

Before the invasion their territory was considerably circumscribed. In 1336 Richard Fitzmaurice was authorised to receive Donald, son of Donald O'Keeffe, into the king's peace, with his retainers, their goods and chattels, with permission for them to reside "in a land of peace," after giving security for good behaviour.

In the autumn of 1582 the Earl of Desmond made an incursion into Kerry with the object of collecting spoils. Pobble O'Keefe-O'Keeffe and his neighbours endeavoured to resist the aggression, but they were overpowered, and O'Keeffe himself, *i.e.*, Art (son of Donal, son of Art), and his son Art Oge, were taken prisoners, and Hugh, another of his sons, were slain. The death of old Art in 1583, and the inauguration of his son Art, the younger, to the chieftaincy, are also commemorated by the *Four Masters*.

Thady O'Keif, styled of Knockaregan, was one of the numerous Munster proprietors attainted for adhering to the Earl of Desmond.

In 1610 Sir Edward Fitz-Gerald, knight, had a grant of a castle and lands in the county of Cork, parcel of the estates of Teigue O'Quiefe, attainted two years after which Arthur O'Keeffe, of Dromagh, in the same county, passed patent for various castles, lands, tithes, etc., which where thereupon erected into the manor of Dromagh, with markets, fairs, courts, and tolls.

In 1619 he had a further grant of the manor, castle, and mill of Dunbullog, with various townlands, the advowson of the vicarage, and liberty to impark 200 acres, to create tenures, hold courts leet and baron, enjoy all waifs and strays, etc. The confiscations consequent upon the Desmond war, and those resulting from the civil war of 1641, greatly despoiled this family. The attainers on the latter occasion includes the names of four of the sept, viz., Cornelius Oge O'Keeffe, of Cullin ; Keeffe-O'Keeffe, of Kilcoleman ; Donogh, son of Daniel O'Keeffe, and Donogh O'Keeffe Oge, the two last being described as of Dromagh.

The last parcel of their territory, containing about 9,000 acres, and still bearing testimony of its ancient proprietary by its designation of "Pobble O'Keeffe," remained in the hands of the Crown, as an undisposed forfeiture, until a very recent period, when it was sold by the Commissioners of Woods and Forests.

POBBLE O'HEA.—The chief residence of the O'Heas was at Aghcinelly Castle, on a territory called from them Pobble O'Hea. The family were, however, widely dispersed over other parts of Ireland. In 1407, Adam O'Hea was prior of the great Hospital of St. John, at Kilmainham.

In 1623 Walter Haye, of Cornwall, died in Wexford, leaving Robert his son and heir, then of full age and married; and this Robert died in 1640, leaving Walter his son and heir, three other sons, and eight daughters. In 1638 Edward Hay died, seized of the manor of Taeumshane, in said county, leaving another Robert his son and heir, then of full age and married, accordingly the name, with the *alias* of Hay, is on Ortelins's map located in Wexford. Of this line was Nicholas Hay, one of the confederate Catholics as the Supreme Council of Kilkenny. On the Attainders of 1691 the only person named is John Hay, of Ballytrannon, county of Wexford.

The present Right Rev. Dr. O'Hea, Catholic Bishop of Ross, is a descendant of this ancient family.

Ross, anciently *Ross-ailithir*—the wood of the pilgrims. Thus, according to Joyce, Dr. O'Donovan, and the Right Rev. Dr. Moran, the Rev. J. Molony, P.P., writes *Rossailithir* means Ross built on the hill, with wet or marshy sides. There is *Fearsad* of Ross, and *Tuath* of Ross, and in contradiction to both, and situated between them, is Ross-ailithir of the same family of words as *Leithir*, which is the name of many plough-lands in Ireland.

There is a townland, Ballynafarsid, and a village Farsid, near Aghada, in Cork harbour. The word *fearsad* is applied to a sand bank on the mouth of a river. The diocese of Ross, from the earliest times co-extensive with the territory of the Corcailaidhe, at Lynche's time it was eighteen miles in length, and four or five in width, and consisted of twenty-four parishes, besides three detached parishes, situated around Berehaven. St. Fachnan, in Irish Fachtna, who is also called Lachtna, is patron of the See, being founder of the monastery and bishop of Ross in the sixth century. He was disciple of St. Finbarr

in the famous school of Loch-Eirche, and before proceeding to Ross was abbot of the Molana monastery near Youghal. He also, like most of the contemporary saints of Ireland, received lessons of heavenly wisdom from St. Ita, the Bridget of Munster. Ross soon became so famous that crowds of students and religious flocked to it from all parts, so that it was distinguished by the name of Ross-ailithir—that is Ross of the pilgrims. The birth of St. Fachnan, and the future greatness of his school, were foretold by St. Kearan of Ossory, whose mother was of his family, and who himself was born in the territory of Ross, at a place still called Traigh-Ciaran (*i.e.*, St. Kearan's strand), in Cape Clear Island. St. Fachnan having lost his sight by some accident when he was somewhat advanced in years, it was restored through the merits of St. Mochoemog, also called Pulcherius, who was then in his mother's womb, and whose future sanctity was foretold by St. Fachnan. It is also related of our saint that it was his daily habit to retire for silent recollection and private prayer to a secluded spot on the side of a hill, near the monastery. It happened one day he left his scroll of prayers behind him. Rain fell heavily during the night, but in the morning his prayer-book was as dry as Gideon's fleece, for the angels had built a small chapel over it. The traces of this ancient oratory may still be seen. The precise date of the foundation of the celebrated monastery of Ross cannot be fixed with certainty. Ware says it was founded about the year 590, and his opinion has been adopted by later writers. It would probably be more accurate to place the foundation of the monastery before the year 570, and the death of the saint about the year 590. The life of St. Mochoemog states that it was by the advice of St. Ita that St. Fachtna proceeded from the monastery of Ross to the parents of Mochaemog, through whose merits his sight was restored to him. St Brendan, patron saint of Kerry, is also mentioned among those who visited and gave lessons of heavenly wisdom in Ross. These two facts sufficiently prove that the monastery was established before the death of St. Brendan, which took place in 577, and of St. Ita, which is marked in our Annals in 570.

In the Felire of St. Aengus the name of St. Fachtna occurs in the Strophe for the 14th of August:—

“With the calling of Fortunatus
Over the expansive sea of ships,
Mac-an-tsaer the noble chief,
The festival of Fachtna Mac-Mougach.”

So also he is commemorated on the same day in the metrical calendar of Marianus O'Gorman :—

“ Great Vigil of Mary,
Gregory, and the bright hero Felix,
The just Eusebius in their company,
The sons of Daigre with Dinil.
Let Brocad be in their presence ;
Fachtna, the smooth, fair hairy son ;
Not narrow fences this structure.”

St. Cuimin of Connor, in his beautiful poem on the characteristic virtues of the Saints of Ireland, thus celebrate the zeal and devotedness of St. Fachtna :—

“ Fachtna, the generous and steadfast, loved
To instruct the crowds in concert.
He never spoke that which was mean,
Nor aught but what was pleasing to his Lord.”

It is generally supposed that the St. Fachtna, patron of Ross, is the same with St. Fachnan, patron of Kilfenora. Two circumstances strongly confirm this identity, viz. :—that their festivals are now kept on the same day, the 14th of August, and that the same tribe was dominant in both territories. However, Lynch informs us that in his time (1660) the Feast of St. Fachtna, the holy founder of Kilfenora, was kept on the 20th of December.

As regards the old Cathedral of Ross, which, thanks to the munificence of the O'Driscoll family, was one of the most remarkable structures of the kingdom. The following interesting details are given in the Consistorial Acts of the year 1517 :—

“ The city of Ross was situated in the Province of Cashel, in the middle of a fertile plain, rich in corn fields, and stretching along the sea shore. It was encompassed with a wall, had two gates, and contained about two hundred houses. In the centre of the town was the cathedral church, dedicated under the invocation of St. Fachtna, an Irish saint confessor, whose feast is celebrated on the Vigil of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The walls of the church were of cut stone ; there were two entrances—one lateral, the other in the front—and in both you descended by three steps to the level of the church. Its floor was unpaved, and its roof was of wood covered with slates. The interior of the church presented the form of a Latin cross, and in size corresponded with the Church of St. Maria del Popolo in Rome. It was divided into central nave and aisles, and the nave was

separated by stone pillars from the aisles. Its roof was of wood, covered with slates. In the centre was the choir with wooden benches, and at the head of the choir was placed the high altar. To the left of the altar was the sacristy, well supplied with vestments, crucifixes, silver gilt chalices, and mitre and crozier of silver. In the cemetery outside the church there was a belfry, built in the form of a tower, in which there was one large bell. As for the dignitaries of the church, after the bishop there was a dean, with a yearly income of twelve marks, an archdeacon with twenty marks, and a chancellor with eight marks. There were also twelve canons, each having a revenue of about four marks, and four vicars with a similar income. All these assist daily in the choir and celebrate Low Mass. On the festival days a solemn mass is sung. The canons reside in different parts of the diocese, which is only twenty miles in extent. The bishop's residence is about half a mile from the city, and is pleasantly situated on the sea shore. The episcopal revenue consists of corn, tithes, and pasturage, and amounts annually to sixty marks. There are also twenty-four benefices in the bishop's collation."

During the confederate war in 1641, as we learn from Lynch's M.S. "History of the Irish Sees," "the nave and tower of the cathedral were levelled to the ground, the choir and two chapels remaining intact. One of these chapels was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, the other to St. Fachnan, and in former times, so great was the concourse of pilgrims to this church on the Feast of the Assumption and Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, that traders used to come thither with their merchandize from all parts of the island, and in the fairs, which had their origin in this custom, no tax was for a long time imposed on any articles of merchandize."

RIVERS.—There are two "silver" rivers in the county Cork—the Arglin (silvery) river a tributary of the Blackwater, into which it falls below Kilworth: and the *Arigideen* (little silver river), which empties itself into the bay of Courtmacsherry. The *Avonmore* river, now the Blackwater, falls into the sea at Youghal. Ptolmey calls this the Dabrona, the Black-flowing water, which no doubt is a translation of the ancient Celtic name. The *Aubeg* is the little river. The Awin Buy, the yellow-coloured river, in the barony of Kinalea, county Cork.

The river Bandon, clear or white river, rises near Dunman-way and falls into the harbour of Kinsale. The river CLADDY, (*Claochaeh*), rapid-flowing, strong; falls into the Blackwater, near the town of Mallow. There are several rivers in Ireland of this name.

The Corcair—the imprisoned river—rises in the parish of Doneraile, and falls into the Aubeg. Its has its characteristic and expressive name on account of its sinking into a limestone rock and rising again further on.

The Lee flows from Gougan Barra, through the city of Cork. The derivation is doubtful. It is called the Laoi in Munster, in *O' Cleary's Book of Conquests*, and the Luvius by Ptolemy.

The Toragh, (fruitful river), unites with the Blackwater near Youghal, and, probably obtained its name from being, as the ancient chronicler used to say, fishful.

The Uinsien (river of the ash tree), in the barony of Fermoy, has an abundant growth of indigenous ash trees on its banks.

SUNDAY'S WELL.—The most curious and interesting derivation of this name is not generally known. It is the English rendering of *Fobar-nigh-an-Domhnaigh*—the well of the king of Sunday, i.e., of God. Holy wells being more frequently visited on Sundays, this name is peculiarly appropriate.

TULLYLEASE.—The antiquarian remains of this place are of great interest.

This church is said to have been built by Saint Berechert (Benjamin), a disciple of Saint Patrick's. It is said to have been built when the great Apostle was in this district. A pagan chief, said he, would believe in his teaching if himself or one of his disciples went into a house which was then to be set on fire, and should he come forth scatheless. On this St. Berechert and a pagan priest were placed in a house, which was then set on fire. On their looking into the ruins the saint was found in a calm sleep, while his pagan associate was burned to ashes. Ever since Saint Benjamin's day, in February, is observed as a holiday in the parish of Tullylease, and the country people for miles around come to "pay rounds," and pray at two holy wells, "Saint Benn's Well" and "Our Lady's Well," and before a large slab, called "St. Ben's Stone," which is laid against the abbey's wall, on which a very remarkable cross is carved. The church, which is a

paralellogram running from east to west, was almost 90 feet long and 27 broad. The eastern end, a pointed gable, and the southern wall, in which the door was, alone remain. The eastern gable, which appears to have been where the altar was situate, was lit by one double lancet window. The doorway, which is filled up by masonry, is still quite perfect. Between it and the eastern gable is the only window. Underneath this window is a closet, which may have been intended for keeping the sacred vessels. The back and both sides of this closet are simple brown flags, each one being carved in a different style.

TIMOLEAGUE, the site of a famous Franciscan monastery. It is called *Teach Molaga*, or Molaga's house, from St. Molaga ; but there is no record of his connection with this locality.

He is the patron saint of Templemolaga, near Mitchelstown. The ruins are on the banks of the Funcheon. The Franciscan monastery was founded by the Mac Carthys, who were the great patron of that order in the South.

TRACTON ABBEY.—This was also founded by the Mac Carthys, A.D., 1224, for Cistercian monks, though in 1380 the absurd and childish regulation was made that "no mere Irishman" was to be professed there, which, considering that the Mac Carthys were unquestionably mere Irish, was, to say the least, amusing. It fell eventually into the hands of the rapacious Earl of Cork.

The various branches of the family of Daunt, now existing in the county of Cork, derive their origin from an ancient race of that name, long seated in Gloucestershire, where the principal stem possessed the manor of Owlpen for several centuries. Many writers on heraldry identify the name of Daunt with that of Dauntre, which occurs in the roll of Battle Abbey. Glover and others assign to Daunt, of Gloucester, the arms which Gwillyn assigns to Dauntre, viz., sable, three beacons with ladders, or, fired gules. These arms are also appropriated to Daunt of Gloucester in a very old M.S. in Ulster's Office.

The first settlement of the Daunts in Ireland appears to have been in the reign of Elizabeth, when Thomas Daunt (second son of Thomas Daunt, of Owlpen, by his wife, Alice Throckmorton of Tortworth), became the lessee of Tracton Abbey, in this county ; and in 1595 purchased the estate of Gurtigrenane from Sir Warham St. Leger. This Thomas

became lord of the manor of Owlpen on the death of his elder brother Henry, without issue male in 1608. From him descended the late Mary Daunt, sole daughter and heiress of the oldest line. She married Thomas Anthony Stoughton, of Kerry, and died in 1868, being succeeded in Owlpen and Gurtigrenane by her son, the present Thomas Anthony Stoughton, of Owlpen, who served as high sheriff of Gloucestershire in 1873.

James Daunt, of Tracton Abbey (of which place he was joint-lessee with Thomas of Owlpen), was high sheriff of the county Cork in 1627. Thomas Daunt, of Gurtygrenane, was high sheriff in 1645 ; and Samuel Daunt, of Knocknasillagh, was high sheriff in 1749. From Sir Bernard Burke's *Landed Gentry* the genealogical seniority of the existing lines is stated thus :—Firstly, the Owlpen line, now merged in the family of Stoughton ; secondly, that of Fahalea, whose proprietor, Mr. Henry Daunt, became representative general on the death of the late Mrs. Stoughton ; thirdly, the family of Mrs. George Achilles Daunt, of Newborough ; fourthly, that of Mr. George Daunt, of Slieveron ; fifthly, that of the Rev. Achilles Daunt, of Tracton Abbey ; and sixthly, that of Mr. William Joseph O'Neill Daunt, of Kilcascan. I may observe that the Rev. Achilles Daunt has acquired much celebrity as a Protestant preacher, and is greatly esteemed by his co-religionists as a man of talent, eloquence and earnestness. Mr. Daunt, of Kilcascan, is known as a life-long advocate of Repeal of the Union and Home Rule. He is the author of a *Catechism of the History of Ireland*; of *Ireland and Her Agitators*; of *Hugh Talbot*, a story of the Irish confiscations of King James I. ; of *The Wife Hunter*, a novel depicting some phases of Irish life towards the end of the last century ; of *The Gentleman in Debt*, a novel founded on a remarkable domestic tragedy in an Irish family of good position ; and of *Saints and Sinners*, in which last-named work the author seeks to show some of the sources of popular discontent. A scion of the family, Mr. Richard Gumbleton Daunt, has been long settled in Brazil.

YOUGHAL.—“Ward's MS. History of the Irish Convents,” written in 1632, gives some further details regarding the house of that order in Youghal :—“The convent of Youghal, which was called the mother of the Irish Franciscan Province, was built in the year 1224. In the year 1583 it was destroyed and depopulated, some of the friars having been taken and put to

death by the English Protestants. It seemed desolate till the year 1627, when a residence was built in the town, and Father Francis Mede was appointed its first superior. The first founder of the convent was Maurice Fitz Gerald, from whom sprang the earls of Kildare and Desmond, the barons of Luxnaw, and several other most noble families. He was for many years lord justiciary of Ireland, and headed an army against the Scots, in aid of the king of England. The war being victoriously concluded, he returned home, distributed his possessions to his children, and became a Franciscan friar. He lived till the year 1257, distinguished for profound humility and holiness of life, and died and was buried in the convent. There are from ancient times the tombs of the earls of Desmond, the lord of Desies, and several other nobles of the same family and country. At the right hand side of the altar, in the convent, a certain friar is buried, whose tomb is illustrated by miracles, and also another friar, who was put to death by the heretics, lies buried in the same place."

From Hayman's "Ecclesiastical Notes and Records," and other authorities, we glean the following additional particulars regarding the religious foundations of Youghal :—

" 1542, 3rd August.—The Lord Deputy and Council agreed that a commission should issue to James, fifteenth earl of Desmond, and others, to take inventories for the king's use of all the religious houses in the counties of Limerick, Cork, Kerry, and Desmond, to dissolve the said houses, and put them into safe custody. (Smith's *Hist. Cork*, vol. ii. p. 40.) When the Franciscan brethren were removed from their house they withdrew to Curraheen, county Waterford, three quarters of a mile from Aglish, and about eight from Youghal, a lonely and retired spot among the mountains, where they were protected and re-established by the Fitzgeralds of Dromana. At Curraheen they erected a new friary. Inquisition taken 31st March, 1604, finds that Sir Walter Raleigh, Bart., was seized in fee of this friary and of all its possessions, spiritual and temporal. This friary had ten acres of land of the small measure, with the chapel of St. Anne, near Youghal, with an acre of land. The townlands of Rathnowlane, Knocknagrippaghe, and Curraghmoneoore, in said county, containing one carucate and a half; townland of Balling, in said county; Liscarroll, three quarters of a small carucate; in county Mayo, Knockfarrin, near Ballinrobe, half a quarter; in county Waterford, the great burgage of Lismore, half a carucate; in

Ferequillie, a carucate ; townlands of Bally Mac Patrick and Curraghleal-liborough, two carucates ; in county Cork, townland of Garran-James, one carucate ; Kilbrie, near Kilbolane, one carucate ;—all granted to George Isham and his heirs, at the annual rent of £8 17s. 10d.

“ 1651, 21 July.—This friary was leased by Richard, second earl of Cork, to Samuel Hayman, Esq., a Somersetshire gentleman. The demise conveyed ‘ all that message or tenement lately erected and built by the said Samuel Hayman, wth the yard, orchard, and garden thereunto belonging, and also the severall houses, etc., and one plott of enclosed ground, conteyning by estimation six acres, together with the dissolved nunnery or chappell, called St. Anne’s Chapell, wth the appolements as the same are all now in the tenure of the said Samuell Hayman, situate, lying, and being in and neere the site, circuit, ambite and precincts of the dissolved monastery of St. Francis. All the south abbey of Youghall.’ Among the covenants is the following, which declares too plainly the unsettled state of public affairs ;—‘ And keeping always resident on the premisses for every tenement one able English footman, wth a pyke or muskett, well and compleatly armed and furnished ; and therewth all shall and will answer and attend the said earle, his heires or assignes, in all musters and in the service of the crown and defence of the countrey, being thereunto reasonably warned and summoned during this lease.’ ”

The Dominican friary, commonly called the North Abbey.—“ 1268—Thomas Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald, surnamed N. Appagh, founded a friary for Dominicans, or friars preachers, at Youghal. This house was first placed under the Invocation of the Holy Cross, but it was subsequently dedicated to St. Mary of Thanks, (S. Maria Gratiarum), on account of a miraculous image of the Blessed Virgin Mary preserved here.

“ 1281.—A general chapter of Dominicans was held here.

“ 1296.—Thomas N. Appagh Fitzgerald, the founder of this friary, was here interred in the middle of the choir.—(*Grace's Annals.*) “ Marlborough’s Chronicle” makes his decease two years later.

“ 1450.—The image of the Madonna and Child, for which this friary was famous, is of Italian workmanship of this period. It is of carved ivory, about three inches high. The circumstance of its discovery, as detailed in 1644 by the French traveller, M. de la Boullaye le Gouly, are sufficiently curious :

—‘In the Dominican Convent (at Youghal) there was an image of the Virgin, formerly held in the greatest reverence in Ireland, which arrived there in a miraculous manner. The tide brought a piece of wood on to the sands opposite to the town, which several fishermen tried to carry off, the wood being rare in this country ; but they could not move it ; they harnessed ten horses to it without effect, and the reflux of the tide brought it near the Dominican convent. Two monks raised it on their shoulders, and put it into the court-yard of the convent, and the prior had in the night a vision that the image of our Lady was in the piece of wood, which was found there.. So say the citizens, who have still a great devotion towards it : but the Dominicans having been persecuted by the English settlers, carried it elsewhere.

“1493.—This friary was reformed by Bartholomew Cornarius, (Bononiensis), 23rd master of the order, as appears from the register of Joachim Turrianus, 35th grand master, where are contained these words :—‘Approved : the reformation of the monastery of Joachia, (*i.e.*, Joclia, or Youghall), made by Master Bartholomew.’

“1501.—Vincentio de Bandello was appointed to reform the houses of the Dominicans, and for this purpose was armed with Apostolical authority. He addressed himself to the work with zeal ; but being unable to visit Ireland in person he deputed John de Baufremey, of Holland, to represent him. The friars of Cork, Limerick, and Youghal, were pre-eminent in desiring to submit themselves to regular observance ; and are specially mentioned and lauded in the Bull issued to Baufremely, in 1504, by Pope Julius II.

“1585-86.—3rd February, the friary was granted to Sir Walter Raleigh at a rent of £12 19s. 6d., payable at Easter and Michaelmas, with a proviso that the act passed at Limerick, Anno. 33, Henry VIII.. for lands given by the king shall not be prejudicial to this patent.—Signed A. St. Leger.—(M.S., at Lismore.)

“1587.—Dr. Burke, quoting from a work entitled “*Theatrum Catholicæ et Protestanticæ Religionis*,” p. 435, gives an account of the demolition of the Dominican friary in this year, with the fate of those concerned in the work. A ‘certain Englishman named Poer, while destroying the monastery of St. Dominic, in the northern part of Youghal, fell from the top of the church and broke all his limbs. Likewise three soldiers of that town, who had cast down, and thrown into the fire, the

sacred cross of that monastery, were dead within eight days from the perpetration of their crime. The first died of madness. The second was eaten by vermin. The third was slain by the seneschal of the Earl of Desmond.

" 1603.—17th December. By an inquisition taken this day at Youghal, respecting the estates which had been conveyed by Raleigh to Boyle, the jury made the following report about this friary ;—

" 'Lastly wee finde that the abbie of Molana and the late howse of observant fryers of Youghall, with their possessions, does now lye utterly waste, and have soe remayned ever since the leases made of them to John Thickpenny, gent., deceased, upon the expiration of which leases granted to the said Thickpenny, Sir Walter Rawleighe's estate [tooke] his begininge.' [Inquisitions in Exchequer.]

" 1604, 3st March.—By an Inquisition taken this day at Cork it was found that Sir Walter Raleigh, lately attainted of high treason, was seized in fee (among others) of the priory or house of friars observant, near Youghall, called 'the Black Freers, neere Youghall, with the appurtenances, together with its scite, circuit, ambite, and precinct ; and all the building edifices, orchards, gardens, lands, tenements, rents, services, tithes, alterages, oblations, obventions, and all other its possessions and hereditaments, spiritual and temporal.'

" 1604, 10th May.—The priory or late house of observant friars near Youghall, called the Black Friars of Youghall, with all their possessions, spiritual and temporal, was granted to Sir Richard Boyle. [Calendar of Patent Rolls, Jac. I.]

" 1617.—The Lady Honor Fitzgerald, of the Geraldine family, presented the Dominicans of Youghall, with a silver gilt shrine for the image of the Madonna, in their possession. This relique is about four inches in height, by one in width. Its sides are richly chased with floriated ornaments, and its summit is surmounted by a cross. It opens with two folding doors, which, thrown back, display the image within. The reverse of these doors bear a crucifixion and a figure of a saint in prayer respectively. On the outside is this inscription in the Roman letters :—'Orate pro anima onariae fillæ, Tacobi De Geraldinis, Jae Me Fieri Fecit. Anno. D.M.S. 1617.'"

Youghal is greatly indebted to the Drew family for their magnificent outlay in the restoration of Youghal church. The Rev. Robert Drew, of the Towers, Youghal, has given an

example of liberality, which it is to be wished was more general.

THE DREW FAMILY.

The senior branch of this most ancient Anglo-Norman family was represented in Ireland by the late John Drew, Esq., of Meanus, county Kerry. His surviving sons are the Rev. Browning Drew, Killallagh, county Kerry, and the Rev. Pierce William Drew, The Towers, Youghal, county of Cork, who has been the restorer of the grand old church of St. Mary, Youghal, one of the largest and most beautiful in Ireland. The origin of the name and family of Drew, as given by Count Gabriel O'Gilvy, "Austeur des Nobiliare de Normandis, etc., etc., etc." is acknowledged by Sir Bernard Burke, Ulster king-at-arms of all Ireland, in his *Landed Gentry of 1848*, and his *Peerage of 1860*.—See Barony of de Clifford, and is as follows:—"William Pons, so called from his having conquered the Island of Ponar, was Earl of Arques, in Normandy, where his castle is still to be seen. He was eldest son of Richard Burke, of Normandy, grandfather of the conqueror by the said Richard, *third wife*.

Papia, daughter of the Earl of Bayent, and his brother was manager Archbishop of Rouen. He was called Iron Arm from his great strength, and conquered Apulia, Calabrid, and part of Africa. He married Beatrix, sister of Guy, Earl of Pontheu, and had three sons, viz.: Walter, who succeeded him at Arques. 2ndly, Drogo, who avoiding the Domesday Survey of Devon, had seventy-three manors in Devon alone; he is called by Sir William Dugdale, Dru.

Risdon, in his "Survey of Devon," page 167, speaking of the change of the name *Drogo to Drew*, says, "The first parish that taketh name from Teign river is Drew's Teignton, honouring the name of its ancient landlord, Drogo de Taign, by times continuance molified *into Drew*." In Sir William Pole's "Collections for a Description of Devon," page 244, he says:—"Teignton Drew both *gave* and *tooke* the name of the possessor thereof in Henry II.'s tyme. He was called *Drew*, or *Drogo de Teigne*."

The posterity of this Drogo Dru, or Drew, second son of William Pons, eldest son, as aforesaid, of Richard, Duke of Normandy, by his third marriage, have ever held a high position in Devonshire, as their ancient manors of Drewcliffe, Sharppan, Hayne, and their present noble old residence and prosperity of the Grange testify. When in 1586 the Desmond rebellions in Munster commenced, Francis Drew, next brother

of the three, head of the Drew family in Devon, came to Ireland a captain in Queen Elizabeth's army, under Sir George Carew. In the same army ~~Walter~~ Raleigh, afterwards the celebrated Sir Walter, a native of Devon, and a near neighbour of the Drew family, was also a captain.

When the war terminated Captain Francis Drew, took up his residence at Kilworsing castle, and was, to use Princes' expression, the "stirrup" of the Drew family in Ireland.

The third son of Pons, aforesaid, was Richard, who married the heiress of Ralph de Toney, of Clifford castle, Herefordshire, resumed the surname of Clifford, and was the progenitor of the illustrious family of that historic name. The Rev. Browning Drew, rector of Killallagh, Co. Kerry, now represents in Ireland this ancient family.

The Rev. S. Hayman, who may be called the historian of Youghal, has given full details both of the restorations effected by Mr. Drew and of the antiquities of Youghal in a most interesting work.

We believe this gentleman has another volume in preparation, which it is to be hoped he will be induced to publish soon.

The family of Hayman, Huyman, or Aymon (as the name is spelled in the well-known early French romance, *Historie des quatre fils Aymons, tres-Nobles et tres-Villians Chevaliers,*) is of undoubted antiquity. Sir B. Burke, in his *Landed Gentry*, (Casicle HAYMEN, of Youghal), gives the family a Norman origin, and describes their genealogical roll as embracing a period of more than nine centuries. He traces them downwards, generation after generation, from the year 93 to the present time.

Deeds, wills, and family letters, from the reign of Charles the First, are in the monument chests of the Rev. Samuel Hayman, the representative of the Irish branch, who is sixth in descent from George Hayman, of Somersetshire, who immigrated to Ireland in 1691. George Hayman was grandson of Robert, or Roger Hayman, who, to avoid religious persecution in Queen Mary's reign, fled from Kent, and found refuge in the west of England.

The Haymans have been settled in Youghal for several centuries. John Hayman, of Clonpriest, was member for this borough from June 1703 to 1713. Major Hayman, chevalier of the Legion of Honour, distinguished himself at Sebastopol.

We find the name of Ronayne frequently in the list of mayors for Youghal.

A.D.	MAYORS.	A.D.	MAYORS.
1588	... ... P. Ronayne.	1613	... ... T. Ronayne.
1590	... ... J. Ronayne.	1629	... ... T. Ronayne.
1591	... ... R. Ronayne.	1637	... ... J. Ronayne.
1599	... ... J. Ronayne.	1688	... ... N. Ronayne.

John Ronayne, J.P., Ardsallagh, Youghal, is the present head of the family.

THE CORK BUTTER MARKET, 1769. For some years preceding that date the Butter Trade of Cork had been, from various causes, in a declining state; and to provide a remedy for this state of things, the principal merchants of the city met together in 1769, and drew up a code of regulations for the better management of the trade, to which they bound themselves to conform, and which in principle continue in operation to the present time. They furthermore determined that a committee of merchants should be annually elected, charged with the duty of enforcing those regulations, and having also delegated to them the supervision and control of the staff required for carrying them into execution. The essential feature of those regulations was, the establishment of a system of inspection by skilled officers, sworn to classify, according to a recognized standard, the quality of butter sent to them for examination, and which, when so ascertained, was indicated by a brand impressed on the cask, corresponding to the award of the inspecting officer.

The scheme so inaugurated possessed many advantages, not the least important of which was the doing away with the necessity of subjecting to repeated examinations consequent upon re-sale, a commodity so easily deteriorated as butter. Owing to the good faith with which the integrity of the brand of quality fixed in this manner continued to be maintained, it became in course of time of considerable mercantile value, and carried with it such repute, that Cork inspected Butter found a ready sale in England, whilst in foreign countries, where a heavy import duty was levied, purchasers had no hesitation in releasing out of bond, Butter which had its quality guaranteed by the "Brand" of the Committee of Merchants of Cork.

In the year 1770, when the inspection of Butter commenced, 105,809 Firkins and Kegs passed through the Weigh House.

HIGH SHERIFFS OF THE COUNTY CORK.

(Alphabetically arranged.)

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| 1665 Aldworth, Richard. | 1687 Brown, Nicholas, of Bantry. |
| 1666 Aldworth, Sir Richard, knight. | 1681 Brown, Nicholas. |
| 1692 Aldworth, Boyle. | 1697 Bernard, Arthur. |
| 1724 Aldworth, Richard. | 1700 Barry, John: |
| 1745 Aldworth, Boyle. | 1704 Brown, William. |
| 1766 Atkins, Walter, of Servinstown. | 1706 Bernard, Arthur. |
| 1806 Anderson, John. | 1721 Barry, Redmond, of Rathcor- |
| 1832 Aldworth, Richard Oliver, of
Newmarket. | mac. |
| 1843 Annesley, General Hon. Grove,
of Annesgrove. | 1728 Barry, Hare David John. |
| 1810 Adams, Michl. Goold, of James-
brook. | 1729 Bernard, Roger. |
| 1868 Adams, R. W. G., Jamesbrook. | 1731 Bettsworth, Robert |
| 1869 Aldworth, Lieut.-Col. Richard,
Rathmore. | 1734 Barry, Redmond, Ballyclough. |
| 1622 Addis, John. | 1763 Baldwin, Walter, of Currywoody. |
| 1637 Arthur, Patrick. | 1767 Bernard, Roger, of Pallace Ann. |
| 1677 Allen, William. | 1770 Barry, Hon. J. Smith, of Ash-
grove. |
| 1698 Andrews, William. | 1771 Bousfield, Benjamin. |
| 1699 Allen, John. | 1777 Baldwin, Henry, of Tralong. |
| 1710 Ablin, Samuel. | 1793 Brasier, Kilner. |
| 1711 Addis Richard. | 1813 Baldwid, William, of Nelson
Place. |
| 1718 Austin Joseph. | 1818 Brown, Jemmett, of Rivers-
town. |
| 1722 Atkins, Robert. | 1820 Bernard, Hon. William Smith,
of Castle Bernard. |
| 1727 Atkins, John. | 1821 Barry, Henry Green, of Bally-
clough. |
| 1728 Austin, Thomas. | 1825 Barry, John Smith, of Fota. |
| 1780 Allen, Aylmer. | 1835 Berehaven, Richard, Viscount,
of Seafield Park. |
| 1784 Allen, Philip. | 1841 Barry, James, of Ballyclough. |
| 1786 Allen, Christopher. | 1842 Beamish, Robert Delacour, of
Ditchley. |
| 1796 Allen, Edward. | 1847 Barry, James Hugh Smith, of
Fota. |
| 1819 Atkins, George. | 1866 Becher, J. R., Castle Hyde. |
| 1833 Allen, Aylmer. | 1872 Burke, Edmond, of Lota. |
| 1343 Barry, Nicholas. | 1873 Burke, The Hon. E. F., Tra-
bolgan. |
| 1409 Barry, Sir John. | 1658 Basset, Richard. |
| 1596 Barrie, Richard. | 1658 Bayley, John. |
| 1600 Barry, John. | 1671 Bayley, John. |
| 1611 Browne, Sir Thomas, knt. | 1679 Ballard, William. |
| 1614 Booley, William. | 1683 Bayley, Samuel. |
| 1615 Browne, Sir Thomas. | 1684 Bayley, John. |
| 1618 Bannester, Peregrine. | 1686 Browne, Thomas. |
| 1639 Barry, John. | |
| 1662 Brodrick, Sir John. | |
| 1664 Barry, Redmond. | |
| 1668 Brebridge, Roger. | |
| 1676 Bernard, Francis, | |

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| 1703 Brown, Edward. | 1783 Chetwine, William. |
| 1710 Barry, Thomas. | 1786 Chinney, Broderick, of Flintfield. |
| 1716 Brown, Thomas. | 1788 Colthurst, Sir Nicholas Conway, of Ardrum, B.I. |
| 1718 Brocklesby, Edward. | 1790 Capel, Joseph, of Cloghroe. |
| 1722 Bennett, George. | 1822 Crofts, Wills George, of Churchtown. |
| 1725 Bustead, William. | 1826 Courtney, George, of Dromadder. |
| 1730 Baldwin, John. | 1828 Creagh, Michael, of Kilbrick. |
| 1735 Brown, Thomas. | 1850 Colthurst, Sir George Conway, of Ardrum. |
| 1736 Bradshaw, Richard. | 1851 Chatterton, James Charles, of Castle Mahon. |
| 1738 Barry, Nath. | 1852 Courtnay, John, of Ballyedmond. |
| 1745 Bruce, David. | 1613 Collinayne, John. |
| 1746 Bury, Phineas. | 1616 Coppering, John, April 3rd. |
| 1747 Bustead, William. | 1617 Coppering, John, Fitz-John. |
| 1755 Baker, Godfrey. | 1619 Cooke, Richard. |
| 1764 Butler, William. | 1623 Connell, Richard. |
| 1769 Bonsfield, Benjamin. | 1633 Coppering, Robert. |
| 1773 Berry, Kingsmill. | 1640 Coppering, Stephen. |
| 1774 Bennet, Philip. | 1657 Covett, Richard. |
| 1779 Bustead, Michael. | 1662 Crook, Thomas. |
| 1794 Bagnell, Henry. | 1677 Crofts, Christopher. |
| 1803 Bustead, William. | 1681 Croneen, Thomas. |
| 1804 Bernard, Peter. | 1681 Cook, Stephen. |
| 1810 Bernard, jun., J. | 1682 Charters, William. |
| 1813 Bagnell, jun., Henry | 1683 Coke, Zachariah. |
| 1814 Bennett, Henry. | 1685 Crone, Daniel. |
| 1820 Boland, T. P. | 1685 Champion, John. |
| 1822 Bernard, Julius. | 1687 Coppering, William. |
| 1824 Bagnell, John. | 1697 Crab, Richard. |
| 1835 Ballard, J. B. | 1700 Cottrell, Fr. |
| 1400 Cogan Robert. | 1705 Cockeril, William. |
| 1593 Cuffe, Hugh. | 1717 Cottel, Charles. |
| 1606 Coote, Charles. | 1720 Croker, Samuel. |
| 1616 Carew, Sir Robert. | 1721 Carre, Augustus. |
| 1655 Courthope, Peter. | 1723 Cramer, Amb. |
| 1680 Cross, Epenetus. | 1726 Crook, James. |
| 1686 Clayton, Laurence. | 1736 Crone, Daniel. |
| 1701 Clayton, Laurence. | 1737 Carleton, Christopher |
| 1703 Cox, Richard, of Dunmanway. | 1740 Clarke, William. |
| 1711 Cox, Richard. | 1744 Cox, Sir Richard, bart. |
| 1712 Crofts, George. | 1748 Chatterton, James. |
| 1713 Cox, Richard, of Dunmanway. | 1751 Carleton, Francis. |
| 1715 Croker, Richard. | 1753 Cossart John. |
| 1719 Croker, Edward. | 1758 Collis, Christopher. |
| 1720 Clayton, Randal. | 1751 Connor, Dan. |
| 1723 Causabon, William. | 1763 Coles, William. |
| 1725 Colthurst, John. | 1773 Carleton, Francis, jun. |
| 1727 Cox, Richard, of Dunmanway. | 1770 Cossart, Peter. |
| 1736 Colthurst, Nicholas. | |
| 1738 Colthurst, John. | |
| 1747 Colthurst, James, of Knockmoriff. | |
| 1761 Colthurst, Wallis, Cork. | |
| 1781 Cotter, Sir James Laurence, Rockforrest, B.I. | |

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| 1784 Crowley, Humphrey. | 1728 Eugane, Dan. |
| 1792 Clerke, William. | 1793 Evanson, Charles. |
| 1797 Cuthbert, John, jun. | 1816 Evanson, Charles. |
| 1802 Cole, Christopher. | 1827 Evory, Robert. |
| 1803 Cotter, John, jun. | 1838 Exham, Thomas. |
| 1806 Cole, Charles. | 1628 Fitz-Gerald, James. |
| 1809 Church, John D. | 1660 Farren, Thomas. |
| 1823 Crofts, William. | 1660 Fly, John. |
| 1824 Colburne, Edward. | 1663 French, William. |
| 1828 Cummins, J. J. | 1664 Finch, James. |
| 1838 Cummins, Nicholas. | 1668 Fletcher, Thomas. |
| 1301 De Counton, William. | 1669 Field, William. |
| 1357 De Carew, John. | 1672 Franklin, Thomas. |
| 1627 Daunt, Jas. of Tracton Abbey | 1688 French, Bate. |
| 1640 Davincourt, John. | 1693 French, James. |
| 1714 Deane, Sir Mathew, Bart. | 1701 Franklin, Joseph. |
| 1730 Dunscombe, Noblets. | 1712 French, Philip. |
| 1749 Daunt, Samuel. | 1713 French, Abraham. |
| 1703 De Lachour, Robert. | 1719 Fuller, George. |
| 1762 Devonsher, A., of Kilshanick. | 1720 Farrcaut, James. |
| 1765 Dunscombe, Nich., of Mount
Desert. | 1725 Franklin, John. |
| 1789 Dunscombe, George, Mount
Desert. | 1734 Farren, Thomas. |
| 1827 Dring, Simon, of Rock Grove. | 1735 Fuller, William. |
| 1860 Dunscombe, Nich., of Mount
Desert. | 1740 Fuller, George. |
| 1861 Dring, Simon, of Rock Grove. | 1745 Ford Nicholas. |
| 1344 De Barry, David Fitz-David. | 1750 Freke, Sir J., bart. |
| 1631 Drady, Patrick. | 1759 Franklin, Andrew. |
| 1632 Drady, John. | 1761 Fitton, W. |
| 1659 Dunscombe, Noblet. | 1767 French, S. Two Good |
| 1664 Deane, Mathew. | 1772 Franklin, John. |
| 1693 Dring, Simon. | 1774 Fuller, Thomas. |
| 1704 Delahoyde, Rowl. | 1790 Ferguson, C. |
| 1733 Dring, Robert. | 1630 Fitz-George, William Terrie. |
| 1734 Delahoyde, William. | 1641 Fitz-William, George Thyrry. |
| 1752 Denroche, Stephen. | 1643 Fitz-Robert, Robert Thyrry
(elected on the 13th day of
October). |
| 1775 Denroche, C. | 1792 Forester, John. |
| 1776 Day, John. | 1830 Foote, George W. |
| 1787 Dumas, Peter. | 1134 Foot, George. |
| 1797 Dorman, Thomas. | 1319 Fitzsimon, John. |
| 1799 Digby, Richard. | 1425 Fitz-Thomas, John. |
| 1802 Dunscombe, Thomas. | 1621 Fitzgerald, Sir John, Knt. |
| 1810 Deane, Robert. | 1622 Fitzgerald, Thomas, Knt. |
| 1815 Deane, Thomas. | 1626 Fenton, Sir William. |
| 1830 Deane, Thomas (knighted
during office). | 1634 Fitzgerald, Edmond. |
| 1739 Evans, Thomas, of Miltown. | 1679 Folliott, John. |
| 1779 Evans, William, of Kilkeeran. | 1683 Folliott, John |
| 1792 Evans, Nicholas Green, jun.
of Carker. | 1690 Foulkes, Robert. |
| 1834 Ennismore, Lord, of Conva-
more. | 1691 Foulkes, Robert. |
| | 1693 Folliott, John. |
| | 1694 Freke, Piercy. |
| | 1696 Foulkes, Digby. |
| | 1616 Fitz-Phillip, Thomas Martel. |

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| 1616 | Fitz-David, Robert Miagh. | 1639 | Gould, James Fitz-David. |
| 1625 | Fitz-Henry, John Miagh. | 1629 | Gould, Stephen. |
| 1627 | Fitz-James, James Mathew. | 1633 | Gould, Edward. |
| 1641 | Fitz-Edward, Philip Martel. | 1643 | Galwey, Richard. |
| 1614 | Fitz-John, Philip Punch. | 1680 | Gerald, Henry. |
| 1615 | Fitz-James, Dominick Roche,
Feb. 20th, 1614. | 1690 | Green, William. |
| 1616 | Fitz-James, Maurice Roche. | 1694 | Goddard, William. |
| 1629 | Fitz-Patrick, Maurice Roche. | 1712 | Goss, Anothony. |
| 1635 | Fitz-Patrick James Roche. | 1796 | Gibbings, Thomas. |
| 1702 | Fouek, Francis. | 1812 | Gibbings, Bartholomew. |
| 1693 | Folliott, John. | 1813 | Garde, Joseph. |
| 1694 | Freak, Piercy. | 1706 | Hamilton, Patrick. |
| 1617 | Fitz-Edmond, William Galwey.
— Fitz-Walter, Stephen Galway,
September 30th, 1616. | 1707 | Hoare, Edward. |
| 1615 | Fitz-James, Nicholas Lombard. | 1707 | Hawkins, John. |
| 1627 | Fitz-James, John Gold. | 1717 | Hawkins, William. |
| 1625 | Fitz-Robert, Richard Hallyn. | 1723 | Hulet, James. |
| 1696 | Foulkes, Digby. | 1729 | Healy, Francis. |
| 1614 | Fitz-Patrick, Adam Goold. | 1730 | Hignet, Whetenhal. |
| 1615 | Fitz-Henry, Edmond Goold. | 1743 | Harding, William. |
| 1702 | Fouek, Francis. | 1746 | Holmes, William. |
| 1795 | Freke, Ralph. | 1747 | Hodder, George. |
| 1722 | Fitzgerald, John. | 1760 | Harding, H. |
| 1775 | Freeman, Mathew, of Castlecor;
died; succeeded by John
Winfield. | 1766 | Harding, John. |
| 1797 | Freeman, Edward Dean, of
Castlecor. | 1772 | Harris, Richard. |
| 1611 | Fitz-Edmond, Dominick Tyrry. | 1777 | Harding, Thomas. |
| 1611 | Fitz-Walter, Andrew Gallway. | 1781 | Hutchinson, R. |
| 1612 | Fitz-Garrett, Stephen Miagh.
— Fitz-Richard, Patk. Lauvallyne. | 1789 | Harding, Thomas, jun. |
| 1614 | Fitz-George, Edmond Goold. | 1790 | Hayes, Sir H. B. |
| 1811 | Freeman, Joseph Dean. | 1797 | Harding, Robert. |
| 1846 | Freeman, Edward Dean, of
Castlecor. | 1800 | Hickman, Henry. |
| 1816 | French, Savage, of Cuskenny. | 1809 | Harris, Thomas. |
| 1824 | Fitzgerald, Robert Uniack, of | 1812 | Hodder, Francls. |
| 1840 | Fitzgerald, Joseph Capel, of
Cloghroe. | 1818 | Harrison, T. F. |
| 1597 | Gibbon, Edmond. | 1832 | Hardy, Charles E. |
| 1837 | Goold, Sir George, of Old
Court, B.I. | 1833 | Howe, Randal. |
| 1858 | Grant, Thomas St. John, of
Kilmurray. | 1839 | Harris, William. |
| 1859 | Grehan, George, of Clonmeen. | 1619 | Hyde, Arthur. |
| 1614 | Gallwey, Christopher. | 1656 | Hawkins, William. |
| 1616 | Gallwey, John. | 1657 | Hodder, John. |
| 1616 | Goold, James. | 1659 | Hodder, William. |
| 1619 | Glover, Robert. | 1670 | Hyde, Arthur. |
| 1620 | Ghilbert, John. | 1675 | Harmer, William, |
| 1630 | Gerald, Thomas Fitz-John. | 1678 | Hull, Sir Richard, Knt. |
| | | 1684 | Hyde, Arthnr. |
| | | 1685 | Hyde, Arthur. |
| | | 1698 | Hodder, Thomas. |
| | | 1699 | Hodder, Thomas. |
| | | 1710 | Hyde, Arthur. |
| | | 1716 | Herrick, Gersham. |
| | | 1741 | Herrick, Edward, of Shippool. |
| | | 1754 | Hutchinson, Samuel, of Bantry. |
| | | 1774 | Hutchinson, Massy, of Codrum. |
| | | 1764 | Hungerford, of Foxhall. |
| | | 1795 | Hedges, Robert. |

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| 1808 Hyde, John, of Castle Hyde, jun. | 1793 Lane, William. |
| 1839 Heard, Isaac John, of Kinsale. | 1798 Lane, Abraham. |
| 1862 Hardange, H., Ferville. | 1800 Lane, William. |
| 1870 Heard, Robert, Pallastown. | 1806 Lane, Richard. |
| 1871 Shuldharn, Edmond A., Cool- | 1807 Leycester, Joseph. |
| kelure. | 1811 Lane, James. |
| 1656 Hodder, William. | 1815 Lucas, William. |
| 1666 Hawkins, John. | 1817 Lane, Samuel. |
| 1669 Harvey, Richard. | 1821 Leycester, R. |
| 1674 Hull, William. | 1823 Lawe, Robert. |
| 1679 Howell, William. | 1641 Long, John, of Mountlong. |
| 1680 Hull, Randal. | 1695 Lysaght, John |
| 1684 Hoare Edward. | 1746 Lumley, Hugh, of Ballymaloe. |
| 1385 Jame, Robert. | 1750 Lambert, James, of Gortmulier. |
| 1625 Jobson, Humphry. | 1754 Lysaght, John, of Mountnorth. |
| 1637 Jobson, Humphry. | 1757 Lysaght, John, of Mountnorth. |
| 1638 Jobson, Humphry. | 1758 Longfield, Richard, of Castle- |
| 1717 Jephson, Anthony. | mary. |
| 1735 Jephson, Anthony, jun., of | 1768 Lysaght, Nich., of Curryglass. |
| Mallow. | 1829 Longfield, John, of Longueville. |
| 1740 Jephson, Anthony, the elder. | 1833 Longfield, Richard, of Longue- |
| 1748 Jephson, William. | ville. |
| 1726 Jackson Ambrose. | 1855 Longfield, Mountiford, of Castle- |
| 1789 Johnson, N. | mary. |
| 1795 Jackson, Strettel. | 1613 Lombard, George. |
| 1798 Jones, Isaac. | 1626 Lombard, David Fitz-James. |
| 1808 Jameson, William, jun. | October 7th. |
| 1814 Johnson, William. | 1629 Lavalline, Milcher. |
| 1826 Jones, William J. | 1682 Lavers, Eleazer. |
| 1831 John, William. | 1691 Love, Samuel. |
| 1603 Kingsmill, Sir Francis. | 1708 Lambly, William. |
| 1604 Kingsmill, Sir Francis. | 1713 Lavite, Joseph. |
| 1607 Kingsmill, Sir Francis. | 1727 Lane, Wiliiam. |
| 1608 Kingsmill, Sir Francis. | 1733 Lavite, William. |
| 1836 King, Hon. Robert, of Mit- | 1762 Lane, Robert. |
| chelstow Castle. | 1767 Lawton, H. |
| 1849 Kilworth, the Viscount of, | 1768 Lloyd, Richard. |
| Moorepark. | 1770 Lucas, Jasper. |
| 1613 Keynt, Maurice. | 1775 Lawton, W. |
| 1624 Kearney, James. | 1831 Martin, Aylmer Richard. |
| 1635 Kearney, William. | 1656 Mathews Philip. |
| 1661 King, Nicholas. | 1667 Mill, Thomas. |
| 1668 Kitchenman, Thomas. | 1673 Mills, James. |
| 1695 Knap, Edward. | 1673 Mills, Thomas. |
| 1697 Kingsmell, Thomas. | 1678 Malehorn William. |
| 1768 Kent, Sober. | 1688 Murrough, Thomas. |
| 1769 Kellet, Richard. | 1689 Mead, Patrick. |
| 1780 Kingston, James. | 1696 Morice, Theoph. |
| 1804 Knapp, George. | 1702 Masters, William. |
| 1776 Leycester, Wm. | 1708 Morrison, James. |
| 1777 Lane, Richard. | 1714 Morrison, John. |
| 1778 Lawton, Christopher. | 1715 Morley, John. |
| 1782 Lindsay, J. | 1719 Maunsel, John. |
| 1785 Lumley William. | 1742 Millard, Hugh. |

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| 1755 Maylor, Samuel. | 1592 O'Driscoll, Sir Florence. |
| 1761 Morrison, James. | 1400 Ormond, James Earl of. |
| 1787 Morrison, Rowland. | 1620 O'Callaghan, Callaghan. |
| 1788 Maylor, Paul. | 1674 Osborne, Roger. |
| 1805 Maguire, Richard. | 1755 Oliver, Philip. |
| 1821 Morgan, Isaac. | 1791 O'Connor, Aribur, of Mount Arther. |
| 1559 M'Garille, Sir Maurice of Dromana. | 1854 O'Leary, John M'Carthy, of Coometegane. |
| 1628 Reigh, M'Carthy, of Kilbrittain. | 1721 Ougan, William. |
| 1635 M'Carthy, Daniel. | 1788 Orpen, J. Herbert. |
| 1667 Maynard, Sir Boyle, Knt. | 1802 Orpen, Richard Thomas, of Frankford. |
| 1677 Moore, Emanuel. | 1608 Percy, Edward. |
| 1718 Maynard, William. | 1912 Power, Pierce. |
| 1760 Morris, Abraham, of Hanover Hall. | 1708 Purdon, Bartholomew. |
| 1764 Moore, Emanuel, of Maryborough. | 1760 Puxley, Henry, of Crosshaven. |
| 1769 Morris, Jonas, of Barley Hill. | 1865 Puxley, H. L., Dunboyne Castle. |
| 1782 Morris, Abraham, of Hanover Hall. | 1993 Purdon, Richard. |
| 1801 M'Carthy, Robert, of Carrignavar. | 1671 Perry, Jonathan. |
| 1809 M'Carthy, Justin, of Carrignavar. | 1696 Pennington, Fred. |
| 1856 M'Carthy, Alexander, of Currymount. | 1901 Poye, Bern. |
| 1864 Morrough, J., Old Court. | 1704 Perdrian, Daniel. |
| 1613 Morrogh, George. | 1705 Pierce, Daniel. |
| 1617 Miagh, Robert. | 1709 Philips, Richard. |
| 1618 Morley, Thomas. | 1715 Power, Francis. |
| 1620 Myntren, Robert. | 1724 Penroke, Thomas. |
| 1623 Murffie, Edmond | 1729 Parker, Harding. |
| 1626 Martell Stephen. | 1731 Piercy, James. |
| 1636 Morrogh, Dominick. | 1739 Philips, Noblet. |
| 1617 Norton, Samuel. | 1744 Philpot, Usher. |
| 1624 Norton, Captain Daniel. | 1758 Parks, W. |
| 1686 Nagle, Piers Pierce. | 1771 Puxley, Henry. |
| 1737 Newman, Richard. | 1778 Purcell, Richard. |
| 1787 Newman, William W., of Coolmore. | 1779 Pick, Vesian. |
| 1874 Newman, John A. N., Dromore House. | 1787 Piercy, Jeff. |
| 1665 Newenham, John. | 1794 Perrier, David, (knighted during office). |
| 1689 Nagle, Patrick. | 1799 Pope, Thomas. |
| 1732 Newenham, William. | 1805 Parker, Richard N. |
| 1732 Newman, Adam. | 1808 Perrier, Anthony, (knighted during office). |
| 1750 Newenham, R. | 1816 Perry, Charles. |
| 1756 Newenham, Thomas. | 1828 Perry, Samuel, jun. |
| 1801 Newsom, John George. | 1832 Perrier, William Lumley. |
| 1811 Newsom, Edward. | 1836 Perry, James C. |
| 1817 Newsom, J. W. | 1344 Roche, William Fitz-David, and De Barry, Sir John Fitz-David. |
| 1825 Newsom, George. | 1382 Roche, John Fitz-David. |
| 1839 Newsom, George. | 1640 Roche, John Fitz-Maurice. |
| | 1421 Roche, Maurice, Lord Fermoy. |
| | 1610 Roche, Edmond. |
| | 1733 Rogers, John, of Ashgrove. |
| | 1756 Rogers, Robert, of Lota. |

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| 1853 Rye, Richard Tonson, of Rye court. | 1743 Supple, Edmond, of Supple's Court. |
| 1610 Roche, Edward. | 1863 Somerville, T. Drishane. |
| 1612 Roche, Nicholas (who died in office). | 1631 Skiddy, Nicholas. |
| 1629 Roche, Maurice Fitzpatrick. | 1938 Sarsfield, Thomas. |
| 1635 Roche, James Fitzpatrick. | 1676 Sealy, John. |
| 1621 Roberts, Henry. | 1692 Slocomb, Richard. |
| 1621 Rowse, Richard. | 1703 Smith, Mathias. |
| 1629 Sarsfield, James Fitz-Patrick. | 1716 Shears, Thomas |
| 1642 Roche, Francis. | 1742 Smith, Mathias. |
| 1642 Roche, Edmohd. | 1749 Swete, John. |
| 1643 Roche, Philip, having died before he was sworn. | 1751 Swayne, Hugh. |
| 1661 Rye, Christopher. | 1754 Smith, John. |
| 1665 Ronayne, Patrick. | 1711 Terry, John. |
| 1674 Rogers, Robert. | 1731 Travers, Robert. |
| 1690 Roberts, William. | 1737 Townsend, Hor. |
| 1769 Renew Peter. | 1739 Terry, John. |
| 1694 Raynes, John. | 1741 Taylor, William. |
| 1700 Ruddock, Joseph. | 1757 Travers, Boyle. |
| 1709 Rogers, Noblet. | 1762 Travers, Walters. |
| 1724 Rowland, Francis. | 1766 Travers, John. |
| 1765 Rowland, Samuel. | 1782 Thompson, John. |
| 1748 Rielly, Hugh. | 1836 Tooker, Richard B. |
| 1835 Rogers, William. | 1671 Townsend, Richard. |
| 1756 Roe, John. | 1672 Townsend, Richard. |
| 1763 Rowland, Francis. | 1673 Thornhill, William. |
| 1598 Spenser, Edmond, (the poet stated to be Sheriff this year. (Vide, vol. v. <i>Patrecean</i> , p. 54.) | 1682 Travers, Richard. |
| 1780 St. Leger, Hon. Hayes. | 1711 Tynte, James. |
| 1812 St. Leger, Hon. Hayes. | 1753 Tyod, Kevan. |
| 1845 St. Leger, Hon Hayes, of Doneraile House | 1726 Townsend, Richard. |
| 1844 Synge, Sir Edward, Bart, of Leslee | 1742 Townsend, Samuel. |
| 1783 Shaw, John. | 1753 Townsend, Richard, of Castletownsend. |
| 1785 Sadlier, Henry. | 1773 Tilson, Sir Robert, Dean of Dromore, B.I. |
| 1791 Sadlier, James. | 1778 Townsend, Richard Boyle, of Castletownsend. |
| 1822 Saunders, John. | 1798 Townsend, Samuel, of Whitehall. |
| 1825 Spearing, Andrew. | 1805 Travers, John. |
| 1827 Savage, Osborne. | 1805 Townsend, Richard. |
| 1837 Sadlier, George F. | 1817 Townsend, John, of Castletownsend. |
| 1613 Southwell, Sir Thomas. | 1830 Townsend, Richard, of Surror. |
| 1623 Slingsby, Sir Francis. | 1618 Teape, Lancelot, |
| 1642 Supple, William. | 1622 Tucker, John. |
| 1654 Southwell, Sir Thomas. | 1632 Tirry, Richard. |
| 1663 Southwell, Robert. | 1634 Tyrry, Dominick. |
| 1681 Supple, William, | 1638 Tirrie, William. |
| 1705 Supple, William. | 1641 Thirry, George Fitz-William. |
| 1707 Silver, John. | 1643 Thyrry, Robert Fitz-Robert. |
| 1799 Swete, Samuel, of Killyglass. | 1657 Tuckey, Timothy. |
| | 1666 Tuckey, Timothy. |
| | 1672 Terry John. |

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| Terry, Richard. | 1598 Wesman, Francis. |
| 1686 Tucker, Edward. | 1659 Wallis, Peter. |
| 1695 Tresilian, Jonathan. | 1660 Wallis, Peter. |
| 1699 Taylor, Barth. | 1669 Widenham, John. |
| 1751 Uniacke, Richard, of Mount Uniacke. | 1752 Warren, Robert. |
| 1776 Uniacke, James, of Mount Uniacke. | 1759 Warren, William, of Holly Hill. |
| 1634 Verdon, Robert. | 1772 Wallis, John. |
| 1637 Verdon, William. | 1778 Wrixon, William, of Ballygiblin. |
| 1829 Vincent, Nicholas. | 1794 Wallis, John, of West Wood. |
| 1837 Vincent, Robert. | 1796 Warren, Augustus, of Warren's Court. |
| 1738 Westropp, Randal. | 1804 Wrixon, William Becher. |
| 1741 Winthrop, William | 1814 Wallis, Henry, of East Wood. |
| 1743 Wrixon, Robert. | 1815 Wrixon, John Michael. |
| 1749 Webb, John. | 1819 Warren, Augustus, junior, of Warren's Court. |
| 1752 Wrixon, John. | 1838 White, Richard, of Inchincloough. |
| 1754 Witheral, Jos. | 1848 Whitehedges, Hon. W. H., of Macroom Castle. |
| 1757 Westropp, P. | 1857 Wallis, John R. Smith, of Drishane Castle. |
| 1664 Wrixon, Henry. | 1867 Warren, Sir A. R., Bart. |
| 1765 Wilcocks, W. | 1636 White, William. |
| 1771 Wrixon, John. | 1662 Williams, Robert. |
| 1775 Westropp, M. K. | 1667 Wright, George. |
| 1783 Waggett, Thomas. | 1670 Wren, William. |
| 1786 Waggett Christopher. | 1670 Walker, Thomas. |
| 1795 Wood, Michael. | 1675 Wright, John. |
| 1801 Wrixon, J. N. | 1675 Webber, Edward. |
| 1807 Waggett, George S. | 1687 White, William. |
| 1818 Westropp, H. B. | 1692 Whiting, John. |
| 1819 White, William Preston. | 1702 Watkins, Abraham. |
| 1820 Westropp, Lionel J. | 1709 Wilson, Samuel. |
| 1826 Wallis, John. | 1676 Yand, Edward. |
| 1829 Wallis, James. | 1698 Yeomans, Edward. |
| 1834 White, William, (knighted during office). | |
| 1377 Warner, John. | |
| 1381 Warner, John. | |

MAYORS OF THE CITY OF CORK

(Arranged Alphabetically).

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| 1329 Albus, William. | 1572 Coppinger, Stephen. |
| 1431 Anasey, William. | 1587 Coppinger, Robert. |
| 1432 Anasey, William. | 1602 Coppinger, John. |
| 1681 Alwin, William. | 1705 Coppinger, Robert. |
| 1704 Andrews, William. | 1616 Coppinger, John Fitz-John,
June 1st, 1615. |
| 1713 Allen, John. | 1619 Coppinger, John Fitz-John,
October 5th, 1618. |
| 1726 Atkins, Robert. | 1622 Coppinger, John, October 1st,
1621. |
| 1729 Atkins, John. | 1644 Coppinger, Robert. |
| 1730 Austip, Jos. | 1661 Cooper, Walt. |
| 1800 Allen, Philip. | 1662 Cobett, Richard. |
| 1803 Allen, Christopher (died in
office). | 1682 Cobett, Richard. |
| 1816 Allen, Edward. | 1685 Crofts, Christopher. |
| 1311 Bond, William. | 1691 Crone, Daniel. |
| 1328 Blon, Roger le. | 1692 Charters, William. |
| 1338 Bristol, John de. | 1705 Cotterel, Fras. |
| 1397 Burdeys, Thomas. | 1725 Cramer, Amb. |
| 1403 Benefiat, John. | 1732 Croker, Sam. |
| 1421 Borderner, Robert. | 1748 Crone, Dan. |
| 1664 Basset, Rich. | 1767 Chatterton, James. |
| 1674 Baley, John. | 1770 Collis, Christ. |
| 1679 Baley, John. | 1780 Carleton, Frs. |
| 1687 Ballard, William. | 1789 Crowly, Humphrey. |
| 1690 Ballard, William. | 1220 Delahoide, Richard. |
| 1714 Browne, Edward. | 1324 Dispenser, John Le |
| 1723 Brocklesby, Ed. | 1352 Delahoyde, Nich. |
| 1724 Bennett, Geo. | 1362 Drooper, William. |
| 1727 Browne, Thomas. | 1369 Drooper, William. |
| 1737 Baldwin, John. | 1373 Drooper, William. |
| 1741 Bradshaw, Richard. | 1374 Drooper, William. |
| 1751 Bustead, William. | 1376 Drooper, William. |
| 1759 Bury, Phineas. | 1377 Downane, William. |
| 1769 Baker, Godfrey. | 1382 Drooper, Robert. |
| 1775 Butler, William. | 1386 Drooper, Robert. |
| 1797 Berry, Kingsmill. | 1432 Drooper, Pierce. |
| 1798 Bennett, Philip. | 1428 Dantz, Edward. |
| 1799 Busteed, Michael. | 1665 Dunscombe, Noblet. |
| 1822 Bagnell, Henry. | 1669 Deane, Matthew |
| 1831 Besnard, John. | 1669 Dring, Simon. |
| 1735 Besnard, Peter. | 1708 Delahoyde Row. |
| 1837 Bagnell, John. | 1806 Day, John. |
| 1319 Coppinger, Stephen. | 1811 Dorman, Thomas |
| 1395 Coppinger, Thomas. | 1812 Dumas, Peter. |
| 1535 Coppinger, Wm. | 1818 Digby, Richard. |
| 1541 Creagh, Christopher. | |
| 1664 Coppinger, Stephen. | |

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| 1827 Dunscombe, Thomas. | 1612 Fitz-Edmond, Dominick Tyrry,
September 30th, 1611. |
| 1337 D'Espencer, John. | 1613 Fitz-William, Patrick Tyrry,
January 13th, 1612. |
| 1335 De Montibus, Bernard. | 1614 Fitz-David, David Tyrry, Oct.
6th, 1613. |
| 1240 De Montibus, David. | 1614 Fitz-Edmond, Edmond Tyrry,
January 13th, 1613. |
| 1321 De Stackpole, Abraham. | 1616 Fitz-Edmond, George Tyrry,
October 2nd, 1615. |
| 1342 De Stackpole, Elias. | 1620 Fit-Richard, William Terrie,
October 4th, 1619. |
| 1326 De Tailour, Edward. | 1628 Fitz-Edmond, David Tyrry,
October 1st, 1627. |
| 1302 De la-Weily, Nicholas. | 1355 Gallenger, John. |
| 1317 De la-Weily, Nicholas. | 1357 Gallenger, John. |
| 1349 De Wandespar, William. | 1415 Gardiner, Robert. |
| 1804 Evanson, Charles. | 1416 Gardiner, Robert. |
| 1339 Fitz-Abraham, John. | 1417 Gardiner, Robert. |
| 1394 Fleniming, Robert | 1418 Gardiner, Robert. |
| 1666 Farren, Thomas. | 1424 Gardiner, Robert. |
| 1670 Finch, James. | 1430 Gallaway, Jeoff. |
| 1673 Field, William. | 1436 Gallaway, Godfrey. |
| 1696 French, Jas. | 1442 Gold, William. |
| 1707 Franklin, Jos. | 1443 Gold, William. |
| 1715 French, Philip. | 1445 Gold, John. |
| 1717 French, Abraham. | 1447 Gold, John. |
| 1734 Fuller, Geo. | 1448 Gallaway, Patrick. |
| 1746 Farren, Thos. | 1449 Gallaway, John. |
| 1739 Fuller, Wm. | 1451 Gold, John. |
| 1753 Freke, Sir John, Bart. | 1453 Gallaway, William. |
| 1761 Franklin, Andrew. | 1456 Gallaway, William. |
| 1785 Franklin, Sir John. | 1459 Gallaway, Patrick. |
| 1808 Forster, John. | 1462 Gallaway, John. |
| 1611 Fitz-Edmond, George Gold,
October, 1st, 1610. | 1463 Gold, William. |
| 1612 Fitz-George, William Gold,
October 3rd, 1614. | 1464 Gold, John. |
| 1615 Fitz-George, William Gold,
October 3rd, 1614. | 1471 Gallaway, John. |
| 1618 Fitz-George William Gold,
October 6th, 1617. | 1472 Gallaway, William. |
| 1625 Fitz-Adam, Henry Gold, Oct.
4th, 1624. | 1476 Gallaway, John. |
| 1626 Fitz-Philip, Edmond Martell,
Oct. 3rd, 1625. | 1477 Gallaway, William. |
| 1640 Fitz-George, Thomas Gold,
September 3rd, 1639. | 1481 Gallaway, William. |
| 1632 Fitz-Patrick, Jeffry Gallaway. | 1482 Gallaway, Richard. |
| 1628 Fitz-Patrick, John Roche, Sept.
30th, 1622. | 1483 Gallaway, William. |
| 1633 Fitz-Dominick, William Roche,
October, 1st, 1632. | 1485 Gallaway, Patrick. |
| 1642 Fitz-Patrick, Maurice Roche,
Nov. 1st, 1641. | 1486 Gallaway, William. |
| 1643 Fitz-Maurice, John Roche,
Oct. 3rd, 1642. | 1489 Gallaway, William. |
| 1613 Fitz-John, William Skiddy,
October 1st, 1621. | 1493 Gold, William. |
| 1621 Fitz-William, Andrew Skiddie,
October 2nd, 1620. | 1501 Gold, William. |
| | 1502 Gallaway, William. |
| | 1503 Gold, Edmond. |
| | 1504 Gallaway, John. |
| | 1508 Gallaway, Richard. |
| | 1509 Gallaway, Edmond. |
| | 1510 Gold, Edmond. |

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| 1512 Gallaway, John. | 1825 Harrison, Thomas F. |
| 1516 Gallaway, Walter. | 1785 Jackson, Amb. |
| 1522 Gold, Richard. | 1819 Jones, Isaac. |
| 1524 Gold, Edmond. | 1809 Johnson, Noblet. |
| 1527 Gallaway, Walter. | 1314 Kerdiff, Walter De. |
| 1531 Gold, Richard. | 1346 Kerdiff, Walter De. |
| 1532 Gallaway, Patrick. | 1350 Kerdiff, Walter De. |
| 1534 Gold, James. | 1353 Kerdiff, Walter De. |
| 1544 Gold, James. | 1356 Kerdiff, Walter De. |
| 1445 Gold, Richard. | 1359 Kerdiff, Walter De. |
| 1446 Gold, William. | 1368 Kerdiff, Jordan. |
| 1547 Gold, William. * | 1391 Kerrick, Redm. |
| 1553 Gallaway, Patrick. | 1393 Kerrick, Redm. |
| 1559 Gold, Edmund. | 1400 Knap, John. |
| 1560 Gallaway, Edward. | 1678 Kitchenman, Thomas. |
| 1561 Gallaway, John. | 1703 Knap, Adm. |
| 1562 Gallaway, Andrew. | 1782 Kent, Sober. |
| 1566 Gallaway, William. | 1783 Kellet, Richard. |
| 1567 Gold, Edmund. | 1787 Kingston, George. |
| 1568 Gallaway, John. | 1829 Knapp, George. |
| 1569 Gallaway, Andrew. | 1274 Lee, Richard. |
| 1577 Gold, John. | 1332 Leigh, Richard Le. |
| 1578 Gallaway, Walter. | 1333 Leigh, Robert Le. |
| 1582 Gallaway, Patrick. | 1334 Lebolout, Robert. |
| 1584 Gold, George. | 1293 Lavallen, John. |
| 1593 Gallaway, Patrick. | 1316 Lizre, John De. |
| 1596 Gallaway, Patrick. | 1370 Lablown, John. |
| 1597 Gold, George. | 1371 Lablown, John. |
| 1610 Gallaway, Edmond, Oct. 1609. | 1380 Lombard, John. |
| 1912 Gallaway, Dominick, January,
31st, 1611. | 1389 Lombard, John. |
| 1698 Goddard, William. | 1401 Lavallen, Richard. |
| 1817 Gibbings, Thomas. | 1405 Lignee, John. |
| 1823 Gibbings, Bartholomew. | 1425 Landebrook, David. |
| 1830 Garde, Joseph. | 1455 Lavallen, Richard. |
| 1313 Hadvivere, William. | 1475 Lavallen, Richard. |
| 1396 Honeybeard, Thomas. | 1492 Lavallen, John. |
| 1627 Hore, William, Oct 2nd, 1626. | 1596 Lavallen, John. |
| 1656 Hodder, John. | 1498 Lavallen, John. |
| 1657 Hodder, Willlam. | 1638 Lavaline, Patrick, August 18th,
1637. |
| 1672 Hawkins, John. | 1641 Lavalline, Milcher, Oct. 5th,
1640. |
| 1686 Hoare, Edward. | 1645 Lombard, James. |
| 1693 Howell, William. | 1695 Love, Samuel. |
| 1710 Horre, Edward. | 1716 Lambley, William. |
| 1721 Hawkins, William. | 1720 Lavite, Joseph. |
| 1731 Hulet, James. | 1745 Lavite, William. |
| 1749 Holmes, William. | 1776 Lawton, Hugh. |
| 1754 Hodder, Geo. | 1795 Lucas, Jasper. |
| 1756 Harding, William. | 1802 Lane, Richard. |
| 1779 Harding, John. | 1832 Leycester, Joseph. |
| 1789 Harding, Henry, who died in
office. | 1834 Lane, Richard (died in office). |
| 1790 Harris, Richard. | 1839 Lane, James. |
| 1807 Harding, Thomas. | 1272 Morren, Richard. |

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| 1318 | Milksburry, Adam. | 1805 | Morrison, Rowland. |
| 1323 | Monk, Gilbert. | 1819 | Maylor, Paul. |
| 1325 | Morraine, Richard. | 1468 | Naiole, Godfrey. |
| 1330 | Murraine, Nicholas. | 1671 | Newenham, John. |
| 1379 | Miagh, David. | 1738 | Newman, Adam. |
| 1381 | Miagh, David. | 1814 | Newsom, John George. |
| 1383 | Mynne, John. | 1821 | Newsom, Edward. |
| 1384 | Mynne, John. | 1291 | O'Heyn, Walter. |
| 1385 | Mynne, John: | 1315 | O'Heyne, Nicholas. |
| 1387 | Malby, John. | 1347 | O'Heyne, William. |
| 1399 | Maineen, John. | 1351 | O'Heyne, Nicholas. |
| 1409 | Morton, Thomas. | 1660 | Oliver, Christopher. |
| 1411 | Murrough, Thomas. | 1742 | Owgans, William. |
| 1412 | Mordonton, Thomas | 1771 | Owgan, Thomas. |
| 1414 | Mollenton, Thomas. | 1287 | Pollard, William. |
| 1419 | Mollenton, Thomas. | 1331 | Postwind, Richard. |
| 1420 | Mollonton, Thomas. | 1344 | Pollard, William. |
| 1422 | Mollonton, Thomas. | 1345 | Pollard, William. |
| 1433 | Menia, John. | 1300 | Polrnt, William. |
| 1435 | Murrough, John, | 1706 | Poye, Bernard. |
| 1437 | Murrough, John. | 1711 | Philips, Richard. |
| 1440 | Meagh, John. | 1712 | Perdrian, Daniel. |
| 1441 | Murrough, John. | 1722 | Pierce, Daniel. |
| 1444 | Murrough, John. | 1733 | Pembroke, Thomas. |
| 1460 | Murrough, Thomas. | 1740 | Parker, Harding. |
| 1467 | Meagh, John. | 1757 | Philpott, Usher. |
| 1469 | Mezca, John. | 1765 | Parks, William. |
| 1473 | Murrough, Thomas. | 1768 | Phillips, Noblet. |
| 1536 | Meagh, Robert. | 1788 | Purcell, Richard. |
| 1548 | Meagh, Patrick. | 1791 | Puxley, Henry. |
| 1555 | Meagh, Christopher. | 1796 | Pick, Vesiam (knighted during office). |
| 1570 | Meagh, John. | 1813 | Perrier, Sir David, Knt. |
| 1594 | Martel, Francis. | 1820 | Perrier, Sir Anthony. |
| 1595 | Meagh, James. | 1826 | Parker, Richard N. |
| 1600 | Mead, William. | 1828 | Pope, Thomas. |
| 1601 | Mead, John. | 1833 | Perry, Charles. |
| 1607 | Martel, Philip. | 1281 | Rute, Walter. |
| 1629 | Murrough, James, October 6th,
1628. | 1285 | Russell, Peter. |
| 1635 | Martell, Thomas, October 6th,
1634. | 1232 | Reisch, Walter. |
| 1636 | Miagh, Robert, October 5th,
1635. | 1341 | Rashall, Peter. |
| 1637 | Meade David, October 3rd,
1636. | 1343 | Reisch, Walter. |
| 1658 | Mathews, Philip. | 1858 | Ruth, Adam. |
| 1659 | Morris, Jonas. | 1363 | Ruth, Adam |
| 1673 | Mills, Thomas. | 1413 | Rice, Patrick. |
| 1699 | Morris, Theo. | 1488 | Roche, Maurice. |
| 1718 | Morley, John. | 1491 | Roche Maurice. |
| 1728 | Millard, Hugh. | 1497 | Roche, Maurice. |
| 1747 | Millard, Hugh. | 1500 | Roche, Maurice. |
| 1766 | Maylor, Sam. | 1513 | Roche, John. |
| 1784 | Morrison, James. | 1520 | Roche, Edmond. |
| | | 1523 | Roche, Maurice. |
| | | 1530 | Roche, Edmond. |
| | | 1533 | Roche, David. |

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1537 Ronayne, Thomas. | 1480 Skiddy, William. |
| 1539 Roche, James. | 1484 Skiddy, William. |
| 1549 Ronayne, Thomas. | 1487 Skiddy, William. |
| 1550 Roche, Dominick. | 1506 Skiddy, William. |
| 1552 Roche, James. | 1507 Skiddy, John. |
| 1558 Roche, Dominick. | 1515 Skiddy, Richard. |
| 1563 Roche, Maurice. | 1517 Skiddy, John. |
| 1565 Roche, Richard. | 1518 Skiddy, Nicholas. |
| 1571 Roche, Maurice. | 1526 Skiddy, John. |
| 1575 Ronayne, James. | 1528 Skiddy, John. |
| 1576 Roche, William. | 1542 Sarsfield, William. |
| 1579 Roche, Maurice. | 1543 Skiddy, William. |
| 1583 Roche, James. | 1556 Sarsfield, William. |
| 1590 Roche, Dominick. | 1557 Skiddy, William. |
| 1609 Roche, Dominick. | 1580 Sarsfield, Thomas. |
| 1624 Roche, John, Sept. 6th, 1623. | 1589 Skiddy, John. |
| 1630 Ronayne, Thomas. | 1598 Skiddy, John. |
| 1631 Roche, Maurice, October 4th,
1613. | 1599 Sarsfield, James. |
| 1634 Roche, Richard, September
30th, 1633. | 1603 Sarsfield, Thomas. |
| 1667 Rye, Christopher. | 1606 Sarsfield, William. |
| 1668 Rye, Christopher. | 1639 Sarsfield, Thomas, August 21st,
1638. |
| 1680 Rogers, Robert. | 1689 Sarsfield, Dominick. |
| 1688 Roche, Patrick. | 1700 Sealy, John. |
| 1694 Renew, Peter. | 1752 Smith, Mathias. |
| 1697 Roberts, William. | 1758 Swete, John. |
| 1709 Rogers, Noblet. | 1763 Smith, John. |
| 1755 Reily, John. | 1792 Shaw, John. |
| 1772 Roe, John. | 1815 Sadlier, Henry. |
| 1773 Rowland, Francis. | 1834 Spearing, Andrew. |
| 1786 Rowland, Sir Samuel. | 1836 Saunders, John. |
| 1364 Skiddy, William. | 1279 Tardiff, Walter. |
| 1365 Skiddy, William. | 1290 Tardiff, Walter. |
| 1367 Skiddy, William. | 1327 Tryal, Roger. |
| 1392 Stackpole, Andrew. | 1372 Thish, Thomas. |
| 1402 Sughin, William. | 1375 Thish, Thomas. |
| 1404 Skiddy, John. | 1378 Thish, Thomas. |
| 1406 Sughin, William. | 1505 Terry, William. |
| 1408 Sughin, William | 1511 Terry, Edmond. |
| 1438 Skiddy, John. | 1514 Terry, Edmond. |
| 1439 Skiddy, John. | 1519 Terry, Patrick. |
| 1446 Skiddy, Richard. | 1321 Terry, David. |
| 1450 Skiddy, Richard. | 1525 Terry, William. |
| 1454 Skiddy, William. | 1529 Terry, Patrick. |
| 1457 Skiddy, Richard. | 1538 Terry, William. |
| 1458 Skiddy, William. | 1540 Terry, Richard. |
| 1461 Skiddy, Richard. | 1551 Terry, William. |
| 1465 Skiddy, John. | 1554 Terry, Richard. |
| 1466 Skiddy, Richard. | 1574 Terry, William. |
| 1470 Skiddy, Richard. | 1586 Terry, Stephen. |
| 1474 Skiddy, William. | 1588 Terry, Edmund. |
| 1478 Skiddy Richard. | 1591 Terry, David. |
| 1479 Skiddy, William. | 1604 Terry, Edmund. |
| | 1608 Terry, David. |

1617	Tyrry, Patrick, July 20th, 1616.	1348	Wallen, John.
1677	Tuckey, Timothy.	1395	Warriner, John.
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1746	Taylor, William.	1410	Warner, John.
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1781	Travers, Walter.	1434	White, Geoffrey.
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1360	Vincent, Perceval.	1499	Walters, John.
1361	Vincent, Perceval.	1793	Wilcocks, William.
1366	Vincent, Perceval.	1801	Westropp, Michael Roberts.
1663	Vandeleur, James.	1838	Westropp, Lionel J.
1273	Wine, Richard.	1803	Waggett, Thomas.
1310	Walters, John.	1824	Wrixon, J. N.
1336	Wedlock, John.		

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Tarbert
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The misprints corrected below have occurred from causes over which the author of this book had no control.

Page 422, line 14—for “has,” read “had.”

- 424 , 4—for “country,” read “county.”
426 , 8 from bottom—for “palontologist,” read “palæontologist.”
432 , 20—for “escapement,” read “escarpment.”
440 , 13—for “west” read “east.”
448 , 16 from bottom—for “there,” read “then.”
450, last line; this should be last line but one on page 451.
455, line 12—for “Haliechcerus,” read “Halichoerus.”
“ , 30—, “Physeteridae,” , “Physeter.”
“ , 33—, “Balæoptera,” , “Balæoptera.”
456 , 15—, “Vulture,” , “Vultur.”
“ , 38—, “Cinerous,” , “Cinereous.”
“ , 38—, “Haliætus,” , “Haliaëtus.”
457 , 11 and 14—for “Milous” , “Milvus.”
“ , 14—for “candâ,” , “caudâ.”
“ , 35—, “viscivorus,” , “viscivorus.”
458 , 25—, “senauthe,” , “cenathe.”
459 , 2—, “British,” , “Irish.”
459 , 24—, “1920,” , “1820.”
“ , 33—, “Alaude,” , “Alauda.”
“ , 36—, “Emberize,” , “Emberiza.”
460 , 8—, “vulguris,” , “vulgaris.”
461 , 3—, “gamelia,” , “garrula.”
461 , 29—, “cinera,” , “cinerea.”
462 , 28—, “Gous,” , “Grus.”
“ , 38—, “Vallarous,” , “ralloides.”
“ , 39 and 40—for “Botarus,” read “Botaurus.”
463 , 10—for “Ring,” read “White Stork.”
“ , 16—, “phœpus,” , “phœopus.”
“ , 24—, “Recurriosta,” , “Recurvirostra.”
“ , 34—, “Selb (Trianga mantaura),” read “Sandpiper (*Tringa maritima*)”
“ , 35—, “1146,” , “1846.”

Page 464, line 5—	for “pretensis,”	read “pratensis.”
“ ” 14—	“ Bartling,”	“ Baillon’s.”
“ ” 22—	“ lencopsis,”	“ leucopsis.”
“ ” 30—	“ Rutela,”	“ rutila.”
“ ” 34—	“ Chauliodny,”	“ Chauliodus.”
465 “ 4—	“ Mereca,”	“ Mareca.”
“ ” 5—	“ nigro,”	“ nigra.”
“ ” 20—	“ onbricottis,”	“ rubricollis.”
“ ” 22—	“ auortus,”	“ auritus.”
“ ” 34—	“ Alco,”	“ Alca.”
466 “ 9—	“ Lurus,”	“ Larus.”
“ ” 13—	“ redibundus,”	“ ridibundus.”
“ ” 15—	“ eburoneas,”	“ eburneus.”
“ ” 21—	“ Ringmaster,”	“ Burgomaster.”
“ ” 23—	“ Parasitieus,”	“ parasiticus.”
“ ” 31—	“ specie,”	“ species.”
467 “ 8—	“ Phœnogamic”	“ Phœnogamic.”
468 “ 4 and 8—	for “Phœnogams,”	read “Phœnogams.”
“ ” 9—	for “Thalickum,”	read “Thalictrum.”
“ ” 11—	“ Armoracea,”	“ Armoracia.”
“ ” 18—	“ gultatum,”	“ guttatum.”
“ ” 30—	“ roteurdifolium,”	“ rotundifolium.”
“ ” 39—	“ micraufha,”	“ micrantha.”
469 “ 2—	“ alternifoleuin,”	“ alternifolium.”
“ ” 40—	“ nutaus,”	“ nutans.”
“ ” 43—	“ Hieraceum,”	“ Hieracium.”
470 “ 31—	“ Euphragia,”	“ Eufragia.”
“ ” 32—	“ Anthenis,”	“ Anthemis.”
471 “ 12—	“ botryosum,”	“ botryoides.”
“ ” 23—	“ plant,”	“ plant’s.”
“ ” 35—	“ Orehis,”	“ Orchis.”
“ ” 38 and 44—	for “ Romanzofiana,”	read “ Romanzoviana.”
472 “ 11—	for “ pallesces,”	read “ pallescens.”
“ ” 24—	“ Polypodium”	“ Polypodium.”
“ ” 29—	“ Cistopteris,”	“ Cystopteris.”
“ ” 31—	“ Moore,”	“ More.”
“ last line—	“ Hymendphyllum,”	read “ Hymenophyl-lum.”
473, line 37—	for “ pyrifonne,”	read “ pyriforme.”
475 “ 15—	“ leutiginosa,”	“ lentiginosa.”
469 “ 2—	“ Myriophylleun”	“ Myriophyllum.”
472 “ 5—	“ Alluim,”	“ Allium.”

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